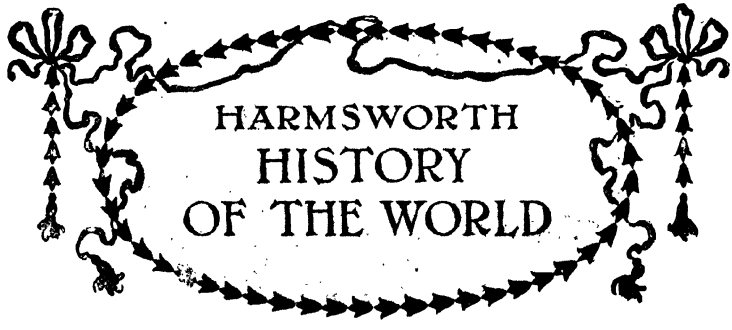
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THE VENERABLE BEDE ON HIS DEATH-BED DICTATING HIS TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN

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HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

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NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME IX.

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

GENERAL SURVEY : THE PEOPLES
EMERGING AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE NATIONS : THE PAPACY

LONDON
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EUROPE: THIRD DIVISION

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

From the Sundering of the Roman Empire to the eve of the Reformation

The first stage in the general treatment of Europe allowed us to treat so much of the continent as was known to the Romans, down to the final division of their empire. From that point it became necessary to introduce a geographical division between East and West for a period terminating about the time of the French Revolution.

Eastern Europe during that period has formed a single division. The greater diversity and the multiplication of detail in the history of Western Europe requires us to give the period two divisions—mediæval and post mediæval. The first brings us down to the beginning of the sixteenth century—the times immediately preceding the Reformation.

In it we shall trace the expansion of the Teutonic wave over the whole area, and its partial recession, leaving a Latinised portion and a Germanised portion. We shall see the development of the dual conceptions of Emperor and Pope as temporal and spiritual heads of Western Christendom, often in sharp rivalry; and the development of nationalities outside the empire: among the Latins, French and Spanish; among the Teutons, Scandinavian and Britannic.

We shall see also the collision between the Cross and the Crescent expressed in the Crusades. Finally we shall see the development of the new conceptions, intellectual, religious, and economic, which evolved modern out of mediæval Europe; and shall survey the fundamental characteristics of the social and political structure which was passing away.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD
By Dr. Thomas Hodgkin

THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE
By Professor Eduard Heyck

THE EMERGING OF THE NATIONS
ITALY—THE FRANKISH DOMINION—THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE—THE BRITISH ISLES—THE SPANISH PENINSULA—THE CHURCH IN THE WEST—SCANDINAVIA

By

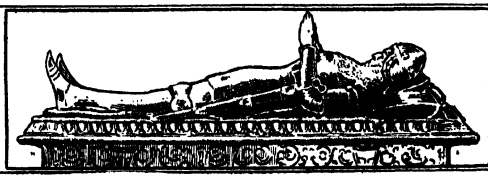
Dr. H. F Helmolt, H. W. C. Davis, Professor Heyck, Dr. Mahrenholtz, Dr. H. Schurtz, Professor Walther, and Dr. Hans Schjöth

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONS
THE GERMANIC EMPIRE—GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST—THE PAPACY—FRANCE—THE BRITISH ISLES—ITALY—SPAIN—THE CRUSADES—INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE—THE RENAISSANCE

By

Dr. Armin Tille, H. W. C. Davis, A. D. Innes, Professor Mayr, Dr. Clemens Klein, and others

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MEDIÆVAL WORLD
By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE THIRD DIVISION OF EUROPE

In the above map the third division of Europe, which treats of the whole western part of the Continent from the sundering of the Roman Empire down to the eve of the Reformation, is illustrated. The map is at once historical, geographical and ethnological, since it shows the territorial disposition of the land within the period mentioned as well as the cradles of the various races whose movements throughout that period constitute so large a part of its history. The shaded portion of the map on the right indicates the western extremity of that part of Europe whose history down to the time of the French Revolution has already been fully dealt with in the preceding division of Europe.

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES



GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. Thomas Hodgkin

THE MOULDING OF THE NATIONS AND THE TIME OF THE NORTHMEN

IN the year 500 the leading states of Western Europe were those which had been founded by the two branches of the great Gothic nation, itself in many respects the most civilised and cultured of all the barbarian tribes that had built their homes amid the ruins of the Roman Empire. The West Goths, or Visigoths, under their king, Alaric II., the seventh in succession from his namesake, the ravager of Rome, occupied about three-quarters of the Spanish Peninsula and the whole of that beautiful region of Gaul which was known as Aquitaine, and which lay south and west of the broad sickle of the Loire. The East Goths, or Ostrogoths, ruled Italy and Sicily as well as Germany up to the frontier of the Danube. Their king, Theoderic, was in many respects the wisest, strongest, and most enlightened of all the barbarian rulers, and honestly strove to blend as much as possible the culture of the old Greek and Roman world with the rough strength and energy of his Gothic countrymen.

The Wisest King of the Barbarians

Other Teutonic states were those of the Burgundians in the valley of the Rhone, of the Vandals along the northern coast of Africa, and of the Suevi in the region which is now called Portugal.

All of these kingdoms were drawn together not only by a consciousness of kindred origin, but also by the profession of the same creed, for all had been converted to Christianity; but all were Christians of the Arian type, refusing to accept the statement contained in the creed of Nicæa as to the co-equal divinity of Christ with His Father.

One Teutonic nationality, destined to be the mightiest of all, remains to be noticed. Along the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse, in the flat expanses of Champagne and Lorraine, and on the left bank of the Middle Rhine, clustered the two great divisions of the Frankish nation, the Salian and Ripuarian Franks. These fierce wielders of the battle-axe remained heathen long after most of their fellow-Teutons had accepted the message of Christianity; but, four years before our story begins, their brisk young king, Chlodwig, or Clovis, embraced the faith of his Christian wife, Clotilde, and at his bidding the majority of his subjects embraced it likewise. A fact of immense importance for the future history of Gaul and of Europe was that the Christianity which won his allegiance was not of the Arian, but of the Trinitarian or Catholic type. This secured for him the hearty goodwill of the Catholic clergy and through them of the subject Romanised population throughout the whole of Western Europe, and was doubtless one cause of the rapid extension of the Frankish kingdom. In the year 507, with the words, "I cannot endure that these Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul," he challenged the Visigothic king to battle, and defeated and slew him on the plains of Poitiers. The Visigothic monarchy

Expansion of the Frankish Kingdom

lived on for a few centuries longer, south of the Pyrenees, and even extended its borders in 587 by the conquest of the Suevi, but, save for a narrow strip of territory, called Septimania, on the west coast of the Gulf of Lyons, its grasp on Gaul was gone.

Clovis died, a middle-aged man, in the year 511, but his sons continued his policy of profitable religious warfare, and after some campaigns, conducted with varying success, finally added the fruitful provinces of Burgundy to the Frankish kingdom, which now included the whole of modern France—save for the little strip of Septimanian territory—and also the Netherlands, the Rhinelands, and an indefinable extent of country beyond the Rhine. It was certainly in the six hundreds and seven hundreds (seventh and eighth centuries) the most powerful of all the barbarian kingdoms, but was weakened by the perpetual, and, to a historian, most irritating, partitions of the empire between the always jealous and often actively hostile members of the royal family —surnamed Merovingian, from Merovech, the fabled son of a sea-god and grandfather of Clovis.

Clovis I. and His Successors

Another source of weakness was the rapid demoralisation of the kings, whose constitutions were ruined by sensual indulgence and who generally died before middle life worn out by their vices. Thus, then, before the middle of the five hundreds two of the Arian kingdoms, the Burgundian and the Suevic, had been overthrown, and a third, the Visigothic, had been shorn of much of its strength. And before the five hundreds had run their course it, too, was lost to the Arian cause, not by conquest, but by conversion. In 587, Recared, the Visigothic king, who is believed by some to have been the first promulgator of the so-called Athanasian Creed, formally renounced Arianism, and the vast majority of his subjects followed his example. While these events were happening in the west, the cause of Teutonic Arianism in Italy was sustaining deadly blows at the hands of an antagonist whom it had too lightly valued, the by no means effete though crippled Roman Empire. The wise and statesmanlike Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, died in 526, his last years having been clouded by rumours of conspiracy and sedition which had seduced him, naturally one of the most tolerant of rulers, into persecution of his Catholic subjects. A minority and a female regency followed. Theoderic's daughter, Amalasuntha, lost the love of her Gothic warriors by her unwise following of Roman fashions; her son, the lad Athalaric, died of the excesses which followed on his liberation from her maternal strictness. The whole fair fabric of Italo-Gothic prosperity was shaken, but might perhaps yet have endured for generations had not the sceptre of the Byzantine Cæsars been swayed at this time by one of the most extraordinary of its possessors.

Rome a Crippled Empire

The story of the reign of Justinian (527–565), belonging to the Eastern empire, has been told in another volume. All that needs to be said here is that by his brave and skilful general, Belisarius, he first overthrew the Vandal monarchy in Africa (533–535), and then successfully assaulted the Ostrogothic dominion in Italy. This last enterprise proved a far harder task than he had anticipated. Rome was taken and re-taken three times; once for the space of forty days she lay absolutely empty of inhabitants. The struggle lasted sixteen years, and wore out the noble heart of Belisarius, who died, if not in poverty, in some measure of disgrace. But the stubborn patience of Justinian was at last rewarded with success. By the victory which his old wrinkled eunuch general, Narses, won amid the passes of the Apennines over the gallant young King Totila the last hope of the Ostrogoths was crushed. The remnant of that nation cleared out of Italy in 553, recrossed the Alps, and disappeared from history.

The Ostrogoths Disappear From History

Thus, then, by the middle of the five hundreds, or soon after, the whole of that powerful combination of peoples which had upheld the standard of Teutonic Arianism was dissolved. Some were exterminated, others were converted, and Catholicism was the religion of all, whether victors or vanquished. Let it not be thought that this was a matter of which only Church historians need take notice. Apart from all questions of theological soundness or unsoundness, the mere fact that the whole commonwealth of Western European nations professed the same creed and took their spiritual word of command from the Bishop of Rome exercised an enormous influence on the course of political history and national

development from the downfall of the Arian kingdoms to the Reformation.

What made this extension of the spiritual sway of Rome more memorable was the splendid success of the missionary operations of the greatest of Roman Pontiffs, Gregory I. (590–604). According to the well-known story, the sight of some handsome Anglian lads exposed for sale in the Forum caused him, in 596, to send his friend Augustine on a mission to the then almost forgotten and unknown island of Britain. Although Christianity of a somewhat different type retained its hold on the Keltic population, and might



THE GREAT POPE GREGORY AND THE "ANGELS"

Gregory I., the greatest of all Roman Pontiffs, made his spiritual sway memorable by the splendid success of his missionary operations. Seeing some handsome youths exposed for sale in the Forum, he asked whence they came, and on being told they were Anglians, he replied, "Non Angli sed angeli"—not Anglians but angels. The sight of these touched his compassionate heart, and caused him, in 596, to send his friend Augustine on a mission to Britain, at that time an almost unknown island. But it was not until 686 that the process of conversion was finally completed.

From the painting by Kelley Halswelle, R.I.

even be said to flourish in Ireland and in the Hebrides, the conversion of our stubborn Anglo-Saxon forefathers was not altogether an easy process, and, in fact, was not finally accomplished till the year 686, nearly a century after the landing of Augustine.

This century, however, during which the struggle between Christianity and Paganism was still going forward, was the heroic age of the Anglo-Saxon nation. Noble Christian kings, such as Edwin, Oswald and Oswy, led their people upwards in the path of civilisation. Even the obstinate pagan Penda was not without a strain of nobleness in his blood. Laymen and churchmen alike did more than lip-service to their new creed, and a man such as Bede, who was barely two generations removed from heathenism—he was born about 670—has won the abiding veneration of posterity both as saint and scholar.

The seven hundreds witnessed a melancholy decline in every department of Anglo-Saxon life. Murders of kings abounded, scholars were scarce, the monasteries became the haunts of the dissolute and the idle; but side by side with this decay of religious life at home there was a marvellous display of missionary energy abroad.

Wilfrid, Willibrord, Boniface, moved up and down through Friesland, Hesse and Franconia, destroying idols and converting their worshippers. They were thus preparing the way for the addition of these regions beyond the Rhine to the vast Frankish empire. It is hardly too much to say that Germany owes both her Christianity and her civilisation to the labours of Anglo-Saxon missionaries.

From the statement previously made as to the unity of religious belief in Western Europe, two notable exceptions

must, for a time, be made. They were caused by the arrival of the Lombards in Italy and of the Moors in Spain.

Only fifteen years after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths from Italy, the Lombards under their ruthless leader Alboin arrived in the peninsula (568). An uncouth and barbarous people, they were for generations a miserable substitute for the almost cultured Ostrogoths, and their religion, if they had any, was either Arian Christianity or absolute heathenism. Gregory the Great, even while he was planning his campaigns of spiritual conquest, was living, as he bitterly complained, "between the swords of the Lombards," and the fierce enmity between the papacy and the Lombard kings was not appeased even by the conversion of the latter to Catholic Christianity, which was effected in a half-hearted, desultory way about a century after their entry into Italy. In fact, the relations between king and pope at this period of the world's history bore a strong resemblance to those between their modern Italian representatives.

The Pope on the Swords of The Lombards

The conquest of Italy by the Lombards was only partial. From their capital at Pavia they ruled the greater part of the valley of the Po. Tuscany was theirs, and most of the country on the flanks of the Apennines, divided into the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. But the city of Naples, the toe and heel of Italy, the island of Sicily, and—in the north-east corner of the land—the all but impregnable city of Ravenna, still owed allegiance to the emperor, whose representative, called the Exarch (generally a Byzantine courtier), ruled all imperial Italy from Ravenna as his capital. Rome was, of course, also nominally imperial; but all through these centuries the Popes, who had many a theological battle with the Eastern emperor, were showing an increasing tendency to make Rome their own subject city, and to rule it independently of Constantinople. During the same period the little city, or group of cities, amid the mud-banks of the Adriatic, which was afterwards to be known as Venice, was quietly increasing in wealth and power, holding the Lombard barbarians at bay and professing unbounded loyalty to the distant Byzantine emperor. Visigothic and Catholic Spain underwent in the six hundreds a process of rapid decay. It was governed by kings, none of whom was able to found an abiding dynasty; by national councils, in which the power of the bishops, which directed the forces of the state chiefly to the persecution of Jews and heretics, predominated, and by nobles rich and turbulent, but destitute of loyal devotion to their country. The old Romanised population, of whom we hear but little, was probably oppressed and downtrodden. Thus, when, in 711, the Saracen conquerors of Africa—who are generally styled Moors, though by no means all of Mauretanian descent—crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and challenged Roderic, the king of the Goths, to a fight, one obstinately-contested battle—that of Xeres de la Frontera—overthrew the whole rotten fabric of the Visigothic state. Save for a few resolute spirits who, under their king, Pelayo, kept the standard of the Cross flying on the mountains of Asturias, all Spain was Moorish and Mussulman. Nor did the wave of Saracen conquest stop with the Pyrenees. It flowed over into Gaul, and for a time seemed likely to add that country also to the empire of the caliphs. Fortunately for Europe, Charles Martel, the virtual ruler of the Franks, proved equal to the occasion, and in the desperately hard-fought battle of Poitiers—about seven miles from the modern city, often, but incorrectly, called the battle of Tours—defeated the Saracenic emir, Abd-er-Kahman, and saved Europe from the Moslem yoke. It is worthy of notice that this battle—emphatically one of the decisive battles of the world—was fought in 732, exactly 100 years after the death of Mahomet, "Prophet of God." So far in one century had the fierce faith of the sons of the desert carried them; but so far, and no further, did the great wave roll.

Venice Rising in Power

Great Wave of Saracen Conquest

We have called Charles Martel "the virtual ruler of the Franks," for that, and not crowned king, was still the position of the members of the Arnulfing family, of which he was the head. For more than a century the kings of the Merovingian line had been sinking into a state of fatuous decline. Young men, for the most part ruined by dissipation, and seldom surviving their thirtieth year, they had allowed the reins of government to slip from their nerveless hands into the



THE RETURN OF THE VIKINGS FROM AN OVERSEAS EXPEDITION

From the eighth until the eleventh century the Vikings ravaged the coasts of Europe, but at an even earlier period—as early as the seventh century—these hardy Norsemen visited the Western Isles of Scotland. They conquered the north of Ireland in 840, and in 852 formed a Norse kingdom in Dublin which lasted for three centuries.

Specially drawn for this work by W. Edward Wigfull

strong grasp of the chief minister, who was called Mayor of the Palace; and for three generations this fortunate manager of the royal business had been chosen from the same family, the descendants of the sainted Arnulf, Bishop of Metz.

Martel the Deliverer of Europe

Charles Martel, the greatest man whom the family had yet produced, and made incomparably greater by his deliverance of Europe from the infidel, died in 741, having never formally assumed the regal title, though he allowed himself for the last four years of his life the luxury of ruling without a phantom master. His sons, Carloman and Pippin, from motives of policy, thought proper to repeat the old comedy, and, drawing forth a descendant of Clovis from his seclusion, ordered him to reign as Childeric III. Before long, however, Carloman himself retired into a monastery, and Pippin, sole mayor of the palace, feeling his position now secure, addressed to Pope Zacharias the suggestive question whether it was better that the man who had all the power of a king or he, who had only the show of sovereignty, should reign? The Pope gave the answer which the wording of the question evidently implied, and, with his high sanction, Pippin was crowned and anointed king by the hands of Boniface, the missionary Bishop of Germany, about the year 751.

The Frankish king was soon able to show his gratitude by important services to his papal benefactor. In the year 752 the king of the Lombards took the long impregnable Ravenna, and the dominion of the eastern emperor in the north of Italy came to an end. The triumphant Lombards pressed on towards Rome, and it seemed as if that imperial city itself would fall into their hands. Sorely pressed, Pope Stephen II., the successor of Zacharias, uttered plaintive appeals to Pippin for help, and even crossed the Alps in the depth of winter to urge his piteous case,

The Lombards Driven From Rome

and to gratify his patron by a second and solemn coronation. In two successive campaigns—755 and 756—Pippin vanquished the Lombard king, and compelled him to surrender the territories which he had conquered from the empire—known as the Exarchate and Pentapolis—to the Bishop of Rome. Thus was laid the foundation of that temporal power of the Popes, which, through all the Middle Ages, wrote the title "States of the Church" on a large block of territory in Central and Northern Italy, and which, in fact, was only in the middle of last century shattered by the united arms of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel.

When Pippin died, in 768, his two sons, Charles and Carloman, succeeded without opposition to his royal inheritance. Carloman soon died, and Charles began that career of conquest and imperial organisation which has deservedly won for him the surname of Great, and has caused him to figure in countless poems of romance as the hero Charlemagne. In the first six years of his reign he conquered the Lombards and added the northern half of Italy to his dominions. In a long and stubborn conflict, which lasted thirty years, he subdued the barbarous Saxons, who dwelt in the modern province of Hanover, and forced them to accept the yoke of Christianity and civilisation. The yet more barbarous Avars, whose kingdom included at least half of modern Austria, were conquered before the end of the century; and the north-eastern corner of Spain was also won from the Moors. Thus the dominions

Charlemagne's Great Dominions

of Charlemagne included all Europe west of the Elbe and the Danube, Italy as far as Naples, and Spain as far as the Ebro. There was no such splendid realm seen again in Europe till the days of the Emperor Napoleon.

On Christmas Day, 800, the seal was set on all this glory by the coronation of Charles the Frank as Emperor of the Romans. Though for nearly four centuries the Roman Empire had been but a shadow as far as Western Europe was concerned, the memory of its greatness had never wholly faded out of the minds of men nor had the people of the West ever heartily accepted the fiction that the true home of that empire was to be found at Constantinople. Now, when the Bishop of Rome had placed the imperial diadem on the head of the mightiest man of the mightiest nation in Europe, and when the citizens of Rome had cried with a loud voice, "Life and victory to Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific emperor," it was felt that the waters of the barbarian deluge had indeed subsided and the world had again a prospect of a peaceful and well-ordered life. Such was the second birth of "the Holy Roman Empire." But the Golden Age had not yet arrived; in fact, the eight



THE ADVENTUROUS VENETIANS ON THE TRACK OF WAR

In the eighth century, when the Lombards, under their ruthless leader Alboin, were conquering Italy, the little city, or group of cities, amid the mudbanks of the Adriatic, afterwards to be known as Venice, was making a bold stand, holding the Lombard barbarians at bay, and steadily increasing in wealth and power. So great did the sea power of the Venetians become, that the enterprising and adventurous republic, from being the admitted "Queen of the Adriatic," rose, in the Middle Ages, to the proud position of "Mistress of the Seas," the maritime colonies of Venice being widespread throughout the Near East, and her influence felt in the remoté parts of the mediæval world.

hundreds and nine hundreds, the two centuries after the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome, were in some respects darker than any that had preceded them.

This was partly due to the weakness of the rulers. The descendants of Charlemagne were not nonentities, like the Merovingians, but they were for the most part selfish and turbulent princes; and only a very strong hand grasping the imperial sceptre could have kept the discordant elements of that vast empire in orderly subjection. Such a strong hand was emphatically not possessed by Charlemagne's son and successor Louis the Good-natured. His sons revolted against him and quarrelled among themselves. France, Germany and Italy sprang apart and began those separate lives of theirs which still continue; and not only so, but in each country the principle of disintegration was at work. Counts and barons who should have been mere officials appointed for life or during good behaviour became hereditary nobles; in short, Feudalism was born. Amid all these changes the stately vessel of the Carolingian dynasty went hopelessly to pieces, the last direct descendant of Charlemagne who reigned as emperor in Germany being dethroned in 887, the last who was king of Italy dying in 950, the last who was king of France in 987. Out of the drift-wood of the family, the representatives through females and the illegitimate descendants, almost all the reigning dynasties and a large part of the ducal and baronial houses of Europe have been constructed.

Turbulent Successors of Charlemagne

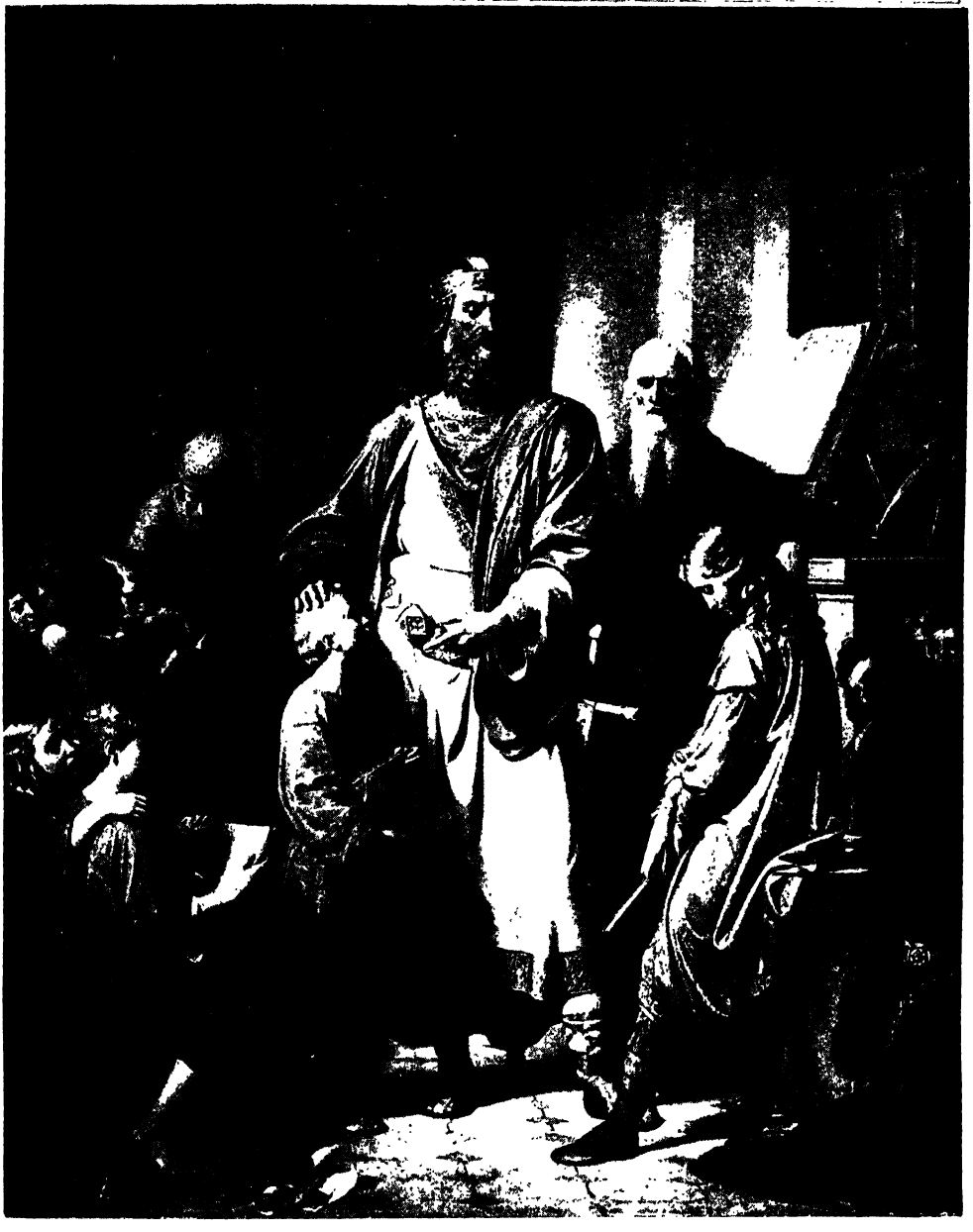
Chief, however, among the causes which made Europe miserable were the ravages of the Scandinavian pirates, who seem at the end of the seven hundreds to have suddenly awakened to the fact that there were fair lands to the south of them with rich booty, which it needed but good seamanship and well-organised robber-raids to make their own. The *Here*, as the great pirate army was called, visited England at longer or shorter intervals throughout the three centuries from 787, when they first landed in Wessex, till 1066, when Harald Hardrada invaded Yorkshire and fell before his namesake Harold, son of Godwin. It is not necessary here to relate the memorable story of the victories and defeats which marked the struggle of the Danes with Alfred the Great from 871 to 900, of their subjugation by Edward the Elder and Athelstan from 900 to 940, and of the success with which, under their king, Canute, they fastened the Danish yoke upon the neck of the English, so that it seemed for a time probable that our island would be but a humble member of a great Scandinavian empire, dominating the Baltic and the North Sea.

Great Pirate Armies in England

We must, however, call attention to the fact that in these three centuries of conflict the pirates themselves greatly changed their character, and from barbarous pagans became a Christian and civilised power; also that they settled in large numbers in the north-eastern part of England and added undoubtedly a valuable element to the population of Northumbria and Mercia. Moreover, the fierce attacks of these dreaded invaders helped to unify the Anglo-Saxon state. When all the other kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy had gone down before the ruthless *Here*, Wessex alone successfully resisted their onslaught, and therefore it is that from the royal house of Wessex the present king of England is descended. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently remembered how sorely the scourge of the Danish invasions smote France and Germany as well as England. Wherever there was a broad estuary of a river, there the keels of the Danes might be looked for; the Elbe, the Seine, the Marne, the Loire, the Garonne, all saw the Dragon-standard of the Vikings mirrored in their waters. Aachen, Charlemagne's own capital, was sacked. Rouen was taken. Paris was once taken and once suffered a terrible two years' siege (885–886). In fact, throughout the eight hundreds it would be hard to say whether England or France suffered the most from the ravages of the terrible Northmen.

The Ravages of the Terrible Northmen

But in France the most memorable result of the Scandinavian invasions, the settlement of the Northmen in the fruitful lands at the mouth of the Seine, tended eventually to benefit rather than to injure civilisation. In the early nine hundreds Rolf the Northman closed a life of piratical adventure by becoming the "man" of the Frankish king Charles the Simple, and condescending to receive from him the fair province which has ever since borne the name of Normandy. His descendants, appropriately named the "Long-sworded,"



Succeeding his father, Pippin, as Frankish king, Charles, afterwards to figure in countless poems and in romance as the hero Charlemagne, began a great career of conquest and imperial organisation, winning for himself the title of "the Great." His dominions included all Europe west of the Elbe and Danube, Italy as far as Naples, and Spain as far as the Ebro. Possessed of a learning unusual for the period in which he lived, Charlemagne could speak Latin and read Greek, and he laboured with much earnestness to extend education. In his palace he conducted a school for the sons of his servants, and invited teachers of grammar and arithmetic from Rome to fill his public schools. He was the first Teuton on whom the dignity of Roman Emperor was conferred.

From the painting by Blaas

"the Fearless," and the like, embraced Christianity of the militant type then fashionable, inhaled the new air of chivalry, and became in some respects its typical representatives. The converted Scandinavian pirate seems to have been a finer specimen of humanity, more chaste, more temperate, and more devout than either his Frankish or his Saxon neighbour; but also more ruthless, more grasping, a "better man of business." He was the keen, well polished steel, while they were but the clumsy iron weapon. Thus, it was only in the natural order of things that when, in 1066, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, landed on the coast of Sussex, his rival, the Saxon Harold, Godwin's son, should fall before him in the battle which bears, not with strict accuracy, the name of Hastings.

What the Normans Did For England

But memorable as this Norman conquest, which placed a new dynasty on our throne, and introduced a fresh social and political order, must ever be to Englishmen, it is important to remember that it was not by any means the only Norman conquest which Europe witnessed in that age. From the beginning of the ten hundreds, Normans, half pilgrims, half warriors, had been making their way over the Alps and Apennines into Southern Italy. They had mingled as auxiliaries in the endless contests which were going on in that region between Lombards, Greeks and Germans. At length, in the year 1038, William of the Iron Arm, eldest of the twelve sons of a Norman knight, Tancred de Hauteville, made his prowess felt in a battle with the Saracen lords of Sicily. He obtained the dignity of Count of Apulia. One after another the sons of that prolific Norman house appeared upon the scene, eager to share his fortunes. Robert Guiscard, the sixth brother, made himself supreme in Southern Italy, dealt fierce blows at the Eastern Empire, took the Pope of Rome, Leo IX., prisoner in battle, and soon afterwards became the vassal of his successor. Meanwhile, his brother Roger, the youngest of the tribe, by his victories over the Saracens, was building up a more enduring dominion in Sicily, and preparing the way for a royal dynasty which, in the eleven and twelve hundreds, was powerfully to influence the fortunes of the whole of Europe. And these Norman conquests in the Mediterranean lands were, be it remembered, strictly contemporary with that other Norman Conquest with which we are familiar as forming the greatest landmark in our history.

Foundations of a Mighty Dynasty

In order to follow the fortunes of the Northmen, we have come down to the end of our second period; but we must, for a little while, remount the stream of time in order to notice other calamities which were distressing Europe.

In the eight hundreds, the danger to Europe of Mohammedan conquest was more menacing than it had ever been since Charles Martel won the battle of Poitiers. For the Saracens had now become a great sea-power, probably in the decay of the maritime strength of the Eastern Empire, the greatest sea-power of the Mediterranean.

In the year 831 they overran and conquered Sicily, which remained theirs for more than two centuries till, as just related, it was won back for Christianity by Roger the Norman. Fifteen years later they appeared at the mouth of the Tiber; Ostia was taken, the Campagna wasted. St. Peter's itself was desecrated and robbed of the treasures of centuries; St. Paul's Without the Gates shared the same fate; the city of Rome itself only just escaped being handed over to a Mussulman emir and echoing the cry of the muezzin. It really seemed as if Mahomet's, rather than Christ's, was to be the holiest name in all the Mediterranean lands. And this lamentable eclipse of the glory of the new empire was witnessed by a generation, many of whom must have gazed on the living face of Charlemagne.

Great Wars on Land and Sea

While the Saracens still threatened by sea, a more terrible, because more barbarous, foe spread desolation by land. Over the vast Danubian plains, where Attila and his Huns once encamped, the Magyars, or Hungarians, a race perhaps remotely connected both with the Huns and with the Turks, now came thundering and destroying. From 889 till 933, when they were defeated by the Emperor Henry the Fowler in the great battle of Riada, the Hungarian squadrons were a nightmare of terror to Europe. They overran Germany, Burgundy, and Southern France, crossed the Alps into Italy, burned Pavia, and threatened, but did not take, Rome. From many a terrified congregation in the churches of Italy went up the heart-



CHARLEMAGNE HOLDING AN AUDIENCE OF HIS PEOPLE
After the drawing by E. Dawant



FRANKISH LEADERS AND THE CLERGY DOING HOMAGE TO THE CHILD KING, CLOVIS II.
Clovis II. was only a child six years old when he succeeded his father, Dagobert, as king of Neustria in 638. During his minority the government was carried on by his mother, Nanthildis, but Clovis, of course, was the king on the throne, and, as represented in the illustration, received the homage due to that high office. Under Clovis II. the Frankish Empire was once more united, and he thus became king of the whole of the Franks. He died in 656.
ing by M

breaking litany: "From the arrows of the terrible Hungarians, good Lord deliver us." By the middle of the nine hundreds, however, they were beaten down into a reasonable frame of mind; they became civilised and Christianised. In the year 1000, a royal saint, Stefan, received from the Pope the title of King of Hungary, and in later centuries the brave and chivalrous Magyar was the great bulwark of Europe against his Mohammedan kinsman the Turk.

Beside the miseries of barbarian invasion, Europe, after the collapse of the dynasty of Charlemagne, suffered from religious terrors. As the years wore on towards the fateful era of the thousandth from the Birth of Christ, a presentiment brooded over the nations that the end of the world was at hand. When they needed most the support of religious faith, their spiritual guides most signally failed them. These centuries, the eight hundreds, the nine hundreds, and the early ten hundreds, are admitted by all historians to have been the time of the deepest degradation of the papacy. A long succession of utterly insignificant Popes is followed by one man of eminence, perhaps of genius, Pope Formosus (891–896), but he was a violent political partisan, accused of complicity in the murder of one of his predecessors, and his dead body, having been dressed in papal robes, and subjected to the indignity of a trial, was mutilated by order of a solemn council, stripped, and thrown into the Tiber.

Then came the period of the ascendancy of two infamous women, a mother and a daughter, Theodora and Marozia, who for over sixty years (901–964) placed their lovers, their sons, and their grandsons, in the chair of St. Peter. After an interval the Counts of Tusculum, petty feudal princes in the neighbourhood of Rome, succeeded in making the papacy a virtual appanage of their house (1012–1048). With such men, licentious and profane, sitting in the holiest place of Western Christendom, the reverence which in the days of Gregory the

Great had waited upon the lightest word of "the Apostle" was rapidly departing.

The cure for the worst miseries of this anarchic age came this time from Germany. The old Frankish Empire, it is true, had split into pieces. France especially, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, in 887, had been drawing further and further away from the empire, and when, a century, later, a new royal dynasty ascended the throne in the person of Hugh Capet she no longer, even nominally, formed part of it. Still, however, the great political fabric founded by the joint action of Charlemagne and Leo kept its proud title, "The Holy Roman Empire," though now it virtually included only the two countries of Germany and Italy, divided into an infinite number of petty feudal principalities, over which "Cæsar"—as the emperor was styled—wielded a strange and not easily defined dominion, strong and stern in the hands of a man of firm will and with the trick of success, shadowy and of little or no account in the hands of a weakling.

The "Holy Roman Empire" Maintained

To the former class of strong and successful rulers belonged the Saxon emperors, who wore the imperial diadem during the nine hundreds and whose most celebrated representatives were Otho—or Otto the Great, the final vanquisher of the Hungarians, and his son and grandson, who bore his name (Otto I. 936-973; Otto II. 973-983; Otto III. 983-1002). These strong rulers ended the political anarchy which had for a hundred years prevailed in Italy, where petty princes of provence, of Spoleto, of Friuli, in rapid and unremembered succession, had reigned as shadowy kings. In the ecclesiastical realm also they restored a certain measure of order. In 963 Otto the Great summoned a council to meet in Rome, by which Pope John XII., a profligate and tyrannical youth, grandson of the licentious Marozia, was solemnly deposed, and a layman of decent life, a papal secretary, Leo VIII., was chosen in his stead. Still, however, the war of Roman factions continued, and one tumultuary pontiff followed another in rapid succession till, in 996, the boy-emperor, Otto III., placed his cousin Bruno of Carinthia, little older than himself, but a young man of pure and noble character, on the papal throne. Too good for the corrupt ecclesiastics and populace of Rome, this German Pope died in the last year of the nine hundreds, the victim, it was said, of poisonous conspiracy. Ere long followed that degrading dynasty of Tusculan Popes to which reference has been already made. It seemed as if nothing could save the office, once the most venerated in Christendom, from its moral suicide, when help was once more invoked from beyond the Alps, and this time with success. Another German, Bruno, of noble descent was raised to the papacy by the Emperor Henry III. A saint and a mystic, the new Pope, who took the name of Leo IX., did much in his six years of rule (1048-1054) to raise the reputation of his office from the slough into which it had fallen. Unfortunately for him he resorted to carnal weapons for the defence of his territory against the Norman Guiscard, by whom he was defeated and made prisoner. The vexation of his defeat and the hardships of his captivity probably hastened his end, for he died the year after the battle, but the moral uplifting which he had given to the popedom survived its author for generations.

The Papacy Purified by Leo IX.



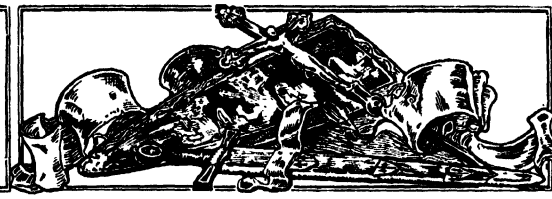
THE TRIUMPH OF CLOVIS

From the painting by Joseph Blanc in the Pantheon



ST. BERNARD PREACHING THE SECOND CRUSADE

During the period of the Crusades, from 1096 till 1272, eight great expeditions, besides many smaller ones, set out for the Holy Land to do battle for its recovery from the Turks. Though preached with burning eloquence by the great St. Bernard, the Second Crusade, in 1147-48, did not arouse so much enthusiasm as some of the later enterprises.



THE HEROIC AGE OF CHIVALRY

THE CRUSADES TO THE HOLY LAND AND THE DUEL BETWEEN PAPACY AND EMPIRE

THE result of two centuries of anarchy and barbarian invasions, together with e feudalism which they had called into ing, was to intensify the military irit and to bring back into life the d theory of the forest-traversing Ger- ans, that war was the only fitting cupation for a freeman, or, in modern nguage, for a gentleman. Immured ithin his massive castle, seeing all the nds up to the horizon cultivated by rfs "tied to the soil" or by men-at- ms, his vassals bound to follow him in ar, the knight, or baron, or earl, who as the only really important unit in ediæval society, accepted the excitement the chase as making life tolerable, but nged for the more glorious excitement the stern realities of war. Even his ligion was of the militant type. As ie of the early Teutonic converts said hen he heard the sad story of Calvary: Had I been there with my henchmen, would never have allowed the Romans nail Him to the Cross."

Thus the spirit of that age, especially i those countries where the young Norman ation made itself most manifest, might e expressed in two words: *Militant hristianity*. It was almost as if the eligion of Christ and the religion of ahomet had changed places. Faith nged to display itself by deeds, but they ust be deeds such as the mail-clad warrior only could perform. There was a certain nobility of spirit about that brave ignorance. The heroic age of ıivalry must certainly be placed in the vo centuries which we are about to review pidly—the centuries of the Crusades. he fuel was all laid ready for the fire hen Peter the Hermit, a mean-looking gure riding on an ass, but bearing aloft the crucifix and breathing the fiery eloquence so often given to men with one idea, went through the cities and villages of France proclaiming the hardships, the humiliations, even the cruelties which Christian pilgrims to the holy places in the East had to endure at the hands of the Mussulmans. Once comparatively mild, the yoke pressed upon them had become ten times harder since—in the year 1076 — the fierce Seljuk Turks from Tartary made themselves masters of the sacred lands. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been demolished, the Patriarch of Jerusalem had been dragged along the pavement by his hair and thrown into a prison, from which he was released only on the payment of an enormous ransom; everywhere the Christian pilgrims were being plundered, insulted, maltreated. With all these exasperating stories in men's minds, when Pope Urban II. convened a council at Clermont, in the centre of France, in 1096, and pleaded for an armed expedition to rescue the holy places of Jerusalem from the infidels, promising the forgiveness of all sins to those who should start on such an expedition, and an immediate entry into Paradise for those who should die in its service, the well-known cry "Dieu le veult!" burst from thousands of excited hearers; the badge of the Cross was assumed by all sorts and conditions of men; the Crusades began their chequered and feverish life.

he Days of ilitant hristianity

Peter the Hermit Starts the Crusades

The period of the Crusades lasted for 176 years (1096–1272), and during that time eight great expeditions, besides numberless smaller ones, were launched from Europe against Asia. It will thus be seen that the average interval between each crusade was a little less than the

average length of a generation. That was the time necessary to rekindle in the bosom of the French or Norman knight the enthusiasm which had sent his father to the Holy War. France, which had been the scene of the first proclamation of the crusade, remained the chief supporter of the movement—France and her sister-land of Flanders, and her kinsfolk the Normans of England and Italy. Spain was too much occupied with her own domestic crusades against the Moors, Germany too keenly interested in her long battle with the Popes and the internal dissensions resulting thence, to give her whole mind to the recovery or the defence of the holy places, though three of her emperors at least took some share in a crusade. French or Flemish or Norman remained the chief material forces of the long campaign, and French were its two chief spiritual champions — Peter the Hermit (1093–1099) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1146–1153).

Jerusalem Won from the Infidel

The detailed history of the Crusades belongs to Eastern rather than to Western Europe. The First Crusade, the most successful and the most memorable of the number, that one which inspired the Italian poet to write his epic "Gerusalemme Liberata," lasted three years (1096–1099). It saw the Turks defeated in the great battle of Dorylæum, in Bithynia, Antioch taken, and at last, most joyful of triumphs, Jerusalem itself recovered from the infidel in July of 1099. In that holy city, when Godfrey of Boulogne was proclaimed, but not crowned king, a dynasty—a "Latin Christian" dynasty—was established, with laws and polity all its own, the very embodiment of feudalism; and this dynasty lasted with varying fortunes for nearly a hundred years (1099–1187), till it was overthrown by the Mussulman soldier of fortune, Saladin. In this crusade, Robert the Norman, eldest son of William the Conqueror, took an important part, having pawned his Duchy of Normandy to his brother Rufus in order to raise money for the enterprise. The Second Crusade (1147–1148), though pleaded for with enthusiastic eloquence by the great Saint Bernard, was a poor and ineffectual affair, memorable in French history chiefly from the fact that it led to the loss of the province of Aquitaine. Eleanor, the heiress of that goodly land, had brought it as a dowry to her husband, the French king, Louis VII. The young pair went together on crusade, quarrelled, as many other travelling companions have done, and were divorced; Eleanor, marrying a second time, brought to her new husband, Henry Plantagenet, King of England, the right to that splendid inheritance along with her own unrivalled capacity for making her husband's home miserable.

Failure of the Second Crusade

The son of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Richard Lion-Heart of England, was the chief hero of the Third Crusade (1189–1192). He failed to recover the Holy City from the grasp of Saladin, but he captured Acre, and his personal bravery did something to restore in the East the fading lustre of the Christian arms. It is needless to do more than refer to the well-known story of his quarrels with Philip Augustus of France, his captivity in Austria, and the enormous ransom which was extorted from him by the mean-souled German emperor.

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) was a tragi-comedy, played with a disastrous disregard to the true interests of Christian civilisation. Venice, Champagne and Flanders furnished the bulk of the Crusaders, who never approached within a thousand miles of Jerusalem, but, instead of fighting the infidel, occupied themselves in overturning the Christian Empire of the East, the barrier which had for six centuries protected Europe from the ravages of Saracen invasion. A shadowy "Latin" Empire was founded when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was crowned with the diadem in Constantinople, and the Republic of Venice became sovereign of "one-quarter and the half of a quarter of the Roman Empire," and countless principalities, marquisates, and baronies were allotted to French and Flemish knights on the coasts of the Ægean. But none of these stage sovereignties, though picturesque and romantic, had enough inherent vitality to enable them permanently to resist the rising tide of Mussulman conquest. That a Turkish sultan now sits as lord in the palace of Constantine is a direct—we might almost say an inevitable—consequence of the felony of the Fourth Crusade.

The Felony of the Fourth Crusade

The Latin empire of Constantinople had an even shorter life than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1261 the Greek

emperors were back in their own city, but so weakened and impoverished that we learn with surprise that the final ruin of the empire was postponed for nearly 200 years. From this point onwards the story of the Crusades becomes rather monotonous. There was scarcely any fighting in the Holy Land itself, the Crusaders having apparently decided that the conquest of Palestine must be achieved in Egypt. The Fifth and Seventh Crusades (1216–1221; 1245–1250)—a short notice of the Sixth Crusade (1235–1241) is reserved for a later place in this chapter—were occupied chiefly with operations round Damietta, which was twice taken by the Crusaders, and which might, with a little prudent management, have been exchanged for Jerusalem. The hero, or, rather, the saint and martyr, of this Seventh Crusade was Louis IX. of France, who, after some successes, was taken prisoner by the Egyptian sultan and released only on the payment of an enormous ransom.

Twenty years later—in 1270—St. Louis headed the Eighth Crusade, but died of fever at Tunis at the very beginning of the expedition. Edward, son of Henry III. of England, remained in command, went forward to Palestine, landed at Acre, and took the holy village of Nazareth. His success, however, ended there. He fell sick, narrowly escaped death at the hand of an assassin, and returned to England in 1272 to mount the throne and begin a memorable reign as Edward I. This was virtually the last of the Crusades, and it will be seen that the last, like the first, was connected with the personality of a chivalrous Anglo-Norman prince.

The Last of the Crusades

We have seen that the Crusaders were essentially a product of feudalism, but it is also true that their influence was in the end antagonistic to feudalism. Contact with nations of an utterly different type of civilisation, with the Greek, the Egyptian and the Arab, brought new ideas and shook the mail-clad warrior out of his stolid, knightly pride. The multitude of lowly born peasants who flocked to the banner of the Cross loosened the hold of the landowner on his serfs; the impoverishment of the chivalrous classes and the diminution of their numbers increased the relative strength of the crown; above all, the spread of commerce, which was undoubtedly a result of the Crusades, augmented the wealth and power of the *Communes*, whom we find throughout these centuries rapidly rising into importance, and who were, moreover, often able to buy valuable charters and remissions of obnoxious burdens from a knightly or baronial neighbour, who must have money at any price to enable him to start for the Holy Land. Yet it would not be safe to assert that the influence of the Crusades was all on the side of enlightenment and freedom. On the contrary, it put a dangerous weapon into the hands of the papacy, which was now sometimes able to get rid of teaching in which it detected hostility to Catholicism by declaring its advocates heretics, and proclaiming a Crusade against them. A notable instance of these tactics was furnished by the Crusade against the Albigenses, engineered by Innocent III. (1209–1217), a Crusade which crushed the poetic but free-thinking civilisation of Southern France, and possibly postponed for three centuries the Protestant Reformation.

The New Weapon of the Papacy

The German emperors had done a good deed for Christendom by helping to raise the papacy from the slough into which it had fallen, but they had not altogether promoted their own ease or security. Throughout the closing years of our second period the dominant influence in the counsels of the papacy had been wielded by the cardinal sub-deacon Hildebrand. It had ever been his voice which stimulated the Popes, his nominal superiors, to assert the claims of their office against the authority of the emperor. By his advice Pope Alexander II. had commissioned William the Norman to undertake the conquest of England. By his contrivance the momentous change had been made which transferred the election of the Pope from the people of Rome to the bishops and clergy of that city, who bore the rank of cardinals. Now, in the year 1073, the great pope-maker consented to become himself Pope. The Cardinal Hildebrand began his short but ever memorable papacy under the title of Gregory VII. (1073–1085). There is an old and true proverb that if two men ride on one horse, one must go behind. Such had been for centuries the condition of Europe under the empire founded by Charlemagne, and till now the question had never been fully faced which of the two riders, emperor or Pope,

Pope-maker Becomes the Pope

was to take the hindmost place. One of the two riders claimed to represent the immemorial domination of Rome, to be the successor of Julius, of Augustus, and of Constantine, and to possess all their pre-eminent rights. The other claimed to be the vicar of Jesus Christ, God's vice-regent upon earth, and the claim was generally admitted for all that concerned the religious interests of mankind; but the thought was now finding harbourage in the minds of churchmen that temporal matters ought also to be subjected to the same divinely appointed rule. "Come, then," said Hildebrand to a council of proud princes, what may not ye do to these their servants?"

The balance of forces at the accession of Gregory VII., in 1073, was indeed, strangely altered from that which prevailed in the previous century. Then there had generally been a weak, despised, sometimes immoral pontiff over against a strong, chaste, strenuous emperor. Now there was a stern, austere, monk-pope matched against the dissolute, unstable, though not by any means stupid, young emperor, Henry IV. Each found his worst enemies in his own house. Many Italian bishops were indignant at Gregory's



AN ARMY OF THE CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH

From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the South Kensington Museum

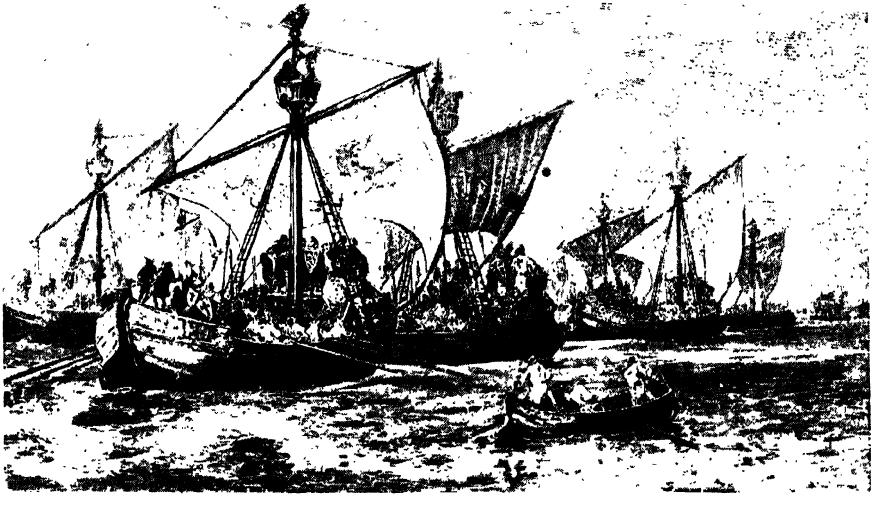
ecclesiastics. "let all the world understand, and know that since ye have power to bind and loose in heaven, ye have power to take away and to grant empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties and the possessions of all men according to their deserts. Ye have often deprived wicked and unworthy men of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and bestowed them on religious men. If ye then judge in spiritual affairs, how great must be your power in secular; and if ye are to judge angels who rule over

determination to enforce the absolute rule of celibacy on all churchmen; many German nobles resented every attempt which Henry made to convert a nominal into a real supremacy.

In the year 1076 the smouldering antipathy between the two men broke out into open war. Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him at Rome, there to answer for various breaches of ecclesiastical law. Henry retorted by convoking a synod at Worms at which the bishops, who were his partisans,

formally renounced their allegiance to Gregory and served upon him a summons, couched in insulting terms, to leave the apostolic throne which he had usurped: "I, Henry, by the Grace of God, with all the bishops of my realm, say unto thee—Down, down!"

The emperor had over-rated his power, as he soon discovered when the Pope replied with his expected counter-stroke, excommunication and deposition from the imperial dignity. The political result of this sentence, the assembling of a hostile diet, the revolt of three of the most powerful dukes, he could perhaps have surmounted; but the social results, the loneliness and depression caused by the terrible "boycott" of excommunication—an expressive word must be borrowed from modern politics—were too much for him. In the depth of an unusually severe winter he and a few faithful followers scrambled, at the risk of their lives, over the slippery slopes of Mont Cenis. At his descent into Italy the adversaries of Gregory rallied round him, and the Pope himself retired to the castle of Canossa, a fortress high up in the Apennines, which belonged to his faithful partisan Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. To the disgust of his Italian allies, Henry was all for submission, for petitioning the Pope to annul his sentence of deposition; but the Pope was determined not to make forgiveness easy. For three days the emperor, clad in the thin white robe of a penitent, shivered in the courtyard of Canossa. When at length admitted, he received absolution, but on the humiliating terms of submission to the Pope's will—a promise to appear before his judgment seat to answer the charges made against him, and meanwhile to lay aside the marks of his rank and perform none of the functions of royalty.



A FLEET OF THE CRUSADERS CROSSING THE BOSPHORUS

This is the far-famed pilgrimage to Canossa, which profoundly stirred the minds, not only of contemporaries, but of many succeeding generations, and the echo of which was heard in modern politics in Bismarck's well-known phrase, "We certainly shall not go to Canossa."

It took place in 1077, just eleven years after the battle of Hastings. In this instance it was proved that Gregory had over-strained his power. The humiliation so joyously inflicted on the greatest of its potentates revolted the conscience of Christendom. German pride was wounded by the arrogance of the Italian,

14 972 THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION INSTITUTE OF CULTURE LIBRARY

Henry's affairs assumed for the time a more cheerful aspect, a second excommunication fell harmless. Rome was besieged, and saved from capture only by the appearance of those terrible allies, the Normans, who pillaged, burnt and ravaged worse than any of Rome's previous barbarian conquerors. Gregory himself died at Salerno in 1085, uttering the memorable words: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore it is I die in exile." The point at issue between the two rival potentates was not merely a personal one, though undoubtedly the natural man's desire for pre-eminence played a great part in the drama. There was also one really difficult question which for more than half a century distracted Christendom, the question of Investitures. The high lords of the Church, her bishops, archbishops, mitred abbots and patriarchs were also, especially in Germany, high lords in the state, rulers of enormous territories and entitled to the obedience of powerful vassals. Here then were two mighty organisations, the ecclesiastical and the feudal. How could these be fitted into one another? On feudal principles, all temporal power involved the feudal tie, lordship over the vassals beneath, vassalage to the lord above, and the lord paramount over all was the king.

The Great Gregory's Dying Words

But on ecclesiastical principles, as now asserted by Hildebrand, the dignitaries of the Church, deriving their authority from God Himself, were subject to no man, save the Pope, God's vicar. How then could the bishop or archbishop be asked to do homage to any temporal lord, even to the emperor himself? How could the hands which in the sacrifice of the Mass "could create the Creator" be pressed between the hands of a man who was perhaps an adulterer and a murderer? The symbols of the investiture of a prelate were the ring and the pastoral staff—the ring to betoken the new bishop's marriage to his diocese, the staff, his duty of shepherding the flock. Where was the fitness of the bestowal of these on a churchman by an earthly potentate? Yet, on the other hand, if some of the most powerful nobles of the empire could hold their lands subject to no recognition of the emperor's supremacy, what became of feudal subordination? It will therefore be seen that the dispute about Investitures was no mere strife about words, but that a real contest of principles was involved. At one point of the struggle a Pope—Paschal II.—was actually willing to surrender all the landed domains of the Church if the emperor would give up his claim to grant investiture to her officers; but this sacrifice was too much for his episcopal clients, and negotiations on that footing had to be abandoned.

Where Pope and Emperor Differed

At last, however, at the Diet of Worms in 1122, a reasonable compromise was effected. Investiture by ring and staff, the religious part of the process, was renounced by the emperor, but the newly-consecrated ecclesiastic must kneel before the emperor and receive from his outstretched sceptre the touch which conveyed to him dominion over the lands attached to his bishopric. The principle of the Concordat of Worms was apparently accepted in the other countries of Western Europe, and in some of them, at any rate, continues in force till this day. When a parish clergyman is selected for promotion to an English bishopric, after he has gone through the ecclesiastical ceremonies of election by the dean and chapter, consecration by his brother-bishops, and enthronement in his cathedral, it is his duty to take the train for Windsor, and there do homage to the Crown for the temporalities of his see.

The Question of Investiture

Though the contest about Investitures was formally closed, abundant materials for strife between emperor and Pope still remained, and, as the eleven hundreds rolled on, a new element—Republicanism—made its appearance in Italy. When men first awoke from the torpor of the dark centuries, remembrances, dim, but majestic, of the mighty republics of old, of Rome, and of all the bright train of her subject sisters, the municipalities of Italy, began to stir in their souls; and now, too, the democratic side of Christianity began to display itself especially to some of the inmates of the cloister. Such a man was Arnold of Brescia (1136–1155), who preached republicanism and the abrogation of the temporal power of the priesthood in language which now sounds strangely modern; and he actually succeeded for a time in setting up a republic in Rome. All over Italy, but especially in the valley of the Po, the cities began to withdraw themselves from the feudal organisation of the empire, or to claim that the feudal rights which remained

should be vested in their own elected magistrates, to whom they generally gave the proud old name of consuls.

This movement inevitably brought them into collision with the man in whom all feudal rights and privileges were summed up, with the man who wore the imperial crown, and that man in the middle of the eleven hundreds was one of all others least likely to forgo a tittle of his rights—Frederic Barbarossa of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia and Emperor of Rome. This great emperor, one of the greatest in the long line of mediæval Cæsars, had some qualities in common with our own Edward Plantagenet. Like him, proud, brave, and strong; like him, generally a man of his word, and with a deep conviction of the duties laid upon him by his high office, but, unfortunately, with a tendency to ride his steed, the people under his rule, with too sharp a bit, thus his very virtues were in danger of becoming crimes. His determination to put an end to anarchy and to assert the just claims of the empire degenerated more than once into tyranny and cruelty. The chief quarrel of the emperor was with Milan, that stately city which had often been the residence of the old, the genuine, Augusti. Frederic's chief ally in Italy was the Lombard city of Pavia. Milan, at first rather feebly supported by her sister-cities, drew strength from the support of the Popes—first, that of Hadrian IV., the only Englishman who has ever worn the triple crown, and then that of Alexander III. (1159–1179), who, in his turn, leant upon the somewhat uncertain help of his Norman vassal, William, king of Sicily. After seven years of war, in which the combatants had been growing ever more exasperated against one another, the emperor, having starved Milan into submission, received her unconditional surrender in 1162. He ordered the city to be levelled with the ground, and sent the citizens forth to wander as beggars through the cities of Italy, all save a remnant, who were allowed to live in four villages planted near their old home.

Milan in Ruins

But here the emperor had overshot his mark. The piteous tale told by the banished Milanese roused the sympathies even of their former foes. In 1167 the Lombard League was formed, a confederation which included nearly all the cities of Lombardy; Milan was rebuilt and received again her old inhabitants; the strong city of Alessandria was built and named after the pope, patron of the league. Frederic's armies were more than once all but annihilated by disease, engendered by summer heats and ill-drained plains; and at last, in 1176, the twenty years' struggle was ended by the battle of Legnano, in which the Italians won a complete victory, and Frederic, after witnessing the terrible slaughter of his men, with difficulty escaped from the field. Convinced that it was a hopeless task to overcome the independent spirit of the Lombard republics, Barbarossa now thankfully accepted the mediation of Alexander III.—against whom he had been raising up one anti-pope after another for the preceding ten years—met him at Venice, and humbly kneeling before him, obtained the removal of the ban of excommunication for himself and his adherents. It was on this occasion that, according to a picturesque but untrustworthy legend, the Pope set his foot on the neck of the prostrate emperor, saying, with exultation: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot."

End of Twenty Years' Struggle

The emperor then returned into Germany, but in 1183 recrossed the Alps, and meeting the delegates of the Lombard cities at the fair city of Constance, concluded with them a treaty which was the basis of the public law of Italy for centuries. The regalia, or rights of sovereignty, claimed by the emperors, were greatly limited, the right of the cities to levy taxes and to elect their own chief magistrate was recognised; the Lombard League itself was solemnly authorised by the emperor. From this time onwards the dependence of the cities of Italy upon the empire was ever tending to become more precarious and shadowy. Italy and Germany began more and more to trace out their peculiar and separate orbits. During these contests two party-names, which were destined to shed a lurid light over Italian politics for many centuries, first came into being. These were the names of Guelf and Ghibeline. The Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony—from whom, through the electors of Brunswick, our own royal family is descended—bore the name of Guelf; and these, partly from mere antagonism to the other

Two Great Powers in Italy

family, were almost invariably found siding with the Pope against the emperor. On the other hand were the two families of Franconia and Swabia, which between them ruled the whole south-western quarter of Germany, which were connected by close family ties, which ruled the empire for two centuries—the Henries belonging for the most part to the Franconian, and the Frederics to the Swabian line; and these were found with equal constancy on the side opposed to the Popes, whom the Church finally recognised, and against whom they raised up innumerable anti-popes.

For Pope or Emperor?

The Swabian emperors, who are now generally known in history by a surname derived from their castle of Hohenstaufen, seem to have been better known among their contemporaries by the name of Weiblingen, which their Italian subjects, intolerant of the "W," converted into Ghibeline. These two party labels were taken over from German into Italian politics, and had a far longer and more vigorous life in Italy than in their native land. Even so, we may remark in passing, the words "Whig" and "Tory" were imported into English party warfare from Scotland and Ireland respectively. Of course, in the fierce cross-currents of Italian urban strife they often drifted far from their moorings; but, speaking generally, we may say that the Guelf swore by the Pope, and the Ghibeline by the emperor; the Guelf leaned towards republicanism, the Ghibeline towards feudalism; religious democracy was the ideal of the former, the ideal of the latter was knightly loyalty.

This section must close with a sketch of the career of the last and most brilliant of the Hohenstaufen emperors, Frederic II. of Sicily. His grandfather, Frederic Barbarossa, having in his old age embarked on the Third Crusade, was marching through Asia Minor, and had already reached its south-eastern corner when, plunging on a day of burning heat into the little Cilician stream, Calycadnus, he caught a sudden chill, resulting in a fever or a stroke of paralysis, by which he was almost immediately carried off. Though he was buried in that far-off Asiatic land, the imagination of the Germans pictured the glorious emperor still living in an enchanted sleep in a cave of the mountains near Salzburg, from which he should one day burst forth in the time of his country's darkest need to champion her cause. Yet Louis XIV. and Napoleon came, and still Barbarossa slumbered.

Frederic II. the Brilliant Emperor

The son and successor of Barbarossa, Henry VI., emperor from 1190 till 1197, was a man of base and ignoble nature, whose most memorable action was the arrest and imprisonment of our Richard Cœur-de-Lion on his return from the Holy Land. He made, however, a most successful matrimonial venture when he married Constantia, who was ultimately the heiress of the Norman kings of Sicily. He thus acquired dominion over the whole south of Italy, and made the house of Hohenstaufen more terrible and more hateful than ever to the papacy, which saw itself girt in on every side, north, east and south, by this inexorable foe. But Henry VI. died in the prime of life, a victim probably to that fatal climate of Italy, which was the keenest of all Guelfic partisans. His wife Constantia, whom he had sorely wounded by many cruelties towards her kindred and her people, died a year after him; but before dying left her son, a little boy of four years old, under the guardianship of the Pope. This orphan child was the future Emperor Frederic II. Guardian and ward were each to play a great part on the stage of history, the first in the early, and the second in the central years of the century; but two more diverse characters could hardly be imagined. The Pope who received Constantia's dying charge was none other than the famous Innocent III., greatest of all the Popes but Hildebrand, the man whom we have already met organising the Fourth Crusade and ruthlessly rooting up the heresy of the Albigenses; the man who brought John of England to his feet and made the English kings his vassals; the man, too, who harnessed the enthusiasm of St Francis and St. Dominic to the chariot of the Church. A Roman noble, calm, strong, self-possessed, he showed that the imperial race had not quite forgotten the secret of "ruling the nations," that it could still "spare the fallen and wear down the proud."

The Famous Pope Innocent III.

The child Frederic, son of a German father and a Norman-Italian mother, grew up to the age of seventeen in his mother's native Sicily, amid many perils, from which he was on the whole faithfully



A TYPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: THE SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

Men loved fighting in mediæval times, and frequently engaged in war out of pure delight in the combat. But fighting was also a profession; men were hired to fight, just as to-day they are employed for business, and much fighting meant handsome recompense. Mr. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A., here admirably depicts a bluff, hearty soldier of fortune.

shielded by a Pope, the predestined enemy of his race. When his character fully declared itself, when his position as emperor of Rome and king of Sicily was established beyond possibility of question, he was indeed, as he was often called, "stupor mundi," an object of bewildered wonder to the world. The emperors who followed Charlemagne, especially the emperors of the three previous centuries, had been for the most part brave, thick-headed German soldiers, silently despised as "barbarians" by their Italian vassals. But now, behold! the imperial diadem was worn by a man more Italian than the Italians, a man who spoke six languages—Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, Arabic—and who wrote poetry in one of them—the young "volgare" dialect of Italy. Here was a troubadour upon the throne, yet also a skilled and resolute soldier: a free-thinker, too, in that most orthodox age; a man who consorted with Saracens, and who dared to say: "If the Almighty had ever seen my beautiful Sicily, He would never have given that arid Palestine as a possession to His chosen people." And yet this free-thinking emperor could also be, when it served his purpose, a cruel persecutor of heretics. There is much in the character of Frederic II. to move our just condemnation. We are always fascinated by his brilliant, many-sided personality, but we never quite love him.

Frederic's Praise of Sicily

By the help of the papacy the young heir of the Hohenstaufen not only preserved his Norman-Sicilian kingdom, but in 1215 won the imperial crown from a competitor, Otto of Bavaria (1198–1215), who, though sprung from a Guelfic family, had incurred the hostility of Innocent III. by his too strenuous advocacy of the rights of the Cæsar. Scarcely however, was Frederic seated on his throne when dissensions arose between him and his foster-mother the Church. The ostensible ground for these dissensions—a real cause of quarrel between Pope and a Hohenstaufen could never be lacking—was the fact that on the day after his election, Frederic, perhaps in a moment of enthusiasm, had assumed the Cross and taken a vow to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. This obligation was solemnly urged upon him by successive Popes, by the mild and good-tempered Honorius III. (1216–1227), and by the irascible old pontiff Gregory IX. (1227–1241), who, with octogenarian bitterness, launched the thunders of the Church at his devoted head.

Emperor's New Crusade

It must be admitted that Frederic was exasperating in his behaviour with reference to this Crusade. He was always about to start in two years' time, "if only you will leave me unexcommunicated so long," and always found something to do in crushing Norman barons or Guelfic citizens, which, when the end of the two years came, made it impossible to leave Italy just then. When, at last, in September, 1227, he did set sail from Brindisi, a fatal sickness, the result no doubt of the neglect of sanitary precautions, broke out in his army, carrying off some of the chiefs of the expedition, and attacking the emperor himself, whereupon he, not unnaturally, doffed his armour and returned to his palace in Sicily. The sickness seems to have been genuine, but the Pope chose to consider it feigned, and hurled a furious bull of excommunication at the offender. There was evidently more of spite than of statesmanship in this proceeding, for when in the following year, 1228, Frederic in good earnest started for the Sixth Crusade, the excommunication remained unrepealed. Every place at which he might land was laid under an interdict, and this interdict was extended even to Jerusalem itself, which Frederic, it must be confessed, by diplomacy rather than by arms, had recovered for Christendom. We have said that the whole conduct of the Pope at this crisis seems to have been dictated by passion rather than by policy. If the Crusade were to have any chance of success it was essential that the Crusaders should be of one heart and one mind and should feel that they had with them the blessing of the Church.

The Pope in a Great Passion

Moreover, Frederic, who had now taken for his second wife Yolande of Brienne, and in right of that marriage had assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, had reasons of his own for making the Crusade a real success, and should surely from the narrowest point of view of the papal interests, have been encouraged to spend as much of his strength as possible in the East, instead of returning to fight the cause of Ghibelinism

in Italy. That, however, was what he actually did; and the remaining twenty-one years of his life (1229-1250) were one long and deadly duel with the Popes, first with octogenarian Gregory and then with a more subtle, but less reputable foe, Innocent IV. This Pope, in his humbler capacity as Cardinal Fieschi, had been classed among the partisans of the empire, but when Frederic was congratulated on his elevation he answered with too true a presentiment: "I have lost a friend and not gained an ally. No Pope can ever be a Ghibeline."

After the death of Frederic, in 1250, and the short reign of his son the Emperor Conrad IV., the young and brilliant Manfred was proclaimed king of Sicily. An illegitimate son of Frederic II., he inherited many of his father's attractive qualities and therewith the undying enmity of the papacy. Like Frederic, he leaned much on the support of a military colony of Saracens established in the fortress of Lucera, whose vast circuit of walls, resembling a greatly magnified Caernarvon Castle, may still be seen on a hill of Apulia. Under Manfred's able guidance the Ghibeline party in Italy was fast rising into domination, when the Pope, Urban IV., who happened to be a Frenchman, took the fateful step of inviting one of his countrymen, Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, to enter Italy as the champion of the Guelfic cause and wrest the crown of Sicily from Manfred. He came; he conquered his opponent on the desperately fought field of Benevento on February 26th, 1266. The body of the excommunicated "Sultan of Lucera," as the victor derisively called him, was buried in unconsecrated ground. The long duel between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen was ended; the old priest's crosier had beaten the young knight's sword; or, more literally, the victory seems to have been won by the rapier over the sabre. The French had recently introduced the former weapon, and, while the Italian soldier was lifting his great broadsword for a down-stroke, the agile Frenchman thrust in his rapier's point and let out the life of his antagonist. Here too, virtually ended the battle between the papacy and the empire. Each will have other foes in the portion of history which lies next before us; but they will not be so directly pitted against one another as they have been for these two centuries.



CHARACTERISTIC MARKET SCENE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

This picture is restored from a window in the Cathedral of Chartres



"IN NOMINE CHRISTI": SANCTUARY UNDER THE IMAGE OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST

From the murderous assault of the mob the patriarch seeks sanctuary, and before the image of the Cross, held aloft by the Abbess, the hands of his assailants are stayed.

Reproduced from the painting by [illegible]



PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY AND THE PAPAL SUPREMACY RESTORED

THIS period might fitly be called the Autumn of Chivalry and the Spring of Literature and Art. There are no more Crusades; the spirit of knight-errantry is departing; war seems to be often a sordid speculation on the value of the ransoms that may be extorted from wealthy prisoners. On the other hand, the young languages of Europe are beginning to bud and put forth leaves, as the truth dawns upon men that poems and histories may be written in other languages than Latin, that even the despised vernacular is a possible literary instrument. To this period belong the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio in Italy, of Froissart in France, of Chaucer and Langland in England. In the history of art we have a catalogue of illustrious names from Giotto to Fra Angelico; in architecture, though Norman and early English lie behind us, the beautiful decorated and stately perpendicular styles are still to come.

Nor ought we in this connection to forget the services which the fresh enthusiasm of the young Mendicant Orders rendered both to literature and to art. Both Dominic and Francis lived near the end of our third period, but the influence on the intellect of Europe of the orders which they founded was most fully felt after their deaths, and was certainly mighty throughout the later twelve hundreds and the two following centuries. The Friars—as the Mendicants were called to distinguish them from their rivals, the more old-fashioned and conservative monks—chiefly known by their two most popular representatives, the Dominican Black Friars and Franciscan Grey Friars, swarmed into the universities now rising into eminence throughout Europe, and contributed the most celebrated names to the list of professors of scholastic theology, who, however the world may think to have outgrown their teaching, evidently possessed some of the strongest and keenest intellects of their day. Of the five greatest schoolmen, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas (the Angelic Doctor) were Dominicans; Buonaventura the Seraphic, Duns Scotus the Subtle, and Occam (the Invincible), were Franciscans. It was from the bosom of the Franciscan Order also that the philosopher sprang who anticipated in some degree that strictly scientific method which, in the hands of his mighty namesake, was one day to vanquish the word-splitting dialectic of the schoolmen, Roger Bacon the "Doctor Mirabilis" (1214–1294). In reviewing the course of these two centuries, we may very lightly touch upon the well-known events in the history of our own country. England under the early Plantagenets had not been a stranger to the storm which had swept over the ecclesiastical sky in Southern Europe. She, too, had found her Hildebrand in Becket, and had witnessed her Canossa when the abject John submitted to declare himself the vassal of the Pope. Perhaps, also, it may be said that she had not been without her Guelfs and Ghibelines when Simon de Montfort, popularly known as the creator of the English House of Commons, vanquished Henry III. at Lewes, and was himself vanquished by Prince Edward at Evesham.

The Friars as University Professors

The Creator of the House of Commons

In 1272, six years after the battle of Benevento, Edward Longshanks, greatest of the Plantagenets, ascended the throne. In his reign of thirty-five years, he did many noble deeds both as statesman and as legislator. Even his conquest of Wales, notwithstanding some ungenerous harshness, must be reckoned among his praiseworthy exploits; but his unsuccessful attempt on the liberties of Scotland, his endeavour to convert the friendly superiority which Scotsmen were willing to grant him

into the strictest, harshest tie of feudal vassalage, wrought untold harm to the England which he surely loved. From the year 1296, when the galling acts of Edward drove the luckless John Balliol into revolt, down to 1603, when James Stuart mounted the English throne, it may almost be said that there was never lasting peace between the two countries, only wars and precarious truces, raids and counter-raids, and, above all, a continual and most natural tendency on the part of Scotland to ally herself with England's other enemy, France. There was thus always a foe at England's back door who would not have been there had Edward I. shown somewhat less of the qualities of a sharp attorney in his dealings with the sister kingdom.

Scotland the Foe of England

Though John "Lackland," by his cowardice and cruelty, had lost his father's inheritance of Normandy, the Plantagenets, till the close of our present period, never entirely quitted hold of the magnificent dower which Eleanor of Aquitaine brought to Henry II., and these possessions in the south-west corner of France often furnished a base for the operations which they undertook in what has been forcibly, if not quite accurately, called the Hundred Years' War between England and France. That war began with the invasion of France by Edward III. in 1339, and it ended with the defeat of Talbot before Castillon in 1453, the very year which for another reason has been chosen as the close of our present period. During that age of strife the English won three memorable victories, Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

We are perhaps too much inclined to forget their defeats; that of Beaugé (1421), where the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V., was slain; that of Patay (1429), where Lord Talbot was vanquished and made prisoner by the heroic Jeanne D'Arc; his final defeat and overthrow, as above mentioned, at Castillon. The two proudest days for the English invaders were March 24th, 1359, when, by the Treaty of London, the captive king of France yielded to Edward III. in full sovereignty all that Henry II. had ever ruled as vassal of the French crown, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Aquitaine—in other words, a full half of France; and, again, December 16th, 1431, when, apparently with the consent of the greater part of the French nation, weary of the feuds of Armagnacs and Burgundians, the English child, Henry VI., was proclaimed "King of England and France, our sovereign lord." That title, King of France, so soon to be rendered a vain show by the enthusiasm and courage of the Maid of Orleans, was clung to with ludicrous tenacity by many generations of English sovereigns, even by James II., when he was a throneless exile at the court of the real king of France, Louis XIV., and was abandoned only in the days of our grandfathers at a time when there was no king in France, and that country, under a ruler mightier than any of her kings, was engaged in a life and death struggle with England. 14972

England's Triumphs over France

The high-water mark of England's dominion in France was soon succeeded by a steady and continuous ebb of the tide. It was by a series of petty reverses more than by any great victories that the English intruders were edged out of France, until at last at the end of our present period Calais only remained to them. But the Hundred Years' War left in one way a favourable impress on France. As the Danish invasions had consolidated England, so the long misery of the English invasions unified and strengthened the national feeling of Frenchmen. When the Hundred Years' War began, the men of Aquitaine scarcely looked upon the Parisians as their fellow-countrymen. When it ended, they recognised the necessity of their position and accepted, if somewhat grudgingly, Charles VII. as their sovereign lord.

France's Gains from English Invasions

The advantage which France won, however painfully, from this struggle for her national existence was to some extent neutralised by the folly of her kings, especially of John and Charles V., in granting enormous "appanages" to members of their family, which made them almost independent sovereigns and tended to keep alive sectional and provincial jealousies. It was owing to this mistaken policy that the rival houses of Burgundy and Orleans were able to distract their country by that fatal feud which, far more than the English valour at Agincourt, laid France prostrate at the feet of Henry V.; and even when peace was restored and the English invader expelled, the reconciled Duke of Burgundy was terrible to his sovereign lord, whose

power he gloomily overshadowed. Lords of Burgundy by inheritance, and of the rich Netherlands by marriage, these mighty seigneurs, whose beautifully carved tombs, a marvel of late mediæval work, are the glory of the cathedral at Dijon, became the traditional enemies of their French cousins, traditional allies of the English kings, whose country was closely connected with their country by the ties of commerce. The very surnames of these men mark their militant position—Philip the Bold, John the Fearless, and Charles the Rash; they were men born to be assassinated or slain in battle.



ST. LOUIS DISPENSING JUSTICE

Louis IX., king of France, was one of the highest type of rulers produced by the Roman Catholic and feudal world of the Middle Ages. A sincere Catholic, he was yet no tool of the Pope, and under his reign the administrative and judicial systems of his country were greatly developed. He died in 1270.

Eventually, as we shall see, the fortunes of the heirs of Burgundy were closely intertwined with those of the house of Hapsburg. The uprise of this house of Hapsburg, by no means the oldest though one of the proudest of European royalties, was all accomplished in the period now before us. When the mighty house of Hohenstaufen fell (1254) there was for a time anarchy in Central Europe. Phantom emperors, an English prince (Richard Duke of Cornwall), a king of Castile (Alfonso the Wise), and others flitted across the stage; but none of them exercised any real authority, till in 1273 the Electors chose for emperor a Swabian knight of respectable position named Rudolf of Hapsburg, who was accordingly crowned with the imperial diadem in Charlemagne's city of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). The territories—of very moderate extent—over which Rudolf ruled, as well as his castle of Hapsburg, were situated in the valley of the Aar, in the north-east corner of what is now Switzerland. It is worthy of note that the cradle of that dynasty, which has pre-eminently represented the monarchic principle in Europe, and the cradle of the first, and we might almost say the typical, Teutonic republic were situated within a short day's journey of one another.

Rudolf, who had been chosen partly on account of his very insignificance, proved himself a stronger and abler ruler than had been expected. He humbled to the dust the proud Ottokar, king of Bohemia, in whose court he had once served, and after his second victory over him rent away from his slain rival the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, a goodly inheritance which he bestowed upon his own son, thereby laying the foundation of the greatness of the house of Hapsburg. Unlike his recent predecessors he was on friendliest terms with the Pope; but no invitations or exhortations could induce him to enter Italy, "that lion's cave," into which he saw many footsteps tending, but from which there were none returning.

There was as yet no willingness on the part of the Electors to permit the empire to become hereditary in the Hapsburg

or any other line. With difficulty did Rudolf's son, Albert, win the imperial crown, which he held for a few troubled years; and after his death, in 1308, there was no emperor of the house of Hapsburg reigning with undisputed title for 130 years. For twelve years (1314–1325) Frederic of Austria was endeavouring, generally with little success, to vindicate his right to the imperial title against his rival, Louis of Bavaria.

The Emperor After Dante's Heart

This interval, somewhat tantalising to the student who knows that it will end in the establishment of the empire in the Hapsburg line, was filled chiefly by emperors of the house of Luxemburg, such as Henry VII., the ruler for whose advent into Italy Dante longed, and who, when he came, was crowned emperor in Rome, but after three years' stay in Italy, years of mingled success and failure, died, as men said, from poison administered in a cup of sacramental wine. Henry's son, the blind King John of Bohemia, who fought so bravely at Crecy, was never emperor; but his grandson, Charles IV., the Parson's Emperor, as he was called, because of the ecclesiastical influence which secured his election, by his celebrated Golden Bull (1356) weakened the prerogatives of the Imperial Crown and established the Seven Electors as almost independent sovereigns. These Electors were three ecclesiastical potentates in Rhineland, the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves; and four secular princes, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the King of Bohemia (who after 1437 was generally a Hapsburg), and the Duke of Saxony. By this instrument, as Mr. Bryce has well said, Charles IV. "legalised anarchy and called it a constitution." Yet it is interesting to note the prevalence at this date in Central Europe of a form of government which has now entirely disappeared. In the thirteen hundreds and for some time longer, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and Poland were all elective monarchies. In other ways at this time some new and interesting experiments were being made in the art of government. Albert of Austria, son of Rudolf, to whose short tenure of the imperial dignity reference has been made, was successfully resisted (1307–1308) by the inhabitants of the four Forest Cantons which cluster round the Lake of Lucerne. This was the germ of the Swiss Confederation, which at Morgarten in 1315, and at Sempach in 1386, defeated the knights and men at arms sent against them by the Austrian princes, and for ever established the independence of Switzerland.

Experiments in the Art of Government

During the same century, the century of the thirteen hundreds, the confederacy of German merchants known as the Hanse Towns—the chief of them Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen—were fitting out fleets and armies, and comporting themselves like sovereign princes on the shores of the Baltic. By the treaty of Stralsund in 1370 they obtained from Waldemar III., king of Denmark, the righ tto receive for fifteen years two-thirds of the Danish revenues and a provision that thereafter none of his successors should ascend the throne without the consent of the Hansa. When, in 1397, the daughter of this king, Waldemar, Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North," succeeded in uniting Denmark, Sweden, and Norway by the Union of Calmar (1397), the power of the Hanseatic League was somewhat abated; but to the end of the period under consideration it remained a most important factor in the politics of the Baltic states.

The Arrogant Claim of Frederic III.

Returning for a moment to the Hapsburg princes, we have to note that at last, in 1437–1438, a Hapsburg, Albert II., having married the heiress of the house of Luxemburg, was elected king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and emperor; but he held these dignities only for a short time, dying in 1439. On his death, his cousin, the Duke of Styria, was raised to the empire as Frederic III., and thenceforward the imperial title was borne by none but his descendants for nearly four centuries, at the end of which time the empire itself ceased to be. Frederic III., himself, a dull, slow man, with the heavy under-lip of the Hapsburgs, dabbled in alchemy and astrology, and derived, apparently from these studies, an intense conviction of the proud destiny of his house. This conviction he expressed in the mystic letters A.E.I.O.U., which he caused to be carved abundantly on all his furniture, and which signified "Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Untertan (the whole earth is subject to Austria), which we might paraphrase "All Europe Is Ours Undoubtedly," the equivalent in the fifteenth

century of the nineteenth century song, "Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles."

As that song is now sung chiefly by the Northern Germans, we may here remark that the Hohenzollern princes, who are now represented by the Emperor William II., obtained possession of Brandenburg, which has now been for many centuries the stronghold of their dynasty, in the year 1417. The Hohenzollerns, like the Hohenstaufen and the Hapsburgs, came originally from Swabia, that picturesque south-west corner of Germany, watered by the sharply turning Rhine, which almost alone of the provinces of Germany was once part of the Roman Empire.

We recross the Alps and inquire what are to be the fortunes of Italy now that the Swabian sons of her Norman conquerors are vanished out of the land. Not absolutely, however, did they vanish when Manfred fell at Benevento. In 1268, Manfred's nephew, the gallant youth Conradin, son of the Emperor Conrad IV., descended into Italy with a large army. For a time fortune smiled upon him, and even when he joined battle with his enemy, King Charles, near Tagliacozzo, under the shadow of the Sabine Mountains, the battle at first went in his favour; but a well-planned ambuscade threw his army into disorder. Victory was for Charles, death on the field of battle for a multitude of German knights, the followers of Conradin; a more ignominious death at Naples, by the hands of the executioner, for Conradin, himself a captured fugitive. It was considered a foul and unknightly deed when the Frenchman thus punished the captive lad who had but striven to regain the inheritance of his fathers; and later writers described how from the scaffold he threw his gauntlet down on the pavement of the Piazza del Mercato, crying, "Take that glove to him who will avenge me." Criticism has thrown doubt on this story, but there is no doubt that it was as the avenger of Conradin that his cousin by marriage, Pedro, king of Arragon, Manfred's son-in-law, before long appeared upon the scene.

Conradin Dies on the Scaffold

Charles of Anjou, a hard and hateful man, vexed his subjects with all manner of new taxes rigorously exacted; but even more than by pecuniary oppression the souls of the people, especially the hot-blooded Sicilians, were fired by the insolence of the French soldiers who swaggered as conquerors among a nation whom they despised. Vengeance slumbered for fourteen years; but during all that time the gauntlet of Conradin—real or metaphorical—was being treasured at the court of Arragon, and when at last, on the evening of Easter Monday (March 30th, 1282) the lewd insults of a French soldier to a Sicilian matron roused the people of Palermo to revolt, King Pedro was ready to aid them. The massacre of all Frenchmen, which began with the ringing of the vesper bell at Palermo, was accomplished with dreadful thoroughness all over the island, and is known to history as the Sicilian Vespers. Charles of Anjou, of course, did not surrender the beautiful island without a struggle. Messina endured a terrible siege, but survived untaken. Pedro of Arragon was declared king, and successfully established his kingdom, which was held by his descendants down to our own time.

Terrible Massacre of Frenchmen

Charles remained king of Naples and of all Southern Italy, which by a legal fiction received also the name of Sicily, and hence came that absurd title, "King of Both the Sicilies," which, when the two kingdoms afterwards came together under descendants of the king of Arragon, was borne by their rulers.

Thus, as far as Sicily was concerned, the arrogant French invader was repelled, but, alas, freedom had to be purchased at the cost of submission to another foreigner, a Spaniard. The conditions were similar to those which inspired Byron's lines addressed to Italy.

> "The stranger's sword
> Is thy sad weapon of defence, and so,
> Victor or vanquished, thou the slave
> of friend or foe."

Thus the fall of the Hohenstaufen brought little peace to Italy. Let us now see how it affected the fortunes of the Hohenstaufens' great enemy, the papacy. In 1294, on the occasion of a papal vacancy, the cardinals, divided among themselves, and tired of one another's intrigues, took the unexpected step of choosing as Pope a holy hermit in the mountains of the Abruzzi, who most unwillingly donned the papal crown and took the title of Celestine V. It was soon seen, however, that a great saint might make a very bad Pope. This wild man from the mountains, with his shaggy beard and vile raiment, though kings held

A Hermit on the Papal Throne

the bridle of his ass as he rode into the city of Aquila, could not adapt himself to the splendour of his new position or manage with decent ability the complicated affairs of his world-wide spiritual kingdom. Almost at once he began to meditate abdication and a return to the roots and water of his cell; and one of the cardinals, the astute Benedetto Gaetano, was ever at his ear whispering that this would be his wisest course. In December, 1294, after little more than four months' pontificate, Celestine abdicated—if a Pope could abdicate his great office, making, as Dante says, "through cowardice the grand refusal," and was succeeded by his benevolent adviser, Gaetano, who took the title Boniface VIII., and before long committed his predecessor to a strict imprisonment in a noisome dungeon, from which, after a few years' captivity, he was released by death.

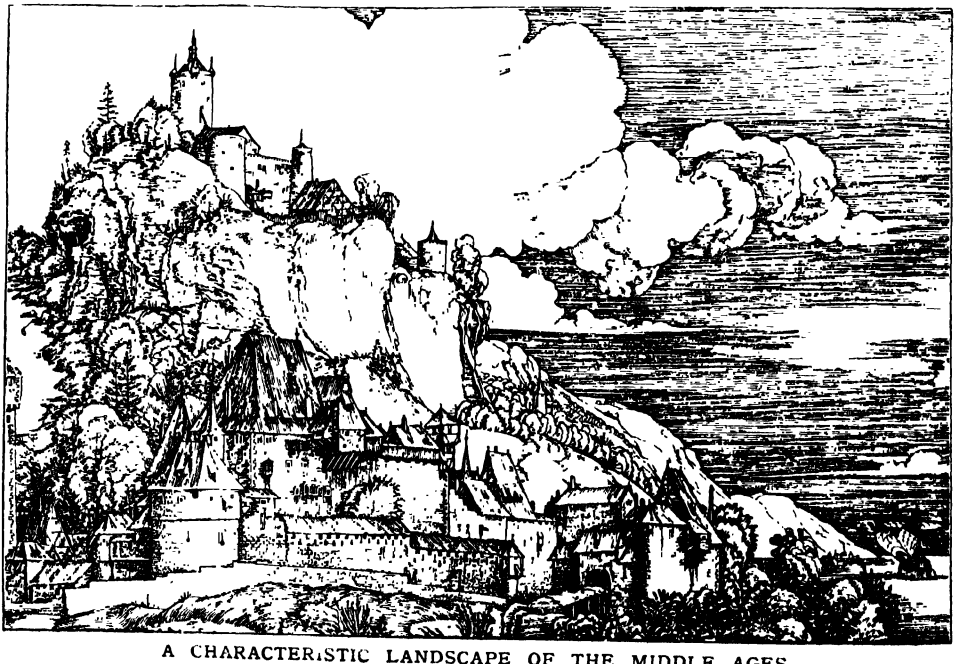
The Pope Celestine V. Abdicates

In the pontificate of Boniface VIII. the papal power seemed to reach its greatest height, only to undergo its most terrible humiliation. He out-Hildebranded Hildebrand in the language which he addressed to kings and emperors. "There are two swords," he said, quoting the words of Christ in the garden. "These are the spiritual and the temporal. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. We assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."

For a time all went well with the haughty and grasping Boniface. He banished the whole family of the Colonnas, his personal enemies, he razed their fortresses, and forbade their city of Palestrina to be rebuilt. He imposed peace on the warring kings of England and France. He proclaimed a Jubilee in the year 1300; men, women, and children flocked to Rome to obtain eternal salvation; and two priests stood by the altar of St. Peter's with rakes in their hands sweeping in the gold and silver coins offered by the pilgrims. It was said that during this Jubilee Boniface wore an imperial crown as well as the papal, that the purple sandals of the emperor were on his feet, and that two swords, signifying temporal and spiritual power, were borne before him.

Pilgrims and their Gold at St. Peter's

But this man, so proud and domineering, met his equal in the king of France, Philip the Fair, grandson of St. Louis, and in all things the opposite of his sainted



A CHARACTERISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

From a [illegible]late by Albert Durer



FUGITIVES: THE MONASTERY AS A HARBOUR OF REFUGE

This reproduction of a painting by Mr. E. Blair Leighton is wonderfully suggestive. In an age when war was an everyday event, and executions were easy and frequent, no one knew when his or her end might come, and it people felt that enemies were on their track, they escaped while they had the opportunity. Not infrequently the monasteries offered themselves as harbours of refuge, and there fugitives were safe from the dangers that threatened them.

ancestor. Hard, covetous, and revengeful, Philip came into collision with Boniface over his claims to tax the revenues of the Church, and he found his pretensions ably supported by the rising school of lay lawyers, who magnified the office of Cæsar as much as the ecclesiastical lawyers magnified the office of the Vicar of Christ. The Pope thundered forth his bulls; the French king replied with his angry decrees. There were excommunications on one side, outlawry and confiscation on the other; but it was plain that Philip had the majority of his subjects on his part, and that he would not have to go to Canossa or feel on his neck the pressure of the Pontiff's sandal. Far from this, he and his legal advisers began to moot the question of Boniface's own right to the Popedom, the weak point in which was, of course, his election during the lifetime of his predecessor, and to press for his trial before a general council on some strange and scarcely credible charges of heresy, blasphemy, and immorality. But ere such a council could be summoned Boniface, who, to avoid the heat of a summer in the city and the turbulence of Roman citizens, had retired to his native town of Agnana, was attacked there by a band of ruffians, headed by one of his old enemies the Colonnas, and by a myrmidon of Philip, William of Nogaret; and by these men and their followers he was so roughly handled that in less than five weeks he expired. The assailants and all but murderers of the Pope were never punished, but, on the other hand, the memory of Boniface was spared that solemn condemnation which Philip longed to inflict. The influence of the French king, however, was now triumphant at the papal court; one Frenchman after another was raised to the papacy and came to nestle under the wing of French royalty at Avignon on the Rhone. Avignon was not at this time actually part of the French territory, though closely bordering upon it. Thus began the Seventy Years' Captivity which amazed and scandalised Europe. For the greater part of the thirteen hundreds,

The Duel Between Pope and King

Boniface Dies from Assault

from 1305 to 1376, during the hottest of the war between Edward III. and the Valois kings, we must think of the Pope as the humble client of the French king, it might be said hardly more than his domestic chaplain.

The Cruel Fate of the Knights

It was in this position of meek subordination to the king of France that Clement V., the first Avignon Pontiff (1305–1314), sanctioned the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars, on account of their alleged immorality, heresy, and secret practising of obscene and blasphemous rights. For these alleged crimes, mainly on the strength of confessions extracted by torture, the aged Grand Master of the Order, John du Molay, and 113 of the knights were burned in Paris. Hundreds perished in the French prisons. In England the Order was also suppressed, and some of its members appear to have been subjected to the torture, but the punishment was for the most part limited to lifelong seclusion in a convent. The degree of justification for the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars is one of the disputed questions of history, and in some respects resembles the similar question with reference to the suppression of the English monastic orders in the fifteen hundreds.

In both cases large and terrible accusations were brought against the incriminated parties, and it is not easy to understand how these rumours can have arisen absolutely without cause; but in both cases also the chief crime of the accused was evidently their large possessions, which attracted the desires of a greedy and extravagant king, in England, Henry VIII., in France, Philip the Fair. The execution of Grand Master du Molay especially moved the pity of Europe, which heard of the martyr's dying summons to king and Pope to meet him speedily before the bar of the Most High—a summons which was followed by the death of Clement V. within thirteen months and of Philip IV. within twenty-one months of the murder of their victim.

King and Pope Answer Dying Summons

The sojourn of the Popes for more than two generations at Avignon is one of the strange paradoxes of mediæval history. How, we ask ourselves, was it possible for ecclesiastics whose sole title to the obedience of the Church lay in the fact that they were Bishops of Rome to spend the whole of their official lives in a city on the Rhone, a month's journey from the imperial city? Theoretically the position was certainly indefensible. Practically, it is easy to see how the thing came to pass. The French influence having once become strong in the College of Cardinals, tended to become ever stronger, since each French Pope created more and more of his own countrymen. The king of France, not yet engaged in his deadly struggle with England, overshadowed the weak Bohemian emperors of Germany.

Italy, now that the emperor was no longer in any sense arbiter of her destinies, was falling into a state of disorganisation, city warring against city, and almost every city having its own knot of exiled citizens who were yearning to return to their homes and to wreak vengeance upon their opponents. After a short and glorious existence, the Italian republics in the thirteen hundreds were falling one by one under the yoke of tyrants—in the Greek sense, masters of a city which had been free—the Visconti at Milan, the Della Scala at Verona, Castracani at Lucca, and so forth. Florence, the great Guelf city, it is true, was still free, though sorely tossed by faction, and Venice, that marvel of aristocratic state-craft, had naught to fear in the way of tyranny from her tightly-curbed and muzzled Doges. But elsewhere the Republicanism which had largely prevailed in Italy under the theoretical rule of the Franconian and Swabian emperors was giving place to a form of government which was not feudalism, still less constitutional monarchy, but the irresponsible, unlimited, often cruel *governo d'un solo*. In the states of the Church turbulent barons alternated with turbulent democracies, and both, as opportunity offered, availed themselves of the assistance of those predatory bands of soldiers representing no nationality and responsible to no sovereign, who were called Condottieri, or free companies, and who were, unfortunately, to a large extent the outcome of the long and devastating wars of the Plantagenets in France.

Florence Tossed by Faction

In addition to these troubles came the terrible scourge of the Black Death—perhaps the most awful pestilence that the world has ever seen, which from 1346 to 1368 swept over Europe, destroying in some regions as much as two-thirds of the population, and, on an average, of the



AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE MOORS IN SPAIN

From the painting by Chelli. By permission of Messrs Braun Clement & Cie

whole probably not less than a quarter. From these varied causes the condition of Italy in the middle of the thirteen hundreds was doubtless a sad one, and it is not perhaps surprising that the Pope and his cardinals, for the most part Frenchmen, should have preferred the splendid semi-regal fortress-palace of Avignon and their luxurious villas by the Rhone in beautiful Provence to the fever-haunted streets of alien Rome. For a short time it seemed as if the great absentee landlord would lose his hold upon the property from which he took his title.

Rienzi the Meteoric Reformer

The splendid dreamer, Nicolas Gabrini, who is known to history by the name of Rienzi, musing on the miserable state of Rome, agitated as she was by the faction fights of turbulent nobles, and comparing it with the calm majesty of the old Roman Republic, as revealed to him by inscriptions in the Forum, and interpreted by the pages of Livy, decided to call his fellow-citizens to revolt, and assumed the historic title of Tribune (1347-1340). He was marvellously successful for a time; the proud nobles, the Orsini and the Colonnas, were awed into silence and submission, and the papal legate found it expedient to be a humble partner in the tribune's administration. But Rienzi's record in history is essentially meteoric. As a meteor he burst upon Europe; as a meteor he fell, the victim partly of his own vain, unstable character. If he had possessed the brave, modest nature of a Garibaldi, he might, perhaps, have changed the course of history and re-established, half a millennium ago, the Roman Republic. But he was only Rienzi, and his meteor light left the sky dark behind it.

The Seventy Years' Captivity at Avignon, itself somewhat of a scandal, died out in the greater scandal of the Forty Years' Schism. Under the earnest pressure of the public opinion of Christendom, as represented by such enthusiasts as Catharine of Siena, Pope Gregory XI. returned to Rome for a visit, which proved to be a farewell visit, for he died there early in 1378. Where the Pope died, there must the Conclave be held. The cardinals assembled in Rome to choose a new Pope, appalled by the furious shouts of the populace, who demanded a Roman, or at least an Italian, Pope, went outside their own college - more than half of whom were Frenchmen—and elected Bartolommeo Prignani, an Italian of low origin, but skilled in the canon law and famed for his piety, who took the title of Urban VI. The humble monk, when raised to the papal throne, developed qualities of strange and unexpected pride some of the manifestations of which seem to indicate a vein of lurking insanity. The luxurious and high-born cardinals found themselves restricted to one dish at dinner, and heard their new master bellow at them such courtesies as: "You have talked long enough," "Hold your tongue," and so forth. Worst of all, the Pope declared his intention of remaining in Rome, and was about to make a large creation of Italian cardinals in order effectually to bar the way of a return to Avignon.

Humble Monk Raised to the Pope's Chair

At this, a large party of cardinals, chiefly Frenchmen, broke away from their allegiance, declared the election of Urban invalid, as having been made under duress from the Roman mob, and elected as Pope the high-born soldier-cardinal, Robert of Geneva. He took the name of Clement VII., and ere long found his way back to Avignon, and, though with diminished splendour, kept high court there, like the six Popes before him. His rival remained in Rome, or when frightened thence by the turbulence of the mob or by the soldiers of the Queen of Naples, with whom, though Neapolitan born, he had continued to quarrel, he took up his abode at Genoa, at Lucca, at Perugia, at any Italian city which could give him a constrained welcome.

Rival Popes and their Supporters

The chief powers of Europe ranged themselves under one or other of the rival banners. Northern Italy, Germany and England were in obedience to Urban VI. France, Spain, Scotland and Naples were in obedience to Clement of Avignon. It will be seen how large a share national quarrels had in determining ecclesiastical partisanship. France, of course, took the side of the Pope who hankered after pleasant Avignon; Germany and England, as foes to France, took the side of his rival; Scotland, as deadly enemy to England, followed France.

The schism thus begun lasted, as has been said, for nearly forty years. When Clement VII. died, in September, 1394, a successor to him was chosen who took the



POPE URBAN VI. RECITING HIS BREVIARY AT NOCERA

On the death of Pope Gregory XI., in 1378, the populace furiously demanded that a Roman, or at least an Italian, should be raised to the papal throne, and the cardinals, with whom the election rested, appalled by the clamour, chose Bartolommeo Prignani, an Italian of low origin. The new Pope took the title of Urban VI. Hearing of a conspiracy among his cardinals, the Pope invited the ringleaders to his country residence, the Castle of Nocera, and put them to torture in order to extract from them the details of the plot. While this barbarous work was in progress, Urban VI. walked beneath the window of the torture chamber reciting his breviary aloud to encourage the prisoners to confess.

Reproduced from the painting by the Hon. John Collier by the artist's permission

title of Benedict XIII. To his rival, who had died five years before, three Popes in succession were elected by the Italian cardinals, the last of these being the octogenarian Gregory XII. (1406–1417). At each election the same professions of earnest desire to end the schism were clamorously repeated, and each successive pontiff expressed his willingness to abdicate if his rival would do the same. "I would abdicate," said Benedict XIII., before his election, "as easily as I take off my hat." "I long for a conference which shall restore unity," said the venerable Gregory XII. "If there is not a galley to take me to the place of meeting, I will go in a fishing boat. If horses fail for the land journey, I will take my staff in my hand and will go on foot." But practically all yearning after conciliation and compromise resolved itself into a willingness to accept the unconditional surrender of the opponent. Each Pope would graciously allow the anti-pope to kiss his foot, but was invincibly resolved not to perform the converse operation.

Three Popes at the Same Time

The anarchy of the Church reached its climax when, at the Council of Pisa in 1409, both the rival Popes were called upon to resign and a devout Franciscan friar was elected in their stead, under the title of Alexander V. But the existing Popes, though formally deposed, refused to accept their deposition, and it was soon evident that the council, instead of ending the schism, had only widened it by adding a third Pope to the list. More dreadful was the entanglement when, after the short pontificate of Alexander, the tiara was bestowed upon a man who, though a cardinal, was little better than a general of *condottieri*, Baltasare Cossa, who took the title of John XXIII. The well-meant endeavours to end the schism had but ended in the election of one of the most disreputable pontiffs who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. The extraordinary evil called for an extraordinary remedy. This was none other than the far-famed Council which assembled at Constance under the presidency of Sigismund, last emperor of the house of Luxemburg, and which sat for three years and a half—from November, 1414, till May, 1418. The assembling of this council, at which 29 cardinals, three patriarchs, 33 archbishops, and 2,400 other ecclesiastics from all parts of Europe were present, besides 100 dukes and earls, 2,400 knights, and 116 representatives of cities, was one of the greatest events of the Middle Ages. Had it corresponded to the jubilant expectations formed of it, the Council might have been their glorious finale.

The Famous Council of Constance

Much had been hoped for from the assembling of so many grave and learned men, especially in the reformation of abuses which, in the course of ages, had crept into the administration of the Church. What was accomplished? The obliteration of the three obstinate old men, each of whom persisted in calling himself the Vicar of Christ, and the election in their stead of a capable and respectable Italian noble of the house of Colonna, who took the title of Martin V. This was a wise and statesmanlike act, though some think that even after the lapse of three years the Council showed undue haste in electing a Pope before, instead of after, passing those measures of reform which became practically unattainable after it had given itself a master in the person of Pope Martin.

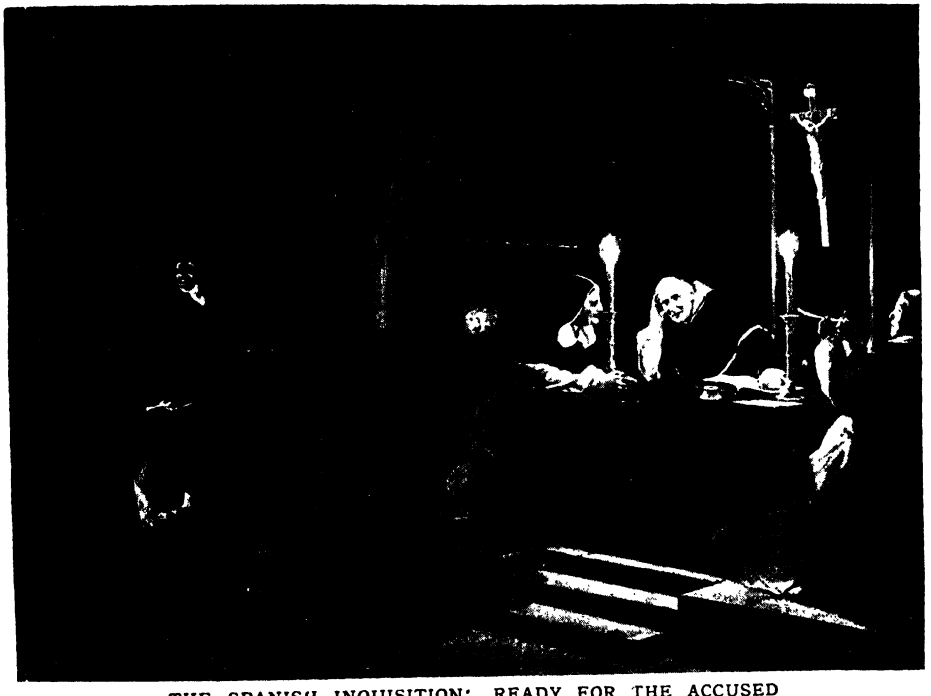
Not so wise or so statesmanlike were the acts by which the Council sought to demonstrate its own orthodoxy, the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two devout and learned Bohemians who, in the spirit of Wiclif, and partly in consequence of his teaching, had defended what would now be called the Protestant position against the mediæval papacy. In the case of Huss, this murder was especially to be condemned, as he had come to Constance of his own free will, trusting to a safe conduct which he had received from the emperor. Of this fact he reminded Sigismund when he stood before his tribunal to receive his condemnation, and it is said that the emperor blushed with shame. Practically, a Pope elected and two heretics burned were all the outcome of this memorable and long-labouring Council.

Huss and Jerome Burned as Heretics

Underlying the discussions on temporary points of policy at the Council of Constance was the important question of the constitution of the Church. If the power of an œcumenical council could be magnified, if its sittings could be repeated at short and regular intervals, it it could be made impossible for the Pope to take any important step without its advice, the constitution of the Church would become aristocratic; if Martin V. and his successors

could succeed in negativing these proposals, and could keep the papacy on the old lines on which it had moved from Hildebrand to Boniface, it would remain monarchical. The second alternative event was that which actually happened. Council after council was held during the thirty years after the Council of Constance; Basle, Ferrara, Florence, each had its council, the first defying the Pope, and even renewing for a time the misery of the schism, the second and third working with the Roman Pope and effecting a short-lived reconciliation between the Latin and Greek Churches. But all ended in a re-establishment, apparently on a firmer basis than ever, of the papal supremacy; and our fourth period closes with the pontificate of Nicolas V., a lover of peace, a lover of the arts, and one of the best of the mediæval pontiffs. He is said to have died of grief on hearing of the fall of Constantinople.

Let it not be thought that in this brief sketch too large a space has been given to ecclesiastical affairs. The history of the papacy in the centuries that we have been lately traversing is really central in the history of Europe. Financially, the enormous drain of bullion to Rome or to Avignon, in order to meet the demands of the papal tax-gatherers, diverted the course of commerce, created the profession of bankers, sometimes helped and sometimes hindered the struggles of English parliaments with their kings. And in the purely political domain, in the war of dynasties and the collision of nations the papal question played a most important part. Anyone, who studies the history of Naples, of Florence, of Milan, of Bohemia and of Hungary, or reads the story of the wars between England and France, will find his steps continually dogged by the Seventy Years Captivity and the Great Schism. It is worthy of note that Agincourt was fought in the first year of the Council of Constance, and that in the interests of his schemes for papal reform Sigismund tried to arrange a three years' truce between France and England.



THE SPANISH INQUISITION: READY FOR THE ACCUSED

This tribunal, established in Spain and Portugal in the Middle Ages for the suppression of heresy, was a terrible instrument. All the inquisitors were churchmen, and one of them, the infamous Torquemada, is said to have condemned no fewer than 9,000 persons during his tenure of office. It was not till 1835 that the Inquisition was finally abolished, and though it still exists as the Holy Office, its function is confined to the detection of heresy in books.

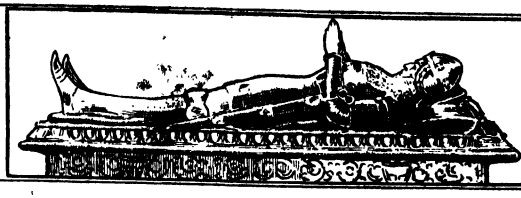
Reproduced from the painting by the Hon. John Collier by the artist's permission



THE CHURCH'S BLESSING ON THE YOUNG SOLDIER: A CHARACTERISTIC SCENE OF MEDIÆVAL LIFE

This painting, "Benedictus Novi Militis," represents the religious service of blessing the young soldier, much in vogue in mediæval times, and still observed in the Catholic Church.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Tayler, by permission of the artist



THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD AND THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

ENORMOUS as have been the changes in the aspect of the world and in human life which have been wrought by the nineteenth century, it may probably be asserted with truth that at least equal changes were wrought by events which occurred in the last half of the fourteen hundreds.

The first of these was the fall of Constantinople (May 29th, 1453). While emperors and kings were still playing with the question of possible crusades, for which Popes were pleading in deadly earnest, the believers in Islam, reversing the crusading process, crossed the Bosphorus and took the great city which for more than a thousand years had preserved in strange union the two memories of Cæsar and of Christ. Western Christendom was horrified at the news, but did little to stay the onrushing Ottoman tide which for more than 200 years—till the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683—was always more or less of a terror to Europe. But cruel as was the loss to the East, the West was in some sort a gainer, by the dispersion of eminent scholars who reinforced the ranks of the Humanists—the lovers of the illustrious classical literature of bygone ages and the opponents of the schoolmen—both by their oral teaching and by the priceless manuscripts which they preserved from the sack of Constantinople. As was finely said by a modern scholar: "At this time Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." This new learning, powerfully aided by the art of printing, which was invented somewhere about 1450, set fermenting in the minds of such men as Erasmus and Luther thoughts which were destined to work marvellous changes in the mental atmosphere of Europe. Geographically, the voyages of discovery which signalised the closing years of our present period were the most important that were ever made since the first Phœnician mariners pushed through the Pillars of Hercules into the vast and shoreless Atlantic.

Greece Rises "from the Dead"

Throughout the fourteen hundreds the work of maritime discovery along the east coast of Africa had been entirely undertaken by the Portuguese, who were cheered on their adventurous career by the patronage of their noble prince, Henry the Navigator, a man who had English blood in his veins, being the grandson, on his mother's side, of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. From his eyrie on Cape St. Vincent he watched the departure, in 1419, of two frail vessels which sailed a little beyond the Peak of Teneriffe. Later voyages were much more successful, and before his death, in 1460, the Portuguese discoverers had crept down to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, twenty degrees nearer to the Equator than that ominous Cape Nam (Cape No) which, when Prince Henry began his enterprise, had been the southern limit of European navigation.

Portuguese Maritime Discoveries

After the prince's death, his great work went steadily forward. Guinea and the Gold Coast, the mouth of the mighty River Congo, and Angola were discovered, and in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, a knight of the royal household, with the double hope of discovering a passage to India and meeting with the mythical Prester John, steered due south for many days and discovered the promontory which he called the Cape of Storms, but which the Portuguese king on his return insisted on renaming the Cape of Good Hope. But the long eastward bend of the coast of South Africa seems to have hidden from him and his sailors the real meaning of their discovery. It was not till eleven years later, in 1497, that the illustrious Vasco da Gama succeeded in fairly rounding the southern end of the great

continent, and, steering across the Indian Ocean, reached the coast of Hindustan and beheld the Zamorin of Calicut in his palace.

Columbus Discovers America

It is a strange thought that the vain hope of doing in another way that which was thus accomplished with comparative ease by Vasco da Gama had driven Christopher Columbus five years previously, in 1492, on his desperate voyage westward across the Atlantic. On the well-known circumstances of those memorable months of suspense, which ended on October 11th, when Columbus, standing on the poop of his vessel, saw the moving lights of Guanahani, there is no need to dwell. Only we ought to emphasise to ourselves the change which the discovery of this western world, expanding every year, as it evidently seemed to expand, by the reports of the successors of Columbus, must have wrought in the mind of the ordinary commonplace mediæval European. It is perhaps not too much to say that it was as great as that which would be wrought in us by the discovery of a means of communication with the inhabitants of Mars or Venus.

It was hard that when a Portuguese prince had been the prime mover in this crusade of discovery, the glory and the gain of it accrued chiefly to the Spanish sovereigns. As the well-known motto on the tomb of Columbus, dictated by Ferdinand of Arragon himself, ran :

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.
(To Leon's and to Castile's throne
Columbus brought a world unknown.)

Spain's Rapid Rise to Power

Besides the discovery of America and the riches resulting therefrom, many other causes concurred in the fourteen hundreds to push Spain, hitherto somewhat solitary and self-absorbed, into the front rank, the fighting line of the nations of Europe. In the seven centuries that had elapsed since the Moorish conquest she and the sister state of Portugal had been slowly winning back their country from the Moors. At first the process was a slow one ; but in the twelve hundreds, after the great Christian victory of Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, it went forward with giant strides, and by the middle of that century the only region of Spain left to the Moslems was the fertile but comparatively small province of Granada. There, however, a compact kingdom was founded which endured for more than 250 years (1238–1492). One reason for its continuance, probably the chief reason for all the long pauses in the Christian advance, was the number of petty kingdoms into which the peninsula was divided. Leon, Castile, Navarre, Barcelona, Arragon, Portugal—all had for long their separate existence, and were frequently at war with one another.

Now, however, at last, by the marriage of Ferdinand of Arragon with Isabella of Castile in 1469, almost the whole of Spain was united in one powerful monarchy. The exception was Navarre, which was not appropriated by Ferdinand till 1512. The actual union of Arragon and Castile did not take place till 1479, on the death of Isabella's brother, Enrique IV. One of the earliest enterprises of the royal pair after they had come into full possession of their sovereignty was the annexation of Granada. For ten years the war went on, the patient strategy of Ferdinand being greatly aided by domestic quarrels in the Moorish palace, son rebelling against father, and uncle fighting against nephew. At length, on January 4th, 1492—three months before Columbus set sail from Seville—the last blow was struck Granada itself, hopelessly blockaded, surrendered to the Christians, and its weeping king, Abu Abdallah, looking his last on its stately pinnacles, rode forth into exile.

Granada in the Hands of the Christians

The subjugation of the last Mohammedan state in Spain was perhaps regarded by Christendom as some slight compensation for the loss of Constantinople. Unhappily, the Christian sovereigns showed themselves less tolerant towards their conquered subjects of another faith than the Turkish sultan. Ferdinand's promises of toleration for the Mussulman Moors were soon evaded ; forcible conversions were attempted ; the Inquisition put forth its baneful energies—everything was prepared for that disastrous revolt of the Moriscos, disastrously quelled, which inflicted so deep a wound on Spain in the following century.

The "kings" of Arragon and Castile, so fortunate in all else, suffered the disappointment of seeing their male issue expire in their own lifetime. It was evident that their magnificent inheritance must fall to the lot of the descendants of one of their daughters ; and that daughter



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS IN THE PALACE OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN

The life of Christopher Columbus makes a wonderful story of romance. Born in the neighbourhood of Genoa about the year 1435, he went to sea at the early age of fourteen. People laughed at him in after years when he spoke of crossing the Atlantic to India; but instead of reaching India, he actually discovered America. In this picture he is seen in the royal palace of Barcelona, in April, 1493, bringing the news of the discovery of America to the King and Queen of Spain. Columbus was not always thus honoured, and died in poverty.



SEA-GOING NORMAN WARRIORS: ANCESTORS OF ENGLAND'S CONQUERORS

Inhabiting a province of France, the Normans were regarded by their French neighbours as pirates and heathen till the close of the tenth century, yet under Rolf's grandson, Richard the Fearless (942-996), they gradually adopted French Christianity and feudalism. William the Conqueror, the seventh Duke, united Normandy to England in 1066.

eventually proved to be Princess Joanna, wife of Philip of Hapsburg, whose eldest son, Charles, the future Charles V., was born in the last year of the century, the fateful year 1500.

Meanwhile, during the whole of the previous period there had been a growing community of interest between the two peninsulas, the Spanish and the Italian, and a growing tendency in Italian affairs to embitter the relations between Spain and France. Two successive queens of Naples, descendants of Charles of Anjou, Joanna I. and II., both of them women of tainted reputation, had embroiled the politics of Italy by adopting as their heirs both French and Spanish princes. The French claimants, three successive Louis of Anjou, had never succeeded in making good their title for any lengthened period, and the last of the line, "le bon roi Réné," troubadour and master of pageants, but more interesting to Englishmen as father of Margaret of Anjou, of fatal memory in our civil wars, was himself as shadowy a king of Naples as his forefathers. But in 1442 the great prize fell to another adopted son of the latest Joanna, to Alphonso, king of Arragon, and also king of Sicily. Thus at last was the death of Conradin fully avenged, and the descendant of Frederic II., king of both the Sicilies, possessed the full inheritance of his Norman forefathers. On his death, while his Spanish dominions and Sicily went to his brothers, Naples, which he had won with his sword and with his bow, became subject to his illegitimate son Ferdinand, and thus till near the end of the fourteen hundreds we have the Sicilies again disparted, Naples itself ruled by this Ferdinand, and Sicily by his first cousin, Ferdinand of Spain, the husband of Isabella. And over all hovered the spectral, shadowy claims of the titulars of Anjou, which had bred wars in the past and were likely to be the cause of wars to come.

Notwithstanding these dynastic conflicts, the solid strength of *Il Regno*, as the kingdom of Naples was called, was always looked upon with something of

envy and admiration by the northern states of Italy. There almost every city was at war with its nearest neighbour, the trade of the *Condottieri* flourished, and, as before stated, the turbulent freedom of the republics which had leagued against Barbarossa was being crushed under the heel of petty local despots. An Italian patriot surveying the condition of his country in 1453 might well think that the liberation from the yoke of the empire, which had been won by generations of Guelfs, had been after all but a doubtful blessing.

One of the last of the republics to fall into slavery and even after her fall she struggled up once and again into liberty—was Florence. In 1464 died old Cosmo de Medici, who by the combined influence of wealth, eloquence, liberality, and some real patriotism, aided by the blunders of his opponents, had made himself virtual master of his native city. It was certainly a wonderful story, that of the Medicean house. They had no claims to feudal nobility; the party which they led was by profession the Liberal party; Cosmo himself with his vast wealth might be looked upon as the Gladstone-Rothschild of Florence; yet he succeeded in leaving to his offspring a power which, in the hands of his grandson, the "Magnificent" Lorenzo, was little less than regal: his collateral descendants for two centuries were grand dukes of Tuscany, and their blood, through the intermarriage of Catharine and Marie de Medici with the kings of France, now flows in half the royal families of Europe.

Lorenzo de Medici died in 1492, the same year which, for other reasons, we have already seen to be indeed *annus mirabilis*. The other great Italian commonwealth, Venice, preserved indeed through all her more than a thousand years of life her republican freedom, but changed her popular character in 1300 by the act known as "the Closing of the



THE DOGE PRESIDING AT A COUNCIL OF WAR IN MEDIÆVAL VENICE

After preserving, in outward form at least, her republican freedom for more than a thousand years, the great Italian commonwealth of Venice changed her popular character in 1300 by the act known as the Closing of the Grand Council. Limiting the right of election to the great offices of state to aristocratic families, the tyranny of the oligarchy was supreme.

From the painting by Sir J. Gilbert, R.A.



THE STATELY PIETY OF THE MIDDLE AGES: AFTER MIDNIGHT MASS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From the painting by George H. Boughton, R.A.

Grand Council," which limited the right of election to the great offices of state to certain aristocratic families, and she thus became that jealous and suspicious oligarchy whose methods have been so lovingly described by many a tragedian and writer of romance.

In the periods which now lie behind us she had many a bitter struggle with her rival Genoa, in one of which, the war of Chioggia (1378–1381), she all but lost her national life; and the domineering Viscontis of Milan had, especially towards the close of the thirteen hundreds, rolled up dangerously near to her borders. Since then, however, the tide of conquest had turned; she had become a great land power as well as a sea power, and in the period before us it may be roughly computed that she was mistress of two-thirds of Lombardy, the remaining, the western third, being under the dominion of the dukes of Milan.

Those dukes were no longer Viscontis but Sforzas, the renowned Condottieri general, son of a Romagnole peasant, Francesco Sforza, having succeeded with infinite trouble in winning the hand of Bianca, daughter of the last Visconti (Filippo Maria), who died in 1447, leaving no legitimate progeny. Thus were the Sforzas established on the throne of Milan, where they reproduced most of the unamiable characteristics of their Visconti ancestry. In 1492, the year to which so much of our narrative converges, the young prince, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, was nominally reigning in Milan, the real ruler being his uncle Ludovico il Moro—so-named from his swarthy complexion—who was generally believed to be plotting his nephew's murder.

Here, however, as well as in Naples, there was also a French claimant in the person of the Duke of Orleans, who was descended from a legitimate Visconti princess, while the Sforzas could claim only through Filippo Maria's bastard daughter.

Of the condition of the papacy during the half century now under review it is not easy to speak. Unfortunately Nicolas V. had few successors like-minded with himself. The pontificates of Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere) and Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) were an open scandal to Christendom; and that of Alexander, which began in 1492, was



A LADY OF RANK RETURNING FROM CHURCH IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

In the mediæval ages, hardly less than in the great days of Greece and Rome, the ceremonial observance of rank and power was maintained, and characterised the commonest actions of daily life, no less than the affairs of state. This painting, and that on the opposite page, serve to illustrate the display made by ladies of rank in attending church.

From the painting by George H. Boughton, R.A.



A SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF A MEDIÆVAL MONARCH: LOUIS XI. IN THE HOME OF A PEASANT

As king of France, Louis XI. raised his country from the degradation of the Hundred Years' War, and did much to strengthen internal administration. Simple in taste, he frequently wandered in the public streets, and, upon occasion, as represented in the illustration, visited the home of a peasant, sharing in the poor repast of his humble subjects.

From the painting by J. Seymour Lucas, R.A., by the artist's permission

undoubtedly one of the events which prepared the way for the Reformation. It is perhaps a matter of praise rather than blame that all the Popes of this period were eager for the strengthening of the temporal dominion of the Church in Central Italy. After the troubles of the last two hundred years, the turbulence of Rome and the absurdity of the Avignonese "captivity," it was certainly a more sensible policy to try to build up a secure and independent papal state on the basis of the old "donations" than to repeat the obsolete pretensions of a Hildebrand or a Boniface to the deposition of emperors and the government of the world.

Turning now to the northern nations, we find that the later fourteen hundreds were a dreary time for England. In 1445, only two years after England's expulsion from France, began those terrible Wars of the Roses, in which it is difficult not to see the righteous judgment of heaven on the nation which had so wantonly devastated the fair fields of France.

One change, possibly beneficial, was the result of these sixteen years (1455–1471) of more or less continuous fighting. By them, and by the increasing use of artillery, which made the mediæval castle no longer impregnable, the power of the old feudal baronage was to a great extent broken, and king and people were left practically alone to make what they could of their country's fortunes. The century closed with Henry Tudor, the silent, statesmanlike, unamiable king, hoarding the treasures which were soon to be scattered by his lusty son.

The Old Feudal System Broken

In France a somewhat similar process was going on under the rule of Louis XI. (1461–1483). The characters of these two kings, Henry and Louis, present some points of resemblance, though it would not be fair to put that eminently respectable and devout paterfamilias, Henry Tudor on a level with the unscrupulous Louis of Valois, who hesitated at no crime to attain his ends, and who spent his lonely old age surrounded by his hireling Scottish archers in abject fear of death, "rising up at the voice of a bird" and oscillating between blasphemous irreverence and abject superstition. Yet Louis XI. had also some clear perception of the duty which he owed to the country over which he ruled. He was a most industrious king; he encouraged commerce and learning, and even in his successful endeavours to free himself from the strait-waistcoat of the feudal nobility, by which at his accession he found himself constrained, he had probably some consciousness that he was working for his people as well as for himself. The first revolt of the nobles against him called itself "The League of the Public Weal." Reviewing his reign at its close he might fairly have said, "At least I did more than they for the public weal to which they professed their devotion."

Ambitions of Charles the Bold

Chief of all the antagonists of Louis XI. was, of course, the head of the great house of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, who, with his wide domains for which he owed vassal-homage partly to France and partly to the empire, aspired to make himself independent of both realms, and would probably, had he lived and conquered, have founded a middle state, a kingdom of the Rhine, or something of the sort, which might have proved itself a blessing to Europe as a "buffer state" between France and Germany. This, however, was not to be. After years of open or secret conflict with his cousin Louis XI., a war of the Lion against the Fox, in which the Fox once or twice very nearly perished, he became involved in hostilities with his southern neighbours, the peasants of the Switzers' confederation. To the surprise of Europe the Swiss peasants overcame the mighty feudal lord; the stoutly held pike vanquished the battle array of chivalry. In three battles, Granson in 1476, Morat in 1476, and Nancy in 1477, Charles was completely beaten, and after the last a page found his dead body lying covered with wounds in a frozen swamp—the battle was fought on the fourth of January—and the Switzers took it up and bore it into Nancy for burial. In that frozen swamp lay dead the schemes of the aspiring house of Burgundy; and yet in a certain sense they rose again when Charles' orphaned daughter Mary gave her hand to the heir of the house of Austria. This heir was Maximilian. The Emperor Frederic III., who slumbered on the imperial throne for fifty-three years (1440–1493), did, at any rate, one sensible thing when he married, in 1452, the clever and beautiful Princess Eleonora of Portugal. The offspring of this union, Maximilian, born in

Marriage of Emperor Frederic III.



A GLIMPSE OF VENICE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement et Cie.

1459, was almost the last of the knights errant of Europe, a versatile and accomplished but somewhat unstable prince, a mighty hunter but an erratic statesman, who was elected king of the Romans in 1486, and who, on the death of his father, obtained the imperial crown.

All this, however, was still in the future, when, soon after the death of Charles the Bold, his daughter, beset with enemies on every side, gladly gave her hand to the goodly young knight Maximilian, saying: "Welcome, thou noble German blood, how has my heart longed for thee." It was a happy union, too soon closed by death—the young duchess died in 1482—but it changed the fate of Europe, for the issue of this marriage were two children, a son and a daughter, and the son, Philip the Handsome, is the prince who, as we have already seen, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and thus transmitted to his son Charles the heirship to the crowns of Spain and the New World. Let us just consider to what a height the house of Hapsburg, founded by the little Swabian knight only two centuries before, had now reached. They owned the Austrian provinces, Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Archducal Austria, etc., by inheritance; they had acquired by Maximilian's marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the wealthy and populous Low Countries, Holland and Belgium, together with Franche Comté- this, which was called the County of Burgundy, escaped for the time absorption by France. The duchy of Burgundy was successfully assimilated by Louis XI. on the death of Charles the Bold. Spain, too, and the Indies became theirs when Ferdinand and Isabella had gone, and the child born at Ghent in 1500 had a better chance of being elected to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire than any of his contemporaries.

The Great Possessions of the Hapsburgs

Later on—but this is beyond our present horizon—Bohemia and Hungary fell to a son of the same house, Ferdinand of Austria, by his marriage with Anne, the last descendant of the house of Luxemburg.

Well might other European houses have looked with envy and amazement at the immense possessions earned by this simple process of marriage, a sort of fortune-hunting in empires. A Latin epigram on the subject may be thus translated:

> While other princes wage their toilsome wars,
> Thou, lucky Austria, needest but to marry!
> Realms which to others are the spoils of Mars
> Propitious Venus to thy sons doth carry.

Truly the old emperor's five-vowel motto seemed to be growing near to fulfilment, perilously near for a Europe which might not wish to be altogether the heritage of Austria. It was probably clear to anyone who, with statesmanlike vision, surveyed the political horizon in the year 1500 that there was an inevitable struggle impending between two great states. On the one side was this wide-stretching Hapsburg domain, clutching at France on her southern, eastern, and north-eastern borders, ruling a large part of Eastern Europe, and possessing, for whatever it might be worth, the magic title of Holy Roman Empire, possessing also territories of unknown expanse beyond the Atlantic—truly a boa constrictor of an empire. On the other side was France, far smaller, but compact, rich in natural gifts and strong in the national spirit, which had been begotten in her by the hundred years of war with England. Such a contest, in truth, was the dominating factor in European politics for three centuries, strangely complicated and interfered with by another conflict which was to be born of thoughts already tentatively expressed by the middle-aged Erasmus, but which had not yet begun to germinate in the brain of the "poor scholar," Luther.

Shadows of a Coming Struggle

Italy was to be the prize for which the two great powers were first to strive, and the lists were, in fact, opened in 1494 by the Neapolitan expedition of Charles VIII., son of Louis IX. But the story of that expedition connects itself most naturally with the Italian wars of the following century. It seems better, in the words of Hallam, "here, while Italy is still untouched, and before as yet the first lances of France gleam along the defiles of the Alps, to close the history of the Middle Ages."

Italy's Fate in the Balance

THOMAS HODGKIN



MEDIÆVAL ANCESTORS OF BRITAIN'S ROYAL HOUSE: DRAWING LOTS FOR THE GUELF SUCCESSION

In accordance with the wishes of their father, and for the interests of the house, the seven sons of William the Pious agreed that only one of them should marry and continue the succession, and they decided to draw lots. This took place in 1592. Into the reputed helmet of their famous ancestor, William the Lion, six silver balls and one gold ball were placed and drawn for. The prize fell to George, the second youngest, who became grandfather to George I. of England. The above is reproduced from the painting by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.



THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE

THE ORIGINS OF THE TEUTONS

RISE OF THE GERMANIC RACES AND THE COMING OF THE BARBARIANS

THE original home of the Indo-Germanic races is not yet definitely known, notwithstanding many hypotheses proposed by experts. The comparative philology of these races provides no special reason for placing it in Scandinavia. While the proofs adduced by supporters of the theory are little to the point, the history of "prehistoric" civilisation can produce many contrary arguments. It is true that in their earliest home the Indo-Germanic races saw the phenomena of winter, such as snow; they knew the beech and birch-trees, the wolf and the bear, but no animals belonging definitely to a southern climate.

It remains to be explained how it was that the Indo-Germanic tribes left the wide continent of Asia to other races, and established themselves upon a line to the south of the Black and Caspian Seas and of Lake Ural, extending thence to India, thus occupying primarily the Asiatic district of South-east Europe and forcing their way among other races; it must be explained, again, how they contrived to conquer Europe, and to drive back or to hem in the primitive inhabitants in possession. Again, linguistic evidence contradicts the theory of a northern settlement, and the general picture of Indo-Germanic distribution points to some early centre which was situated in Europe itself and must be sought rather in the south. But, in plain terms, it is not at present possible to claim anything more than plausibility for any particular theory which professes to have located the original cradle of the Aryan peoples.

Whence Came the Indo-Germanic Tribes

Among the Aryan peoples, the Teutons form a definite separable group. The phonetics and grammar of their language and its vocabulary, their science, their household implements, their mode of life and constitution, their legal conceptions and their religious ideas display three distinctive facts. In the first place, they were merely developing materials which were the common property of all Indo-Germanic tribes; in the second place, they shared a civilisation always distinctive of west Indo-Germanic unity; and, in the third place, they maintained their old connection for a long period with the Slavo-Lithuanians on the one side and with the Kelts on the other, and it was from these groups that they broke away last of all. Further, they never reached a complete and self-contained unity, afterwards differentiated by further disruption. On the contrary, they grew as an incoherent group, always united by a bond of connection, and upon occasion by the special tie of relationship, but never attaining complete domestic uniformity, for the reason that their numbers prevented the rapid acquisition of any such ideal, and because their wide extension allowed the old underlying differences to revive and to complete the disruption of the whole group, when reinforced by new points of difference developed in a later stage of progress.

Where the Teutons Failed

These unifying and differentiating processes continue, neither gaining the preponderance, throughout the further stages of Teutonic history, and remain to the present day as forces operative upon the Teutonic nationality by way of opposition and contradiction. As civilisation increased, other conditions of difficulty were added to those of mere spatial distance; these were primarily political, and made themselves felt, for instance, in distinctions arising from differences of dialect and the desire to secure a written language.

Tribes in Search of Settlements

During the distribution of the Indo-Germanic tribes we find the Kelts advancing from the south and west and preceding the Teutons and Slavs upon routes which had been unquestionably marked out from early antiquity. The Slavs, on the other hand, are found to the east of the Teutonic tribes, which thus stand between the two. These Teutons reached the sea upon the shores of the Baltic, while the Indo-Iranians, the Greeks, the Illyrians, and the Italians reached it upon the south. We do not know how far they came into collision with the Kelts, and with the non-Aryan Finnish tribes lying to the west upon the northern line of advance. At any rate, they reached the Baltic long before the Slavs, and settled there as the western neighbours of the Finnish group.

The chronology of this movement is entirely unknown. We cannot say when the interchange of civilisation began which sprang up between the Teutons and the Finns, and continued until historical times. Possibly some more accurate evidence may be obtained by the science of comparative philology. Such inquiries will show what Teutonic or what Finnish elements were the earliest or came into closest connection. The Finns, at any rate, have retained a number of Teutonic words in extremely ancient form, corresponding almost precisely with the "Primitive Teutonic" which philologists have restored. On the other hand, this Finnish tendency to form loan-words from Teutonic has continued to a recent period; for instance, the Roman word *caupo*, the innkeeper whose inn was used as a shop by the simple Teutons, reappeared among the Finns in the form *kauppias*. Further evidence of the kind is the fact

Civilisation of Finns and Teutons

that about the period when Tacitus wrote, and afterwards, the Germans showed far more interest in the Finns than in the Slavs, and Roman authors and geographers obtained much information from them concerning the Finns. This information contained errors such as Germans would make. A branch of the Finns called themselves Quæns, while the Germans called them Finns, in their terminology. Originally, indeed, groups of peoples had no special appellation of their own. It was their neighbours who felt the necessity of discovering and popularising such appellations. In this way such terms as Welsh, German, Negro, Indian, Finn have arisen. The Germans called these Quæns by their own name Quen—the English Queen—and popular etymology then explained the word by supposing a female supremacy to exist among the Finns; this is accepted by Tacitus who gives full respect to all that he hears, but himself makes a fresh confusion of names. The debt owed by the Teutons to their intercourse with the Finns can probably be determined only by the excavations of the archæologists, who have recently discovered a new mode of tracing foreign influence by comparing the style and workmanship of domestic utensils; this clue takes us back through the Teutonic north of Europe to the Finno-Ugrian districts and to the primitive mines of the Ural and Siberia.

Prehistoric Mines in Siberia

As yet we are not aware whether the Teutons reached the Baltic at the point where this coast turns to the north or to the south. As evidence for the first supposition we can hardly regard the fact that the southern Teutons at a later period, with their "protective clothing," their mode of house construction, their astonishing powers of endurance, and many other preferences and customs, appear as a nation living much as the present inhabitants of the north, standing in this respect in a certain contrast to those who lived upon the same isothermal lines. There is, however, no doubt that the settlement of Scandinavia was not accomplished from this point, but only when the South-west Baltic was reached, though we cannot venture to say that the question is solved by supposing an early ignorance of navigation. It has been shown elsewhere that the ship is one of the earliest means of transport known to mankind. It is,



THE TEUTONS ON THE MARCH

in fact, far easier to travel along the coasts and to cross even open stretches of sea in simple vessels than to advance overland through uncleared forests and swamps with cattle and carts. This is an experience that forces itself upon the notice of any traveller who visits a forest country or archipelago washed by the sea and not yet open to civilisation. From their food it has certainly been concluded that those first inhabitants of Denmark, who left behind them the famous mussel heaps, or "kitchen-middens," were deep-sea fishers and mariners. Confirmatory evidence is afforded by the boldness with which these Germanic tribes, who afterwards belonged to the Frankish and Saxon alliances, ravaged during the first millennium of our era Britain and even more distant shores and coast lines of the Roman Empire. We know, again, how the Vikings, who harassed the Frankish kingdom, crossed the great North Sea upon vessels which could be rowed up rivers. We know what bold mariners were the Goths when they reached the Black Sea in the third century; even bolder at a later date were the Vandals of Africa; while later again the Scandinavian Waräger (Väringjar, Varinja, Varanger), who were thorough representatives of the old Teutonic civilisation, crossed the Baltic eastwards and reached the Finns, travelling as "rowers." They journeyed by river as far as the Black Sea, and even greater distances, dragging their ships from the Dwina to the Dnieper. There is no reason why the early Teutons should not have borne this character. Water communication wherever it exists is readily used, and a civilisation speedily arises astonishing in its complexity. The collections of antiquities from Stralsund, Schwerin, Kiel, Copenhagen and Stockholm display a civilisation with which no inland culture could compare. The similar impression of an early settlement relatively close and endowed with strong vitality is forced upon anyone who makes a personal acquaintance with the coast lands and islands of the Baltic; the old and remarkable prehistoric memorials and remains which are to be found around this sea far surpass anything of the kind upon the mainland. Their dispersion over the extensive districts of the Baltic produced an effect upon the Teutons corresponding to that of the Indo-Germanic dispersion. Local communication, which would have favoured the process of unification, was replaced by disintegrating influences; a unity that was never uniform, but in course of transition, began to break into subordinate groups. These were not formed instantaneously, but they began to arise, and we can speak of north Teutons and south Teutons. The latter are fundamentally identical with the so-called west Teutons, and these we know to be the same as the Germans.

The First Inhabitants of Denmark

Prehistoric Memorials on the Baltic

To the north Teutons belong the modern Scandinavian tribes, where they are not of Finnish or Lappish origin, and the Danes, whose early settlements were also upon the southern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the dawn of history the southern Germans are to be found upon the south coast of the Baltic, both in Mecklenburg, in West Pomerania, and further south, and also upon the peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, which for simplicity will henceforth be referred to as Jutland. The traditions of the peoples themselves must be accepted as evidence with the greatest caution, and certainly cannot be regarded as providing proof upon problems of such remote antiquity. At the same time, the powers of memory in nations which possessed no writing have been proved to be remarkable; in their simple poems, composed under the reverent and critical examination of the whole community, they created "annals" for themselves, as Tacitus calls them, and we may therefore refer to the fact that the south Teutons, in contrast to their related tribes, know nothing of any sudden change of abode; as Tacitus learnt, they regarded themselves as indigenous. The fact would be true if the original home of the Indo-Germanic tribes was actually about the Baltic and the North Sea; and they certainly were native to the soil in so far as they did not pass the Baltic.

Kelts and Teutons as Neighbours

Teutonic borrowings from the Kelts are obvious. The Kelts were early neighbours of the Teutons; they had retained their sympathy with Mediterranean culture, and especially with the Italians, and had advanced to the North Sea at an early period from the other side. In the case of the many points of linguistic contact between the Kelts and the Teutons, we must naturally separate

those elements which are due to common association in late Indo-Germanic times, and the borrowings of a later period, when the Germans came into contact with the Kelts in a second intimacy, and with newly acquired wishes for civilisation. Naturally the absence of any permanent geographical division from the neighbouring settlers, and German desire for instruction and capacity to learn, both perhaps acting as alternate influences, made this nation especially inclined from the outset to borrow from others. The Kelts thus first acted as the tutors of the Germans, and this to a remarkable extent, until the Romans relieved them of the task; the Germans then transmitted part of these acquisitions to the remaining Teutonic tribes, and also to the Slavo-Lithuanians.

Among a large number of borrowings from Keltish etymology were many terms dealing with war and settlement, and especially with means of transport, also the word "riks" = "commander." The Germans, indeed, as a result of their peculiar political system, made no proper use of the term; but the word became popular as an element in the proper names of distinguished people; for instance, Bojorix among the Cimbri (the later termination "-rich" in Friedrich or Frederic, etc., is the same). Teutonic name-formations of various kinds point to close connection with these recently discovered Keltic sources. At a later period we find names like Flavius, Claudius, Civilis, Serapion; at the time of the Hunnish supremacy we find Hunwulf, Hunigais, with other similar borrowings throughout German history to the time of Jean, Louis, Henry and Harry, wherever foreign fashion overmastered the Teutons; similarly, in the earliest period, we find the formation of proper names under Keltic influence. From time to time, however, the Germans were obliged to find names for larger or smaller groups of people; at a later period they do not disdain to borrow from vulgar Latin—for instance, Ribuarii, Ripuarii, afterwards Germanised as Reiffer and Reifferscheid. So, on the Teutonic side, we can show phonetic similarity or parallel formation between Gaulish and German tribal names. Such instances as Brigantes and Burgundians, both appellations of a mountaineering people, explain the fact, though such cases may again be due to chance.

How the Germans Got Their Names

The Teutons received but few elements of civilisation from the Lithuanian group during their immediate neighbourhood, and equally little from the Slavs when these latter gradually advanced to their immediate frontiers. On the other hand, Lithuanians and Slavs received much from the Teutons. Their relationship is analogous to that of the Teutons and Kelts. Among other things they gained from the Teutons expressions for the idea of lordship, and received the Keltic term "riks" and the Teutonic "-walt" and "kuningass." "Kuningass" became the Lithuanian "kuningas," and was used as a distinctive title of superiority, which was applied to the priest at a later date; in Slavonic this latter form was reduced to "kuas" and "kneese." Eventually "karol(us)" also became "kral" and "kroll" ("krull"). The Slavonic method of forming proper names was also influenced by Teutonic methods; "vladimir" corresponds exactly with the "walt-" and "-mero" of Teutonic names, and "-mero" (Segimer, Sigmar, Ingwiomer, etc.) appears to correspond with the frequent Keltic termination "-marus," used in proper names. Finally, the Slavo-Lithuanians received from the Teutons a considerable number of expressions dealing with intercommunication and economic facts.

Influence of Teutons on the Slavs

Between the south Germans, next to the Kelts and the Slavo-Lithuanians, were settled for some time, apart from the Finnish peoples, another branch of the Teutonic group—namely, the east Teutons. The name has been chosen by philologists, whose researches are founded upon the Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas, other literary works of an ecclesiastical nature, a few inscriptions upon domestic articles, some scattered words in Latin texts, and numerous proper names belonging to kindred nationalities. These latter lost their original characteristics or disappeared at an earlier or later date. In the seventeenth century we hear of the last east Teutons—namely, the Crimean Goths. Philology regards as east Teutons those Teutons of the mainland who were linguistically more nearly related to the Scandinavians than to the Germans. At the same time the east Teutons on the continent lost all sense of connection with their northern relatives, and either

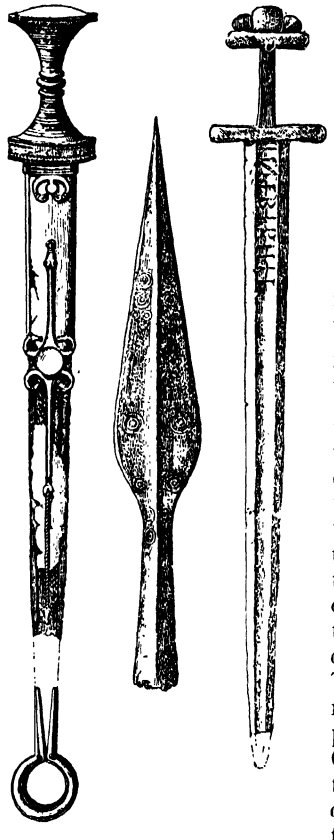
Gothic Translation of the Bible

developed independently, or under the strong influence of the west Teutons. On philological grounds, east Teutons include the Goths, together with the Gepids, Rugians, Skires, Vandals, Burgundians, Herulians, and perhaps some earlier ethnographical unities. The pioneer work of Julius Ficker has thrown light upon these problems from the side of comparative jurisprudence—a more valuable, because a more conservative source of information.

A comparison of the common elements in the earliest legal codes has shown that, besides the Goths and Burgundians, the Lombards and Frisians possessed a system of tribal law closely related to that of the north Teutons. Where the sciences of philology and comparative law proceed side by side in this matter, they support one another entirely, and no contradictory points are apparent. It must only be remembered that the linguistic development of the groups proceeds upon geographical principles and not according to "genealogical relationship," which for historical purposes is practically useless.

If at the present day we carefully consider as a whole the legal, philological, geographical and literary evidence, and any other points of the kind, no doubt can be felt as to the origin of the east Teutons. They are emigrants from Scandinavia, who settled upon the continent. They broke away from the north Teutons, and, in fact, are nothing more than the early Vikings, who went out as colonists in historical times, attempted to establish themselves, and while they succeeded in some districts they were driven back in others.

A certain number at least of these old east Teutons are by no means a nation which emigrated as a whole, but represent discontented fragments broken away from original communities; they are thus emigrants in the true sense of the term, seeking wider and fairer districts than the rocky forest-land of Sweden could offer. So far as we possess their native legends, we find mention of this emigration from Scandinavia, which is thus a useful confirmation of existing evidence.



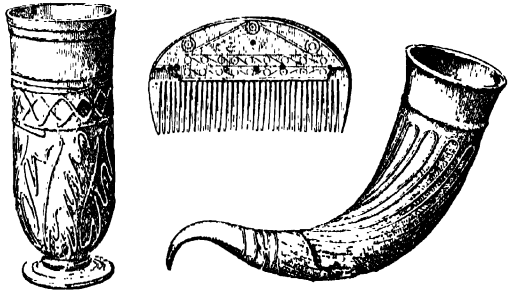
GERMAN WEAPONS OF WAR
These ancient instruments of warfare were in use by the Teutons in their early struggles, and are of great historic interest. The first is a long iron sword with heavy handle, encased in an ornamented sheath of brass or bronze. The sharp iron point of a lance is represented in the second figure, while the third is that of an iron sword, with Runic inscription, belonging to a somewhat later period than the other two weapons shown.

Upon the question as to the manner in which the emigration was performed, we have evidence at hand both for a maritime and for a land route. General experience of other cases would lead us to conclude that the ship was the more usual means of transport. At the same time there is no doubt that the land route through the Danish islands and through Jutland also played some part.

This question concerns us in the case of the Goths, whose recollections of Scandinavia are preserved by their historian Jordanes in the sixth century A.D., who used earlier Gothic narratives; and also in the work of Cassiodorus the Senator, the chancellor and chronicler of Theoderic the Great. The name which was originally spelled "Gutans" is preserved in the modern Götarike, found in the extensive districts to the south of the old Swedish territories and in the name of the island of Gothland. At the time when the Roman narrative was written the emigrant east Teutonic Goths were settled on the coast of the continent in the Baltic districts of the Vistula and about Gutalus. The legal code of Gothland and that of Götarike in later centuries display some points of resemblance; the same may be said of the mediæval Spanish legal codes, which are fundamentally west Gothic. Jordanes mentions the Greutungs, who formed one section of the historical Ostrogoths, and were also included among the Scandinavian peoples as Greotingi. Double

appellations of this kind are by no means uncommon among the eastern and northern Teutons.

It is supposed that the Goths reached the mainland in part by crossing the Baltic. Evidence, however, of somewhat doubtful value—it is, indeed, our earliest reference to the Teutons—points to a more complicated route. At the time of Alexander the Great, Pytheas of Massilia, the tin merchant and navigator, reached the "Gulf of Ocean," near the amber island Abalos, upon his famous voyage to the north, and encountered the Gutones; this name would correspond with the Gutans, if the emendation be correct. Pliny's manuscript, which has alone preserved to us the accounts of Pytheas, has the word "Guiones." The island of Abalos is most probably to be sought on the north coast of Frisia, where much amber was found; the soldiers of Germanicus also knew of an amber island in that part, known as Glæsaria or Austeravia, the east island. Both of these are Teutonic words. The Romans changed the Teutonic for amber into *glæsum*, and *avia* is the old German *au*, the connotation of which was eventually limited by a loan word for "island." Hence the "Gulf of Ocean" must be that off the Elbe, and the narrator Pytheas must have found the Goths after their migration to the continent. The west Teutons, who were defending their settlements, must have left the Goths in peace, for the moment, upon their east side.



HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS OF THE TEUTONS

The use of these articles is obvious at a glance. Both vessels were used for drinking purposes, the one being a glass goblet and the other a glass drinking horn, while the middle object is a toilet comb.

The Rugi once occupied Rügen, and gave it this name. Perhaps it was in consequence of their stay in that island that, as Jordanes tells us, they bore the name Holm-Rügen. Holm is a northern word for island. Jordanes also speaks of Etelrugi instead of Ethelrugi, which is the form we should expect; the phonetic spelling of names by Jordanes in the manuscript of his work is of no philological value. In Scandinavia are to be found Rygir and Holmrygir. The Rugi also shared in the historical settlement of Britain, and the record has been preserved to us in the name of "Surrey." Gothic tradition tells us that the Goths came into conflict with the Holm-Rügen in the course of their settlement upon the mainland; the scene of the struggle must be sought at the mouth of the Oder.

The earlier history of the Vandals is even more obscure. The various phonetic spellings of their name by the Romans and Greeks show that the accent must have been on the first syllable. About the year 100 A.D. they were settled to the north, between the Elbe and the Vistula, and thence advanced by the line of the Oder.

The name "Burgundians" implies mountain inhabitants. Burg, a secondary form of Berg, first attained this connotation at a later period, owing to the fact that the Teutonic art of fortification clung to the old methods of retirement to the mountains for purposes of defence. Hence we cannot be surprised at the word "Teutoburg" for a mountain range. The Burgundians have left behind them the names of Borgundarholm and Bornholm in memory of their former geographical position. At a later period they were settled upon the Vistula and in the district of the Netze to the south of the Goths, where their character as mountaineers could no longer be preserved.

The Herulians followed the remaining east Teutons at a comparatively late date, for the reason that they were driven out by the Danes in Scandinavia. Of the continental Teutons they remained the most original, by the preservation of their old customs and by the bold, defiant childishness of their national character. Legend or popular tradition is wanting in their case, as in those of the Rugi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians; there are, however, several signs that their Scandinavian recollections were preserved. Towards the end of the migratory period

they were involved in the troubles of their neighbours and reduced to an unsettled, wandering life. Part of them eventually reached the North Sea, crossing a mountainous country, and thence travelled to Scandinavia, where in the modern Sweden they found a hospitable reception at the hands of the Götes. We have several pieces of evidence that they reserved their right to return in case their migration should prove fruitless, and that the despatch of successive parties was continued as a regular arrangement. Thus the Vandals, at the time when their African kingdom was flourishing, did not permit their compatriots who had been left behind in Pannonia to occupy the districts reserved for the emigrants in the event of their return.

Herulians Find a Home in Sweden

It would be bad criticism to regard the somewhat meagre traditions of the Lombards as unworthy of critical examination. According to these traditions they regarded themselves as a third part of the people of the Winiles—"the warriors" or "the battle-loving" of Scandinavia. Their legal code most nearly resembles those of the Frisians and the Saxons—that is, the isolated group known to philologists as Anglo-Frisians, who form the connecting link between the south and the north Teutons, who had advanced to the north at an early date. During the first century A.D. we find a people settled on the banks of the Lower Elbe under the name of the Bards or Langobards, thus named from the battle-axe with which they were armed. Velleius Paterculus said that "they even surpass the usual Teutonic ferocity," and Tacitus observes that "they are respected for their scanty numbers, as they can make head in battle against far stronger neighbours." About the year 165 they left their homes and migrated to Pomerania; thence, about 200, they crossed to the right bank of the Vistula, which the Goths had already abandoned, and entered the district of Galinden. About 380 they proceeded through the district of the Lithuanian Jatwinges to the land of the Antes north of the Carpathians. Had no Lombard elements remained upon the Lower Elbe—they were afterwards amalgamated with the Saxons—there would probably have been no local names compounded with Barden, and certainly no Bardengau in the Elbe district about Bardowieck. To sum up, east Teutons, in the general sense of the term, were therefore the Goths, the Gepids, the Rugi, the Skiri, the Vandals, and the Burgundians. That they and the west Goths were conscious of any fundamental difference between these groups is impossible. The political and ethnographical ideas of the old Teutons were extremely simple; they were narrow, and yet open-hearted. That the east Teutons were ready to learn from the west Teutons was a possibility not prevented by any admitted opposition between the two groups, but not necessarily forwarded by any feeling of relationship. The civilisation handed on by the Germans to the east Teutons is in no way different from that given to the Finnish peoples and afterwards to the Slavo-Lithuanians. At an early period the Frisians arrived at the sea by that westerly path which was afterwards closed to the Lombards. It was not until a later date that they extended eastward and northward to their near relatives, the Angles and the Jutes, chiefly upon the islands of the North Sea.

Tacitus on the Lombards

Their exclusive connection with the south Teutons produced similarity between their language and the dialect of that branch, and since the discovery of Frisian linguistic memorials a steady absorption of the Frisian by the Low German dialect has been observed. In other words, the Frisians became part of the west Teutons, or Germans, in consequence of that course of linguistic and political development which they pursued.

Legends of the Saxons

The Saxons, who also took their name from their favourite weapon, preserved legends relating to the arrival of their earliest ancestors upon the continent, which must be considered in connection with the Anglo-Frisian position, which they shared, as intermediary between the south and north Teutons. Though the Saxons were not west Teutons from the outset, they entered the west Teutonic group at a comparatively early date, and helped towards the foundation of a special German nationality. With the south Teutons of modern North Germany they formed that permanent confederation to which they have given their name; this confederacy again was subjugated to the Frankish monarchy, while the empire exercised an increasing influence upon the solidarity of the Saxons, as upon the Frisians.

THE RISING TIDE OF TEUTON POWER

AND ROME'S VAIN ATTEMPT TO STAY IT

BEFORE Romans or Teutons learned anything of one another the Germans had been borrowing civilisation from the Kelts, upon whom they pressed with slow but irresistible expansion. Unfortunately, no Keltic Livy or Tacitus has written a history of these events. The sources of our knowledge lie hidden in language, in geographical names, or in the specimens of archæological collections; at the same time, we cannot always share the confidence of those who explain these memorials. Only when the movement happens to touch some nerve in the old Mediterranean civilisation does the light of literature flame up and illumine some fragments of the advancing Teutonic band, or of its pioneers and scouts. Then these fleeting events are again shrouded in the prevailing obscurity. Until the time of Cæsar we have only scattered notices of the general migratory movements of the Teutons, and chance fragments or poems pointing to place and time. Such a fragmentary record may be found in the report of Pytheas, and we may thence conclude that the western Germans of the Teutonic advance had reached the mouth of the Rhine about 30 B.C. The next mark of this concentric expansion is to be found on the south side; after 200 B.C. the Bastarnæ, indisputably a Germanic tribe, had reached the Carpathians, and part of them were taken into the service of the Macedonian kings as auxiliaries against Rome. The next phenomenon related by Roman contemporaries is the advance of the Cimbri. Then comes Ariovistus.

The Teutons Hired to Fight Rome

Of this great advance against the Keltic nationality, shrouded in darkness as it is, we may at least say this: where the Teutons found good arable land they advanced with steady determination and left no room for the previous inhabitants except for those subjugated members who were bound to pay tribute. The central mountain district of Germany attracted them neither to form definite settlements nor to enter on a serious struggle; they attempted to move onward. Hence, we may explain the wide wanderings of such tribes. Their household goods and property, animate or inanimate, were carried with them, and their one desire was to secure a permanent settlement upon good arable ground; this was an indispensable condition. Hence, too, we may explain the unusual characteristics of that portion of the Suevi who advanced from the east. Cæsar describes them as undecided, supporting themselves with great difficulty, and going back to an earlier form of communism. Thus advancing from the mountain lands on the right bank of the Rhine, they disturbed the population in the neighbourhood, and made no difficulty in retiring before Cæsar's two advances across the line. The case was otherwise in the year 16 A.D. with the Cherusci, who conceived, though they did not execute, the idea of evacuating the country and retiring beyond the Elbe, only after they had suffered a military defeat.

Cæsar and the Germans

The details of this great and general movement are manifold. Sometimes a few emigrants separate from their compatriots. At other times whole populations or federated populations set forth voluntarily; this latter is the rarer case, and was due to the compulsion of war and not to want of land. While some went abroad to seek their fortunes, others, if they felt themselves strong, attempted to found a settlement at their neighbour's expense.

Either they conquer, and the tribes they expel are forced to emigrate, or they are driven back by the peoples they menace, who defend themselves in isolation or in alliance until the attempt is given up or the assailants are annihilated, as were the Ambsivari. The general result of these individual movements, which are repeated at

many points, and continually disturb the settled populations, is the map of the Teuton peoples as depicted by the Roman geographers and by Tacitus. Any attempt to form from their description an accurate picture of the distribution of the prehistoric groups must be given up as practically hopeless. The confusion and interconnection of the German tribes is extraordinarily complex, and all attempts to arrange chronological tables will end at least a decade out of date. The method of grouping upon the basis of Ingwäones, the Istwäones, and Erminones as the "old tribes," which has recently been revived, must be abandoned. It is ethnologically valueless, and it is useful only as showing the legendary connection between nations, based as it is upon those early yearnings for legends of primeval origin which are manifest in all nations who think themselves of any account. The German tribes do not descend, but are formed in the course of history, are brought together by the stress of political circumstances, and then attempt to secure a unity by mutual accommodation.

Blending of the Tribes

Anyone who wishes to examine the recent, and therefore more intelligible, evidence may consider the people of Würtemberg, or of the Netherlands, who have broken away from their old nationalities and have become fresh unities by the amalgamation of very different elements; or the Bavarians of modern Bavaria, who are in the course of this development. At a previous date the Germans who migrated eastward beyond the Elbe, though of most varied origin, thus coalesced in the districts of the Mark, Silesia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia. Long before came the Anglo-Saxons; before them again the Saxons, the Franks, Alamanni, Baioarii; before them again the Belgæ and others. In later periods foreign oppression, dynastic policy, and deliberate alliances have done much to accelerate such amalgamations. In their historical periods the Germans are seen with no special political or ethnical appellation other than those which belong to their component nationalities, or to their transitory and often fortuitous and fragile federations for political purposes. The nationality is the final great conception of unity, known as the "folk," or "diet." With this alone is connected the idea of a common language, and of mutual understanding in habitual association. When fragments of this nationality emigrate, in certain cases they retain the name of their parent stock throughout their wanderings, as is the case with the Goths or the Cimbri, or the Charudes, who came from the peninsula of Jutland to Ariovistus. If they become newly settled in an independent unity, they generally assume fresh titles, such as were taken by the Lombards, who were offshoots of the Winiles, and by the Batavi. These were members of the Chatti, who reached the great river island (Au, Ava) between the Rhine and the Waal during the general movements before Cæsar's period, and settled there.

Factors in Tribal Unions

From this island, the Bat-Au, the modern Betuwe, they called themselves Batavi, although they retained the ancestral nomenclature when afterwards providing names for individual settlements in their territory; these names thus begin with "kat." Their legal code is also that of the Chatti. But the two peoples ceased to hold intercourse; the Chatti shared in the phonetic shifting of the second High-German transition, while the Batavi retain their older phonetic system even to the present day, as in the name Katwijk. In this later process of name-giving, changing geographical conditions play an important part; we may mention only the further examples of the Ambsivari, who took their name from the Ems, or of the Sigambri on the Sieg, river names which are older and of Keltic origin. These local appellations come into general use only when a settlement has determined upon permanent residence. While Cæsar's Suevi were wandering vaguely on the right bank of the Rhine, or Ariovistus was attempting to found a supremacy on the Upper Rhine and in Gaul with fragments of the Suevi and other adherents, individual tribal names lost their material character and were all, or chiefly, absorbed in the great and famous federation of the Suevi in the districts upon the Elbe and Havel; all these people called themselves and were called Suevi. But when the iron girdle of the Roman Empire and of Roman policy forced the Suevi to abandon their advance, to leave their neighbours in peace, and to settle perforce in the hill country on the right bank of the Rhine, we meet with their separate tribal names in place of the general term "Suevi."

The Iron Girdle of Rome

While the Cimbri were migrating, we hear of no other name than that borne by their original stock; but the remnant of them who stayed in Gaul became Aduatuci.

From the North Sea to Bohemia and the Beskides, the Keltic nationality was spread at first along the whole line of the Teuton advance, and the Teutons themselves perceived that it was with this nationality they had to reckon. They required some word to connote the totality of the Kelts, and for this purpose they generalised the national name of the Keltic "Volcae," as the Romans afterwards wrote it, in the form "Walchen." The Kelts already possessed fortified places, which the Germans attacked in vain, owing to their defective skill in fortification and siege work. They had finer and better made weapons, which the Teutons could obtain only by importation, which proved more or less profitable; for instance, the Cimbri eagerly possessed themselves of these weapons, and considered them valuable objects of plunder. The public life of the Kelts was more advanced, and their military spirit was stronger; in all these respects the Teutons could learn much from them. In spite of these advantages, the Kelts gave way before the more primitive and humbler nation, and retired, as in later years the warrior Germans retreated before the advancing wave of the frugal Slavs. The Teutons, who found their North German plains too narrow, advanced by the course of the Weser, and drove back to the Ruhr Mountains from the Thuringian forest a set of tribes whom archæologists have regarded as forming a comparatively recent Keltic outpost. With far greater vigour than in the hill country of Central Germany they crossed the Lower Rhine and proceeded to occupy the Keltic territory. They were not wholly able to expel all the inhabitants, or afterwards to absorb them. They became masters of the country as far as the Schelde, the Upper Maas, and the confluence of the Saar and Moselle; between them, however, remained many Keltic settlements, either in independence or in subjugation, and the invaders began to be absorbed by the Keltic nationality, as afterwards happened to the Franks, the advance guard of the second Teutonic wave of conquest and domination. They became Belgæ, numbering twenty-seven nationalities in Cæsar's time, and still conscious of their Teutonic origin, though only five of the Belgian nationalities living near the Rhine were then actually Teutons. The Batavi formed the connecting link between these Belgæ and the Teutons on the right bank of the Rhine.

The Kelts Give Way to the Teutons

With these events in the Netherlands and Gaul the rise of the name "German" is connected. As we have already seen elsewhere, the Germans themselves did not produce this appellation for their nationality, but the Kelts, who felt the need for some such general term. The "Germans" have not, to the present day, developed any general feeling for the necessity of any special designation denoting their philological totality—Germans, English and Scandinavians. Those scientists who feel the necessity are contented with the old Keltic term, which the Romans adopted, and which German scholars borrowed from them. The Keltic origin of the word "German" is beyond doubt, though its etymological significance is not certain. All that can be said is that it was an expression suitable to denote non-Keltic nations, for the Kelts also applied it to their Iberian neighbours, the Oretani. On the Rhine they gave this name, as Tacitus reports, to the Tungri, who were the first to cross. "Thus the word was extended from its original application to a tribe to cover a whole nation," wrote Tacitus, and this tribe, first temporarily known as German, resumed its name of Tungri.

Origin of the Word "German"

Cæsar, like Tacitus at a later period, closely examined the general relationship of the peoples established in Belgium, and with the care of an ethnographer, whose researches were guided by the wide political outlook of a rising power, was the first to point out the accurate lines of distinction between Gauls and Germans. Meanwhile it has gradually become clear that the Cimbri also belonged to that mysterious wave of peoples which the Gauls called Germans. Not until after the Cimbrian war, about the period of the great Servile war, does the opinion become clear in Rome, for which Cæsar was the first to give the desired and necessary evidence.

Cæsar's Work of Research

The migration of the Cimbri is one of the numerous subordinate movements among the Teutonic tribes. Its importance is due to the fact that it led to the first

immediate collision between Teutons and Romans, and obliged the latter henceforward to devote careful attention to the nations appearing upon the geographical and political horizon to the north of the Alps. It is impossible to dispute the fact of the later existence of a nation of the Cimbri upon the Cimbrian peninsula by which the wandering bands were absorbed. The inhabitants of this peninsula were in relations with Augustus, surrendered to him the plunder which they had received from the migrating Cimbri, and were settled in a district which was by no means an *ultima thule* for the Romans, whose fleets then sailed the Elbe, who had gained the Frisians for allies, and who were considerably successful in their efforts to acquire a geographical knowledge of the whole Teutonic nationality, including the Scandinavian portion. When, however, these emigrants found their home too small, at what date they started out, how much time they spent in travelling or fighting their way through the Germans upon the south, through modern Central and Upper Germany, and through the Keltic nations there established are questions entirely shrouded in obscurity. It is not until the last years of the second century B.C. that we gain any information upon the nature of their migrations.

Romans on the Elbe

In the year 113 B.C. the Cimbri had reached the north frontier of the Alps; commercial and political considerations had already turned the attention of the Romans in this direction. It was in the process of dividing the Keltic territories that the Romans and Teutons collided for the first time. The Cimbri considered that the world was wide enough for them both, and that the Keltic districts were extensive enough to suffer division into a Roman and Teuton sphere of interest. The same views are afterwards expressed by Ariovistus, and in either case there is no direct intention of challenging or attacking the deeply respected power of Rome. The Cimbri respectfully informed the Romans that they had heard of their victories over the Kelts, and were therefore anxious to secure a friendly accommodation. Whether they are treacherously surprised or openly attacked, the Cimbri gain victory after victory over the Roman armies; at the same time they are ever ready to make peace, send ambassadors to Rome, and continually urge that the Roman government should not oppose their establishment at a suitable point in the Keltic districts. Rome, on the other hand, which had suddenly become conscious of this Keltic question, though not knowing who the disturbers really were, declined to admit their requests, drove away the compliant emigrants from the north frontier of the Alps, and gave them no rest, even in Gaul.

The Cimbri's Victories Over Rome

At that point the Cimbri met with companions in misfortune, the Teutones, a great horde of emigrants like themselves, with the exception that those homeless Teutones were more probably of Keltic than of Teutonic origin. Their attempts to find settlements in Gaul, either in the dominions of the Romans or in those of the brave Belgi, had proved fruitless. An invasion of the Cimbri into Spain had led to equally little result, and the two hordes, recognising the unity of their purpose, resolved to march upon Italy. The Teutones chose the road over the western Alps, the Cimbri returned by way of Noricum, which was better known to them, across the Brenner Pass. Closer examination shows that there is more reason to suppose some rivalry between them than any project of military co-operation, such as Rome with her political ideas naturally imagined.

Great March on Italy

It is impossible to say whether the Cimbri were pursuing any definite plan, whether they had resolved with greater determination than before upon the conquest of Upper Italy, the most fruitful of the Keltic districts, the occupation of which the Romans had recently begun, or whether they merely wished to compel Rome to buy off their menaces at the price of some final concessions in Gaul. Further, the fact that the Cimbri left their baggage in Northern Gaul in the care of a detachment left behind for the purpose seemed to show that they merely intended a threat. Moreover, when they had driven the German armies out and secured a footing, instead of entering Gallia Cispadana, they spent much time in irresolute wanderings in the district of Gallia Transpadana, which was not yet entirely subjugated by Rome.

When Caius Marius at length confronted them they again demanded from him permission to found a settlement for themselves and for the Teutones, as otherwise it would

be impossible for them to make peace. It was only by the scornful answer of Marius that they learned of the previous destruction of the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ. On the Raudian plain before Vercellæ, Marius inflicted equal destruction upon them. Of the migrating Cimbri there remained only the detachment which had been left in Gaul; these people secured a settlement among the Belgæ, and their amalgamation with the Tungri produced the Belgian nationality of the Aduatuci.

The Cimbri were followed by other emigrants, who advanced within the Roman Empire in their northern search for settlements. At the point where the Rhine crosses the fruitful plains and the temperate region to the north of the Alps, Germanic peoples forced their way and settled as the advance guards of the Germanic settlements around the old Keltic towns; the Nemeti appear about Speyer, the Vangiones about Worms, the Triboci about Strassburg. The great river of Keltic name now flowed, as regards its middle and upper reaches, no longer through Keltic territory, or only through scanty portions of it. Throughout the districts of the Main and the Danube the Kelts were thrown into disturbance by the Teutons, were forced into movement, and collided with one another. From the Main to the Alps they retreated before the Teutons and surrendered their country, even before the invaders had determined upon its capture or retention.

The Teutons in Search of an Easy Life

Thus in the angle of the Rhine, about the modern Baden and Würtemberg, the southward advance of the Helvetii created the "Helvetian Desert," and in this form the land about the Black Forest to the east remained ownerless for a long period. The Teutons were more than ever anxious to secure a settlement where the soil and the climate would produce a rich and easy life. They were not then the patient agriculturists of later centuries; to that point they were educated only by the necessity for self-content. Their character at this time is rather arbitrary and pugnacious than hardworking or laborious.

While we proceed to base these events upon motives and interests of low standard, we must not judge them with too narrow a mind, or forget that migration begets the desire for wandering. The plains of the Upper Rhine attracted the advance guard of the conquerors with far greater force than the mountains of Upper Germany, and the sunlit civilisation of the west and south also proved an enticement. More successful than the Cimbri two generations earlier, Ariovistus and the bands of Suevi which he led were able to make themselves masters of Sequani to the south of the Triboci, to seize the plains on the Upper Rhine and on the south, and thence to extend westward towards Jura and the Doubs. The process of Belgian occupation in North Gaul began to repeat itself in the centre of the country.

Cæsar's Pacific Policy

Rome had been greatly paralysed by domestic dissension, and it was high time for her to resume the Teutonic policy which she had carried out against the Cimbri and to secure the pacification of the Keltic district. Cæsar appeared as the great leader of this policy; he began by repelling the Helvetii, who had found life uncomfortable in their contracted settlements, which were invaded by other Keltic tribes; exploring bands of Teutons increased their anxieties, and they were therefore seeking a settlement in Gaul to the west. Cæsar's victories drove them back, and he was able to use them as a buffer against the Germans. Ariovistus gave them no help; under the consulate of Cæsar, Rome had sent him presents of honour with royal insignia and had given him the title of a friendly king. When the Helvetian question had been settled, Cæsar turned against him. The conference between the two leaders led to no result, and is remarkable only for the fact that Ariovistus was willing to lead his men as Roman auxiliaries if they might remain peacefully in their settlements among the Sequani. But Cæsar was not only anxious to drive them out, but was compelled to do so; their expulsion was necessary, not only for the sake of the Gauls, but also for that of the remaining Teutonic tribes. An appeal to arms resulted in his favour, as in the case of his great-uncle Marius, whose triumphal monument he had admired in his youth.

Cæsar in Pursuit of a Great Object

Cæsar was now able to pursue his great object; he proposed to solve the Keltic problem definitely by closing Gaul to any Teutons whatsoever, and making the Rhine a frontier of the Roman Empire. He had preferred not to venture on the experiment of including Ariovistus within

the province he was about to create; but this policy he followed in the case of the Belgæ, who had lost their Teutonic nationality and become Gauls, although they offered the bravest resistance. The Belgæ were necessary to him to complete his work; he wished to make them the bulwark of his great province of Gaul, and not to leave them as a standing danger and a basis for marauding raids upon Gallia Minor. He was able to win over the Teutonic Ubii with greater ease; this tribe felt the need of such support, as they were continually struggling against wandering bands of Suevi and other neighbours.

Cæsar's Broken Pledges

When Cæsar closed the inlets of Gaul, these Teutonic struggles upon the Rhine naturally grew more intense. Such Teutonic bands as crossed the Rhine were destroyed by Cæsar with an utter disregard of his pledged word, even when they were the victims of those same Suevi, whom he regarded as the origin of these disturbances. Against the Suevi he undertook his two expeditions on the right bank of the Rhine, which merely forced that tribe to retire to the interior; these attempts were speedily ended by Cæsar before any disaster could occur. The Rhine frontier, however defective as a boundary, was retained throughout the decade following Cæsar's supreme command in Gaul. When the Teutons, who had been finally driven from their habitations, were admitted to the west bank—as, for instance, the Ubii—permission was given them to settle in definite form. Moreover, during the revolt of Vercingetorix Cæsar had opened a new profession to dissatisfied and restless Teutons by admitting them into the Roman service as auxiliary troops; it was a profession which speedily rose to repute, and was regarded as analogous to the German system of war bands.

Teutons in the Roman Service

It remained to repeat Cæsar's policy on the Rhine, and on the Danube also, before the Teutons reached and crossed that river. This was done by Cæsar's intellectual and political heir, Augustus, through the creation of the provinces of Noricum and Rhætia; the task was carried out without disturbance from the Teutons, whose main body had advanced no further than the Main. New and more portentous incursions and disturbances broke out in the Rhine district. Rome did not care to remain content with the inadequate frontier line afforded by the river. When a world-empire is on the rise and its neighbours are in a state of political unrest there is an unconscious tendency to push the frontier forward. Cæsar had secured Gaul; Augustus and his followers attempted to protect the three divisions of Gaul by means of the provinces of Germania.

The first and second provinces of Germania were easily and rapidly created, as they were situated upon the left bank of the Rhine and composed of the German settlements already in existence; it remained to secure the third Germania province by carrying the eagles of Rome to the Elbe, and thus following the lines of commercial intercourse which had been opened by traders in the frontier districts. Then in the year 16 B.C. the incompetency of the legate M. Lollius produced a general resumption of hostilities.

How the Teutons were Romanised

Nero Claudius Drusus had made the Rhine frontier a strong basis of operations by providing a full supply of forts and garrisons even upon the right bank; Mainz was the central point, while the construction of the Fossa Drusi had made the navigation possible at the mouth of the river in the larger delta of the Rhine, which then lay further eastward than at the present time. He had won over the Batavi and the Frisians to accept a position of subjugation similar to that of the Belgæ, under Roman supremacy, had sent a fleet to the coasts of the North Sea and up the German rivers, and had traversed the future province in various directions with his army. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the brother and successor of Drusus, who died upon his return from the last great expedition in 9 B.C., pursued the same policy. Experience had, however, shown him that the Teutons were most easily Romanised if they were allowed to go their own way, were compelled to acknowledge Roman supremacy, and were left to offer their support, whereas a series of campaigns and premature plans of subjugation were more likely to turn their attention to their own powers and prospects of union.

This policy proved, as might have been expected, so successful, that the third German province was for a time brought into actual existence. There was but one opponent to its permanency—Marbod,

king of the Suevi, whose name is Latinised as Maroboduas; but a second arose in consequence of the blundering whereby P. Quinctilius Varus destroyed the achievements of Tiberius in the year 9 A.D. Marbod, like Arminius, would not accommodate himself to the short-sighted policy or to the ancestral institutions of the Teutonic tribes. It may be asserted that had it not been for the political and general education gained by the young Teutons in the Roman service there would have been no "German Liberator," and that the Teutonic characteristics would not have proved sufficiently strong to resist the process of absorption within the Roman Empire.

The "Kindred" (*Sippe*) is a conception which the Teutons derived from their Indo-Germanic ancestors. It existed in embryo in all Indo-Germanic societies, though it was not developed until the period of separation, with the result that the characteristics and even the designation of a Kindred are not the same in every case. Among the Teutons the Kindred is rather democratic than patriarchal; it

What the Kindred Represented

is a union of related families or households on the basis of equal rights, and authority exercised by the heads of families.

The thorough conservatism under which Teutonic constitutional forms have developed has but little modified the old purposes and arrangements of the Kindred even in historical times. In primitive and in later times it remains a defensive alliance, never asking whether a member is "guilty" or "innocent," but protecting him in feuds, blood quarrels, legal processes, oaths, and accepting the responsibility for his actions as long as he is not formally deprived of membership. The Kindred is a coherent armed community, and as such forms the smallest unit of the army. It is an industrial and economic guild; the individual household has personal possession only of implements and movable property, among which the house was for a long time included, just as tent poles and coverings were among nomadic tribes.

This economic unity forms collectively with its inhabitants a village, which consequently in later times bore the name of the Kindred, just as during the periods of migration resting places and encampments may have been named after the tribe that used them. Thus, the patronymic followed by suffixing "-ton," "-ford," "-ham," etc., is very familiar in England.

The district which was occupied by the Kindred or its settlement, the village mark, was the property of the community, which was thus a "mark corporation." The distribution of the ground which was carried out at stated periods gave the temporary usufruct to individuals, provided that they observed the conditions imposed on the community; pasture land and forest were for a long time enjoyed in common. The affairs of individual families also came within the purview of the Kindred in its character as an economic corporation, so far as families could affect the common possession of property or of labour: thus, for instance, the Kindred exercised a right of confirming marriage contracts, and the appointments of guardians. Hence the separation of the individual from his kin, or opposition between the individual and the kin, was an unexampled occurrence at the outset of the historical Teutonic period.

Functions of the Kindred

About the beginning of the Christian era these conditions in other respects were of a very primitive character; a general organisation existed only in the form of Kindreds within the mass of Teutonic tribes who were connected by a common nationality and language. This organisation was first extended by the necessity of concluding and of turning to practical account alliances of peace between the tribes. Thus federations combining several Kindreds arose; these acted as corporations upon important occasions, and these corporations were a kind of judicial court. It was not a court which could decide or pronounce upon points of law, but it could hear arguments upon questions of compensation, when such questions arose and the Kindred concerned were not in a state of antagonism. In such cases the court provided that the Kindred upon which

Before the Days of the Penal Code

compensation or performance was obligatory should perform its duty; there was as yet no conception of a penal code. The old name for this larger conjunction of Kindreds is the "Hundred," or, in the northern provinces, herad, herred, harde. The term is derived from the numeral "hund," a hundred, probably the highest number which the original Teutons possessed. We cannot, however, venture to conclude from this term the existence

of a numerical limit to the corporation. Any attempt of the kind is met by the most obvious contradictions; for instance, the Hundreds are not extended or contracted in correspondence with the change in population.

The term "hundred" was merely an indefinite expression, which might connote ten multiplied by twelve just as much as ten multiplied by ten (the Teutons also possessed the term "great hundred"); the term is no more mathematically accurate than the usage of our more educated age, when it sends a thousand kind remembrances or speaks of millions.

How the "Folk" Originated

The state, or, as the Teutons said, the *Folk*, was formed at some date which we cannot determine. For the latter expression the term "army" is practically equivalent. Both were formed only gradually and slowly. The Folk originated like the Kindred and the Hundred, though in another manner and direction, from the need for peace and mutual help. Hence its origin is not to be regarded as instantaneous or uniform, or its organisation as entirely systematic. It grew slowly and simply; in the historical period we find Teutonic races with this organisation only in midway process of development. A number of neighbouring and related Kindreds and Hundreds united to discuss the ways and means which should enable them to protect their territory and property against foreign enemies, and also, if occasion arose, to improve their position at the expense of others, by some common attack. The object of the Folk is therefore wholly military.

It is upon this basis that all its organisation is founded; the council which deliberates and frames proposals, the popular assembly (*folk-moot*) of the men capable of bearing arms, the law of crime—cowardice, desertion, and treachery—and the consequent rise of a criminal court and of punitive power. This new criminal code has no connection with the Hundred courts, which are essentially different. The assembly of the Folk is injured in its military capacity by such transgressions; it becomes a court, and proceeds to find a suitable means of executing punishments—by the hand of the priest. The transference of punitive rights to the Hundred courts is a far later regulation of the state, when it had become a regulating and highly organised power. At the moment the earlier corporate elements, the Kindred and the Hundred, are used only to forward its military objects as component parts of the "army."

The Priest in a New Rôle

To put the matter another way, the Kindred and the Hundred exist as military elements, and there is neither opportunity nor reason for any other mode of division. On the other hand, in order to subserve the military purpose, the Kindred permitted certain interference by the state with the rights of guardianship reserved to themselves and to their families by pronouncing youths to be capable of bearing arms before the popular assembly—that is to say, capable of being enlisted in the army upon the occasion of its muster. At the same time there is no actual interference of the state with the family power of the household; capacity to bear arms and patriarchal power are totally different characteristics.

With these creations we reach the ideas of people and patriotism, or, as we should say, of state and citizenship. Here, again, there is no settled system or line of demarcation. We find members of a nationality breaking away, founding new settlements and becoming independent peoples, as in the case of the Batavi and the Mattiaci, who were fragments of the Chatti. Had Ariovistus been permanently successful, the seven fragments of different nationalities which, at the least, he led, together with the several thousands of the Charudes who followed him, would have grown into one nation.

Mixing of the Nations

We find remnants or fragments of one nation absorbed into others; for instance, the Aduatuci, a remnant of the Cimbri, amalgamated with the Tungri, who had "first" come to Belgium; the Sigambri, again, absorbed the remnants of the Usipetes and Tencteri. Sometimes there is merely a temporary amalgamation, and a later dissolution or attempt to dissolve; thus the Rugi, whom Theoderic had led to Italy, attempted, after the murder of Ildebad, to choose a king of their own, and broke away from the Ostrogoth nationality. Thus the history of the old Teutonic nationality is for these reasons, as well as for their continual migrations, far too complicated a period to be represented for more than a moment by maps or general views. For the same reason, it is impossible to use the

information at hand as a basis for speculations about unknown prehistoric times.

A repetition of the process of Folk formation can be observed, though taking place upon a higher plane and in wider form. The co-operation of the Folk naturally did not abolish war from the world, but separated war and peace somewhat more clearly from mere disorder, and made the difference of more importance. Thus the impulse which had led to the formation of the Folk remained operative, and conjunction was no less necessary than before. As formerly a number of tribes and hundreds were forced to combine, so now Folk unions were driven to union. Hence the corporate character of Teutonic history as a whole regards the peoples as a transition form of the corporation, next in point of greatness to the allied state. This body, again, produces a transition to the "nation," in which the modern Teutons have arranged themselves, both to-day and at an earlier period, if at the cost of great effort.

This movement, which concerns the Folk unions, began in prehistoric times, but it remains in constant and steady progress at the outset of German history. The possi-

The Germans in a State of Transition

bility of achievement depends upon the equalisation of competitive concurrent forces. The existence of the Folk union also exercises a retrograde influence. It is everywhere existent and recognised; its objects and its independence have overshadowed the individual of flesh and blood, just as the modern Mecklenburger or Westphalian is forgotten in his general German nationality. Thus the Bructeri or Cherusci as such did not forget the desirability of conjunction with others, but only when confronted with immediate danger did this possibility become urgent in their eyes; they must first become accustomed to a wider political outlook and do not care to see their customary traditions diminished in importance.

Thus at the time of primitive German history we find the Germans in a condition of more or less transitory federation, and only gradually do we find individual federations becoming permanent associations in the form of states. Possessions of the Folk as such are not straightway abandoned to the federation when a Folk enters into an alliance with others; it remains an independent and political community, and will have nothing to do with any federal institutions except the federal assembly, which for practical reasons is indispensable and generally employed. Under these circumstances some compensating element was required to guarantee fidelity to alliances, and this end was gained by oaths, religious forms, the union of divinities, and the subjugation of the alliance to the rule

The Folk's Religious Festivities

of the divine deities. When an Amphictyony thus formed has remained some time in existence, a federal name, used for definite purposes, takes the place of the individual folk names.

The need for an earlier historical origin is then felt, and finds expression in the form of epic legends, or, what is a different process, in artificial ethnogonies and other fancies of the kind. Many alliances survive the course of only one campaign, while others remain in existence only in intention, and can be aroused by the impact of some strong collision. There is evidence to show that the federal religious festivities once celebrated were not necessarily allowed to collapse- the gods are not to be offended --though the political meaning of the federation may have passed away. We find, moreover, alliances which may have remained operative for a long time, perhaps for centuries, though they at least remember their great importance only in its after effects and tradition; this is true of the Suevi at the time of Tacitus. Apart from this we shall hardly be able to connect the isolated tracks which wind between different groupings of the German nations, or to gather any fruitful or definite result from the traditional fragments of ethnogonic ideas. Similarly, only in a few cases can we venture to say whether later states have grown up out of individual folks or from the remnants of alliances.

To form and keep alliances in permanent connection, to secure the adherence of allies, and in this way to unify diverse

Leaders of the "Folk" in Peace and War

tribes, remained the privilege of the kings and princes. The rise and formation of their houses was naturally based upon the individual Folk. Any federation, no matter how democratic its basis, which pursues military and political objects, stands in need of leadership, not only in war, but also in deliberation. On the other hand, every man who desired power, or to work for the general welfare, was obliged, by the special character of the

old Teutonic kin organisation, to act upon every occasion in concert with his Kindred. He exists only for the Kindred, and his every performance is open to discussion. Without the Kindred he cannot rise to pre-eminence, and it is not himself, but his kin, that he brings into the foreground and makes the leader upon national questions. The question thus requires examination upon this side, when we find leading personalities and their policies, however democratic and well founded, involved in domestic difficulties and overwhelmed by them.

Annals of Tacitus

On the other hand, at the period covered by the Annals of Tacitus—an excellent source of constitutional information—we find at times within an individual Folk a leading Kindred, with its precedence secured in a surprising measure—provided, in fact, with a special legitimacy, which it carefully preserves in such cases as marriage contracts, which are confined to members of equal rank, in those instances which we can fully examine. "Stirps regia" is the name given by Tacitus to such a family—the noble family of any specific nationality. This family provides the princes, from whom generals are chosen according to their capacity. These leading men, known as "kuninge," from their membership of the kuni, or noble Kindred, regarded as a family, are as yet far removed from any monarchical power or sovereignty; the latter belongs in all things to the general assembly.

The princes settle only unimportant matters by mutual discussion, in accordance with a custom which arose for obvious reasons of convenience, and their decisions are subject to the consent of military, national, or popular assemblies. To the latter they have to bring their decision on the more important matters that have arisen in their own discussions. They are leaders in this assembly, and naturally the most important orators, though anybody may speak who has the prospect of getting a hearing. In view of the solemnity with which even savages conduct debate, no doubt shyness forbade attempts to speak in most cases. All this is excellently described by Tacitus, who also shows how the princes ruled "auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate"—"by the influence which persuades rather than by the power which commands."

The Wise Rule of the Princes

For leadership in war and military expeditions the appointment of definite persons was a necessity. A chief, whom Tacitus calls *dux*, rendered "duke," was appointed, or sometimes two dukes. But the latter system was tried only in primitive times and was not always successful. The holder of the office is drawn from the noble families in every case of which history speaks. Tacitus is in agreement with this statement, though Beda emphasises the princely character of the dukes among the Saxons in Britain. But even in face of the enemy their power is by no means unlimited, and their careful plans are occasionally overthrown by the jealousy of their blood relations and the success of these in persuading the military assembly, which met for executive purposes as the Folk.

The process by which a particular Kindred took a leading part and became a noble family of historical import cannot be explained in full detail. There is some evidence to show that the noble family was able to pledge the credit of the whole, as the conceptions *adal* (noble) and *odal* (property) differ only by a distinction of vowels. Again, the princes in the time of Tacitus received gifts in virtue of their leading position, voluntarily given by their tribal associates; as such Tacitus mentions animals and field produce. It is, however, especially important that the manager of the general assembly should be in communication with the all-powerful gods. The members of the noble Kindred provided the national priest or priests, built, administered, and maintained the sanctuaries of the gods, which we must imagine as buildings provided with subordinate offices, sheep, cattle, and pasture, and an adequate temple precinct, notwithstanding a passage in the "Germania" which Tacitus himself contradicts in the "Annals."

Dividing the Plunder of War

The division of the plunder taken in war remained the privilege of the popular assembly until Merovingian times, though no doubt the leaders gained certain preferences in this respect. A somewhat larger share of prisoners of war—that is, slave labour—was assigned to the leading Kindred, and enabled them correspondingly to extend their agricultural operations and their property. Thus their capacity and their public work



GERMAN RIDERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

From a relief on the Column Antonine at Rome

received not only a social and political return from the whole community, but also secured an increase in property which steadily consolidated their position. Moreover, the formation of the above-mentioned ideas of a penal code threw the execution of punishment into their hands, as they were the priests who offered to the gods the sacrifices which appeased their wrath and secured their friendship; they alone could attack the person or the life of the Teuton.

A further advance in power which began at the time of Tacitus may be seen in the fact that they not merely conduct the popular assembly, but also divide among themselves the right to visit and conduct the assemblies of the Hundreds. We must not under-estimate the high power which was given them by the system of retainers, or by their right of training the young to the use of arms where their parents or blood relations were unable to perform this duty. Here we have already in embryo the later right of tutelage exercised by the crown.

The Kindred Advance in Power

Hitherto we have spoken only of the princes as members of a noble Kindred. As regards their mutual rank and position, they are all able to raise equal claims in point of right. Flavius, the brother of Arminius, renounces the royal position which belongs to him among the Cherusci as he is remaining in the service of the Romans; but his son Italicus, who was brought up as a Roman, afterwards concentrates in his person all the rights of the Kindred of which he was the sole remaining representative. These rights were respected as long as possible by the nationality, which was especially mistrustful of new men and of innovations. Only in very special cases did the Teutons raise a new royal family by choice from one of the other Kindreds in opposition to the old family.

New Royal Families from the Kindred

The overthrow of Marbod or Ermanaric, with its consequent confusion, does not prevent the resumption of their hereditary privileges. By the elevation of Witichis the Ostrogoths broke away from the younger house of the Amali, which had become alienated from the people; at the same time one of the first acts of Witichis was to secure a kind of right to share the legitimacy of the Amali by his marriage with Mataswinta. Though every member of the royal

Kindred had the right to come forward as prince, we find in numerous cases that not all of them actually exercised this right or would have had any prospect of success. The different blood relations of Segestes and Arminius are politically without any public reputation, although they enjoy not only princely rights, but also the princely title (*princeps*, in Tacitus). The same remark is true of the brother of Segestes and of his son, although his noble birth and consequent right to act as national priest induced the Romans to call him from the third Germania to act as priest at the Ara Ubiorum, which had been set up at Cologne for the three Germanias, and corresponded to the altars of Rome and Augustus, set up at Lyons over the three Gauls. The father of Arminius, who outlived the greatness of his son, was of no political importance whatever.

Father of Arminius

This narrower clique of principes—among the Cherusci, Segestes, Arminius, and his uncle Inguiomerus—who busied themselves with public affairs, attempted to determine the decisions of the people, and thus arrived at an attitude of mutual jealousy more or less pronounced. The majority of the popular assembly follows now one, now another, of these leaders, according as he has been successful or represents the most popular view. No one of the nobles, or kuninge, was able to become the sole and privileged ruler in the later sense of the term, with definite and political privileges assured to him for a definite time ; they were continual rivals, attempting to secure the momentary and fickle approval of the majority.

None the less, individual personalities appeared, sufficiently powerful to break through the restraints of the Kindred and to concentrate its collective rights within themselves. Ariovistus is not exactly a prince of this character. He succeeded in securing permanence for his personal position as prince and duke to an extent unusual, and not in accordance with the principle of tribal constitution. This he achieved by securing definite authority over the Gauls and also from Rome. Marbod, on the other hand, is an overthrower of tribal legitimacy after the manner of the Cæsars.

Marcomanni in the Place of Danger

The Marcomanni, who belonged to that portion of the Suevi which had entered the Rhine district, had settled in the Lower Maine, and were there stationed when Augustus and Drusus began that policy which brought them between two hostile frontiers from Mainz and Rhætia. Marbod then led his people up the Maine to the comparative seclusion of Bohemia, which had been



BATTLE BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND MARCOMANNI

The Marcomanni, a Germanic tribe that originally dwelt between the Rhine and the Danube, expelled the Boïi from Bohemia and part of Bavaria early in the Christian era, and founded a kingdom which reached to the Danube.

From a relief on the Colonna Antonina at Rome

abandoned by the Boii. Marbod had become a politician in the school of the Roman military service. He attempted to make himself a power equal to the Romans. He was a man of high importance, who, attempting to break through the restrictions of his native birth, had developed his capacity, driven away his blood relations, absorbed their rights, and founded the continuance of his supremacy on a basis of militarism, and also upon the predominance of the Marcomanni over other Teutonic peoples. His rule was obeyed over an area extending even to the Lombards at the mouth of the Elbe. Thus he appeared as a rival acting against the Romans on the east front of the Teutons to secure supremacy for the Teuton sphere of influence, and his rivalry was the more formidable as the existence of such despotism generally depends upon unceasing effort and extension.

Formerly it had been important for Rome to save the Keltic districts from the hands of the Teutons, who, though an incoherent force, were advancing upon every side; and so now the question arose whether the district occupied by the loosely united Teutonic peoples between the Rhine and the Elbe should belong to Rome or to Marbod.

Three Years Revolt in Pannonia

Such being the situation and the opponent, the former policy of Tiberius, to overcome the Teutons by peace and not by the challenge of campaigns, proved inapplicable. After careful plans and preparatory expeditions through Germania, which showed him that the popular opinion of the Germans was inclined to support Rome and its policy rather than the supremacy of Marbod, he began his double attack upon the kingdom of the Marcomanni by a simultaneous advance from the Danube and the Rhine in the year 6 A.D. At this dangerous moment for Marbod, a revolt broke out in Pannonia and Dalmatia, and Tiberius was occupied with its suppression until the year 9 A.D. Marbod, who could hardly have survived had he not given some diplomatic assistance to this revolt, calmly reverted to his old relationship to Rome, as a supreme king of equal weight with the emperor, and pursuing a like policy.

The third province of Germania was not to be lost to Rome on that account. Augustus had been able undisturbed to place the garrisons on the Rhine at the disposal of Tiberius for the subjugation of Pannonia. In Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine, the diminished Roman troops held their winter or summer camps in time of peace; the surrounding tribes and their princes who could be won over by the grant of empty distinctions admitted the claim of Roman supremacy, and the governor exercised the rights of levying taxes and of summary jurisdiction. The action of P. Quinctilius Varus, however, in either of these departments, went far beyond anything that the patient Teutonic tribes had hitherto borne the way of pressure. Hence it became possible for Arminius to rise in opposition to Segestes, the friend of Rome, to deprive the latter of the leadership of the Cherusci, to secure the alliance of the other peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, to lead them cleverly against the position of Varus, and to destroy that leader with his army of Roman soldiers and Teutonic auxiliaries—from the peoples of the North Sea—in the Teutoberg forest in 9 A.D.

Roman Supremacy Recognised

Arminius had returned no long time previously from the Roman service. C. Julius Cæsar, to whom the south Teutonic relations with Rome owe their beginning, had introduced the custom of using German troops as Roman auxiliaries. We must remember to distinguish between migrating tribes in search of land and the adventurous raids of bold companies. Cæsar was acquainted with Teutonic invasions of Gaul in both of these forms. When he discovered the urgent need for cavalry to deal with the last great revolt, he had employed the enterprising spirits of certain mounted troops of young Teutons. Whether or not this was really intended as a last resource in time of need, from that time forward German auxiliaries become a regular and extending branch of the Roman service. Thus, while the Roman state crushed the Teutons or attempted to confine them within boundaries, it opened its armies to this nationality by the offer of employment. Leaders of such barbarians became Roman officers, generals, administrators and high officials. The Roman armies gradually lost their nationality, and became a foreign force, consisting chiefly of Teutonic troops, paid by Romans, fighting for Rome, but unable to prevent the overthrow and disruption of the empire and destined one

Barbarians as Roman Officers

day to seize Italy, the last remaining province of the empire, for themselves under the leadership of Odoacer.

At the moment the use made by the German nobles—that is, by the members of the leading kindreds among individual peoples —of the instruction which they gained in the Roman service and brought home with them is sufficiently remarkable.

Arminius in the Hour of Triumph

We have already spoken of Marbod. The "eques Romanus," Arminius, when he led the revolt against Varus, had no intention of following the precedent of the Cimbri and Ariovistus by requesting the Romans to settle a time and place for a battle or for a judicial decision by the judgment of God. War, indeed, was *orlôg* or *ur-lag*, and *lag* means law. Arminius, however, had been trained in the Roman school, and he paid his teachers in full for all their treacherous attacks since Noreja.

We know but very little of the ideas which inspired Arminius, but if in the joy of his triumph he had cherished the ambitions of Marbod, his capacity would have been unable to cope with the mass of opposition which he encountered. The prestige of Segestes revived, and the rivalry between himself and Arminius continued for many years with varying success. The younger man was helped to recover his preponderance by the indefatigable efforts of Germanicus, the son of Drusus, who held command upon the Rhine, to repair the defeat of Varus by campaigns against the Teutons.

Segestes was eventually forced to take refuge with the Romans, together with his relation and adherents, who were obliged to follow him, and to abandon the field to Arminius. Germanicus might lead Segestes, whose company he had not compelled, in triumphal procession, but the fact that his ally was no longer in his own country was a wholly unexpected result of this struggle for Rome. Such was the opinion of Tiberius, who was now upon the imperial throne and saw this fresh confirmation of his old theories as to Teutonic policy. He put an end to the campaign, considering that if the third Germania was to be reconquered it could be better secured by peace than by war.

Tiberius on the Imperial Throne

The province, however, remained lost to Rome; and this was, as Tacitus says, "without doubt" the personal achievement of Arminius. He saved the Germans on the right bank of the Rhine from becoming Roman provincials, as those upon the left had become, in which process large and capable numbers of the German population were lost to Germany; and thus he actually became, not merely the liberator, but actually the saviour of German nationality and of German history.

The Roman abandonment of punitive measures left Arminius triumphant during his own time. "In battles again t Germanicus he fought with varying success, but as a leader of war he was unconquered"—thus Tacitus summarises his achievements. The tribes on the right of the Rhine were free, and owed their liberty to him. Among the Cherusci he had but one serious opponent, Inguiomerus. He now put forward the claim of supremacy over the Cherusci, and as Segestes had formerly gone into exile, so now Inguiomerus took to flight and went to Marbod. This fact expresses the whole change in the political situation.

In place of the Romans, who had given up the conflict, Marbod led the opposition against Arminius, who was also confronted by Marbod's championship of the "freedom" of the country between the Rhine and the Elbe; the people who had hitherto obeyed Marbod now deserted to Arminius. An appeal to arms led to no clear decision. Marbod, however, was not triumphant; his despotism had begun to totter, and soon collapsed entirely. One of the nobles whom he had driven out, Katwalda, returned from exile and seized his position, but only to fall himself the more rapidly. Katwalda was soon living at Fréjus under Roman protection, as was Marbod at Ravenna, while their respective adherents had left the country and were settled by the Romans in the frontier district on the Danube. The "kings," however, of these Suevi—the name which they now resumed—were chosen by the Roman emperors themselves. Thus we meet with a new and clever system, introduced by Rome; the evils of tribal supremacy were utilised by Rome, by the help of her power and the weight of her name, to raise one man to high positions, who now became the "rex," though entirely dependent upon Roman patronage, in place of the Stirps, the princely family, which was a continual source of disturbance. In this way the Romans gained considerable successes

Marbod the Champion of "Freedom"

to the north of the Danube, even among the Quadi and Marcomanni. This German kingship was not, however, based upon the Roman policy, but upon the slow and systematic disregard of common family claims—a process which could be achieved only after centuries had elapsed. On the other hand, it will be perceived that this Roman policy was extremely likely to stimulate ambitious Teutonic nobles to secure a despotism with—or better without—Roman help, though such supremacy could be secured only for individual persons and was not necessarily transmitted by inheritance to their children.

Among the Cherusci also the Romans were able to introduce their king. After the fall of Marbod, Arminius found no obstacle to the task of making his leadership and his policy a permanent basis of settlement. He wished to "become king," in the words of Tacitus, who speaks of him as "regnum adfectans." In the course of this attempt Arminius was overthrown by the existing members of the noble Kindred, whose rights were infringed by his efforts. The principles of public right and the actual state of affairs were in opposition to his personal claims. However, German tradition long remained faithful to the liberator, and at the time of Tacitus his fame was sung beyond the limits of the Cherusci in those epic poems in which the Teutons, for want of a written language, preserved their history.

German History in Epic Poetry

At the death of Arminius a generation of conflict within the noble family confused the succession until the year 47 A.D. The only remaining representative of that house was Italicus, the son of Flavius, who had been brought up among the Romans. The invincible ideas of legitimacy raised this last member of the family, the nephew of Arminius, to the leadership of the nation, and, with the support of the Romans, Italicus entered the district of the Weser, which he had never before seen; he was now personally a "rex," as the "stirps regia" depended entirely upon him; he was sole king because there was no other "kuning," no other man belonging to the noble family (kuni). But the cessation of political faction was an inconceivable result. Misunderstandings arose, and partisans from the struggles before the year 47 rose against Italicus. In vain did Italicus urge their want of nobility, as Tacitus expressly explains, and show that no right existed except that concentrated in himself; struggles began, and Italicus was forced to flee to the Lombards, who were then settled on the Lower Elbe, to secure their interference. Further events are unknown to us.

Our scanty knowledge of the history of Italicus shows plainly enough the embarrassments which inevitably arose from the well-devised Roman policy of protecting dependent kings, in view of the fact that the kings themselves did not stop at considerations of legitimacy. Even when the Romans fought with the Chatti and other Teutons in the course of the first century, no great achievement was ever attained, and the triumphs which the emperors celebrated before the senate and people of the capital were but too plainly fictitious. The true inwardness of the Roman policy consists not in these struggles, but in the great technical labour, which lasted for decades, of establishing or protecting the lines of frontier. The several lines of the Rhine and the Danube, regarded as frontiers, were isolated unities and as yet unconnected; in the district of the Upper Danube, on the wooded heights of the Baar and the Black Forest, which were as yet occupied by neither Romans nor Teutons, and also in the fair plains of the Breisgau, the ownership of the land was a doubtful question, and its occupants always changing. The angle formed at the north-east by the Upper Danube and the Rhine formed a deep wedge between Rhætia and Upper Germania. While the world-empire was still advancing, or while advance was contemplated, indecision on this point could be settled by a general advance of Roman authority either to the Elbe or elsewhere. When the intention of advance had been abandoned, it was necessary, before the Teutons reached the old Keltic territory, which was now ownerless, to close this wedge-shaped opening and the "Helvetian Desert," since known as the Agri Decumates, and to make the Danube and the Rhine the common frontier line from Pannonia to the North Sea. Such was the purpose and the meaning of the line of communication drawn from Kelheim to Rheinbrohl; the separate fortifications and protected lands were eventually united into one great fortified boundary line.

Fictitious Triumphs of the Romans

Rome's Ambitious Plans



THE GOTHS IN ITALY

From the painting by P. F. Poole, R.A. By permission of the Manchester Art Gallery

THE GREAT TEUTONIC DELUGE

GOTHS IN CONFLICT WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ROME had now established her frontiers; the time of expansion, of attack and counter attack, had ended, and a respite follows. Then comes a period of defence and loss. From the Black Sea to the North Sea the Teutonic nationality surges over the frontier and breaks through the boundaries erected in Dacia and in the coast lands of the Black Sea; some rapid advances are driven back, but they remain a presage foreboding the inexorable rise and advance of a current that can no longer be checked. The material cause of these movements is not, as before, an increase of population which has grown too dense to be supported by the rude forms of pastoral life and primitive agriculture, and is therefore forced to send out migrating bodies; in this case we have to deal with a general advance from the east, which can be recognised by its effects and by contemporary accounts. It resulted in a general shifting of nations, and eventually brought the whole Teutonic world into movement.

Signs of this movement became evident from Rhætia, against which the Chatti made a disturbing advance, to Pannonia and Dacia. The Teutonic world was in a ferment throughout its southern boundary—an effect which points to a great number of previous changes in the unknown interior. The Marcomanni advanced to the Danube; the Lombards had left the Lower Elbe for the most part, and were following an easterly direction; the Vandals, who were formerly settled in Silesia, also started out. Marcus Aurelius spent half a generation fighting against these Teutons and the still more obstinate Jazyges of Sarmatia, with the result that the proposed organisation of a Sarmatian province was abandoned, and Commodus permitted the settlement of Teutons in the frontier districts of the empire on the Danube. The "pores of the empire" were beginning to open to the Teutons.

Aurelius Fighting the Teutons

The Goths, again, who before the year 200 A.D. had been driven from the Lower Vistula, had gone up-stream and turned to the east about the Carpathians; about the year 200 they appear on the Black Sea and on the frontier of Dacia. After a decade of struggle by land and by sea, Rome surrendered Dacia to the Goths after an expensive defence, and the first great province was lost to the Roman Empire. Aurelian was forced to surrender it, as Rome itself was threatened by the Alamanni, whose marauding bands passed through Rhætia into the peninsula itself. The policy of using the Teutonic tribes as a buffer was now shown to be purposeless and inconsistent.

Rome's Surrender to The Goths

After a momentary attempt to cross the Vistula, the Lombards turned to the south-east and thus joined hands with the east Teutons, while the forces of the Alamanni advanced from the south-west. They came forth from the districts on the Elbe above the Lombard settlements and also from those upon the Havel and Spree. For a wide distance round the Elbe and to the right of it the country was abandoned by the Teutons, and room was made for the Slavs, who desired it. The Alamanni were the nucleus and the remnant of the old Suevian federation and clung closely to this name, though they did not meet with recognition by other tribes on this account. In the first place the Alamanni no longer represented the old confederacy as such; during the migration other nationalities, who were not members, had joined them. Moreover, there were besides themselves many other Germans, who had also been Suevi, extending from the Marcomanni and Danubian Suevi in the south-east, along the whole line of the Roman frontier, to the hill country of the Rhine. These double titles have remained to the present day, and the name Alamanni has never been adopted by the Suevi, or Swabians,

themselves, except under the influence of scholars in later times.

The Alamanni marched towards the frontier of Upper Germania, while the East Teutonic Burgundians followed in their path. These two nations pushed the Chatti and their adherents to the north, after driving them to abandon their previous attempts upon Rhætia and destroying their prospects in the south-west. In consequence, the Chatti became a member of, if not the principal nation in, the union of the "Franks," which extended from the Central Rhine to the North Sea, and appeared as the rivals of the Alamanni throughout the westward advance upon the Roman Empire.

Advance on the Roman Empire

The year 213 marks the beginning of the struggle upon the frontier line itself; two generations later the Alamanni overran the Agri Decumates and settled there. In that country they formed a denser population, as is shown by old local names, than in their previous settlements to the east of the boundary; they had now reached the land, under Roman administration, which had already been under cultivation, and found, in consequence, a larger extent of arable land, and probably learned a more productive form of agriculture. But at the beginning of the fourth century this temporary satisfaction came to an end. Bands of Alamanni had long before been making raids beyond the Rhine into Gaul; large bodies now, advancing for purposes of occupation, overran the province of Alsace and the district of the Vosges. Once again the military power of Julian drove them across the Rhine by his great victory of 357. But Julian's death soon followed, and Rome was unable to prevent their return.

The Alamanni of the fourth century certainly formed a confederacy. Their several component nationalities pursued, upon the whole, a similar policy; but they had methods of war and peace peculiar to themselves, and even in their chief undertakings against the Romans they did not appear absolutely united. In the case of the individual peoples the leadership is at one time in the hands of one man, and is at another conducted by a commission of near relatives; in general, the administrative and selective power within the *Stirps regia* had advanced considerably, compared with the time of Arminius. By what process a uniform nation was produced from this confederacy of the Alamanni we do not know. In any case, this further development began before the period when they were subject to Clovis. The districts occupied by the component nationalities are in the course of becoming districts, "Gaue," of the nation of the Alamanni; for instance, in place of the district of the Lentienses we find a "Linzgau," and the whole is ruled by a kingdom.

Confederacy of the Alamanni

The details of the process by which such a federation became a coherent nation are known to us only in the case of the Franks. They also advanced steadily from the left bank of the Rhine in the fourth century. They, too, were checked, though not driven back, by Julian; notwithstanding his victory at Toxandria, he left them in possession of the country between the Scheldt and the Maas, which they had occupied a short time previously. In the third century the Franks had proved a burden and a danger to the Romans by the incredible boldness and extent of their maritime enterprises. Now, however, they appeared in forces confined almost entirely to land; in other words, marauding raids had been given up in favour of permanent occupation. The Franks themselves had been driven back by the Saxons, the third of these important and recently formed federations of the west Teutons. The origin of the federation and its name must apparently be looked for in Nordalbingia. The federation extended so far westward that it embraced the old Cherusci, and from thence it turned northward towards the Rhine, at the expense of the Eastern Franks, and almost reached that river. The traditional task of maritime raids upon the Roman coasts, which made the process of conquest a maritime affair, became a monopoly of the Saxons; they were thus employed to a far greater extent than the Frisian coast dwellers, who formed a settled people, and were content with coasting voyages.

Raiders on the Roman Coasts

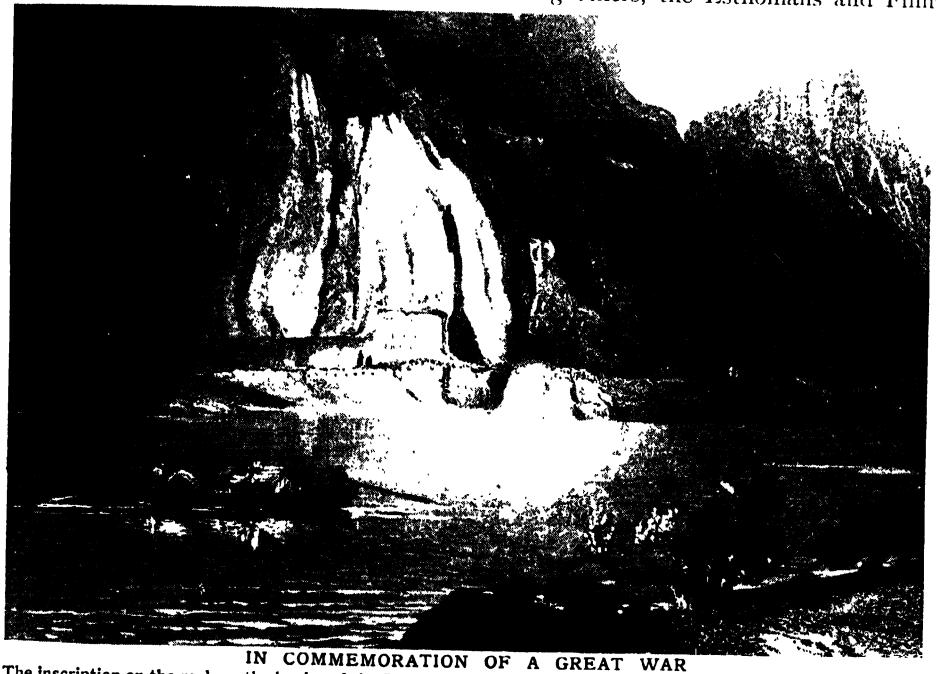
To return to the Franks, the characteristics of their federation and constitution corresponded with those of the Alamanni. The intermediate step between the federation of nationalities and a uniform nation is seen in the fourth century; it is the cohesion of two allied nationalities, the Ribuarii on the Rhine, and the Salic

Franks nearer the sea. In the fifth century we find the Ribuarii alone provided with a royal dynasty of their own.

The emperors of the house of Constantine, and at a later date the regent of the Roman Empire, including the Ribuarian Frank, Arbogast, fought against the Rhine Teutons incessantly and often with ferocity. Chiefly on this account the imperial residence was temporarily transferred to Trèves. The abandonment of this residence and the surrender of Gaul to the Alamanni and Franks, and of Britain to the Saxons, was not forced upon the empire until the time of Stilicho, and this retreat was due to the action of other Teutonic tribes, and to the approach of danger in another quarter. The action of the Alamanni had formerly thrown Dacia open to the Goths, and the Goths now became the agency which opened Eastern and Northern Gaul to the Alamanni and the Franks.

The Goths, who were divided into the subordinate divisions of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, had extended greatly in their settlements on the Lower Danube about the north-west and north of the Black Sea. So late as 375 the Visigoths were still suffering under the neighbourhood and the rivalry of individual tribal princes, for as yet the old tribal elements of the Tervinges, Taisales, etc., had not been entirely absorbed by the Gothic nationality. Among the Ostrogoths, on the other hand, the noble family of the Amalunges or Amalinges—the old language made no difference between *i* and *u* in this termination—had produced a powerful national chief, by name Ermanaric or Hermanrich. His power is said to have extended over the Goths and the related east Teutons, over the Slavs and the nations of that Ural group to which, among others, the Esthonians and Finns belong, to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. So wide an empire could never be coherent, and the invasion of the Huns in 375 shattered it at one blow. The unity of the Ostrogoths was broken by repeated dissensions between the remaining Amali and other noble princes, in the course of which the Huns appeared, now as adversaries and now as allies, and secured the mastery of all the Ostrogoths without trouble.

The Visigoths had made a vain attempt to prevent the Huns from crossing the Dniester. Athanaric, the prince who had hitherto possessed the greatest prestige



IN COMMEMORATION OF A GREAT WAR

The inscription on the rock on the banks of the Danube, shown in the illustration, records the great conquest of the Roman Emperor Trajan over the Dacians in A.D. 103. This hard-won victory completed the triumph of Rome, and through it the Greek cities on the Pontus were at last delivered from the oppression of the Dacian powers.

and power, retired to the mountains of Transylvania with a number of his people, while the princes who had attempted to revolt and maintain themselves against Athanaric with the help of Christianity, which was making its way into the country, asked and secured from the Roman Empire treaties guaranteeing the reception of themselves and their people within the empire. Bands of Visigoth converts to Christianity, who had been driven from their homes, had already entered the empire at an earlier date. The empire undertook to provide for their maintenance until they could begin agricultural operations and reap their harvests. This opportunity was turned to scandalous account by the Roman administrative officials, who strove to enrich themselves indefinitely at the expense of the Goths; the straits to which the settlers were reduced eventually brought about the Gothic revolt, which proved successful, and ended with the slaughter of Valens on the battlefield of Adrianople in 378. Thus a great Roman army had been defeated on Roman soil by barbarians hard by the capital of Constantinople, and for the first time for centuries a triumphant enemy was in the midst of the country.

Roman Army Defeated by Barbarians

Though the Goths met with no open resistance in the Balkan Peninsula, they were unable to capture any towns. At the same time, this does not necessarily prove that they had any intention of making themselves masters of the country. In this situation the West Roman Empire succeeded through the *Magister militum*, or Captain-general, Theodosius, in resettling the Goths within the boundary of the empire as peaceful peasants performing military service. With the help of their forces, Theodosius, who had been appointed co-emperor, starting from Aquileia in the east, conquered Arbogast, the regent who held the imperial power in the west, and established the unity of the empire. This result endured only for his lifetime. In both halves of the empire, both Greek and Latin, he was succeeded by regents acting for his sons; these were Rufinus in the east, and in the west the Vandal Stilicho.

Theodosius Establishes Unity

Alaric, of the Visigothic noble family of the Balthi, the leader of the Visigoths in the Battle of Aquileia, was the first to impress upon his nation the knowledge of the fact that Rome no longer had power to command the Goths, but was in their hands. He had been the originator of the plan "of founding kingdoms with his own forces instead of obeying strangers." The consent and approval of his nation made him military king; noble families, who had formerly claimed to lead, retired to the background and did not reappear until after his death. The first enterprises of the Visigoths, who revolted against East Rome, proved fruitless. Alaric was in the same position as Fridigern; he was able to march through the peninsula without resistance, but could not tell what to do with the power he had gained. In fact, he suddenly betrayed a certain timorousness before the vast fabric of this Old World civilisation, which even in its weakness appeared invincible.

Stilicho did not allow to pass the opportunity of acting as champion for the helpless Roman Empire; he did not, however, propose to free the hands of the Byzantine government by any decisive victory over Alaric. With the assistance of Byzantium he concluded a compact by the terms of which Alaric and his followers were to be settled in Illyria, Alaric himself becoming commander-in-chief in that imperial prefecture. Thus the Goths were thrust in between Western and Eastern Rome, and Stilicho might expect to have their forces ready at his disposal, especially against the east, should necessity arise.

The Goths Settled in Illyria

The situation, however, was entirely changed by the difficulties which the West Roman court threw in the way of the regent's policy. Stilicho had ordered Alaric to prepare for an attack upon East Rome, but was obliged to countermand his orders at the command of the emperor. Alaric demanded compensation; Stilicho championed his request, but the emperor declined, whereupon Alaric led his people, who were under arms, against Italy. The result was a wholly unintentional co-operation and connection between the Gothic enterprises in the east and those of the Alamanni and Franks on the Upper Danube and Rhine. The western half of the empire, the political outlook of which had for a long time been limited by the jealousy of the east, was suddenly confronted by the danger of immediate destruction at the hands of barbaric

hordes. The capital of Rome, which had been recently fortified by Aurelian against the marauding raids of the Alamanni was abandoned by the court, which transferred its residence to the almost impregnable sea fortress of Ravenna. Once again Stilicho drove Alaric and the Goths out of the plains of the Po, which they had overrun almost to the western Alps. This success was secured only at a dangerous price, involving, perhaps, permanent loss, as Gaul and Britain were almost entirely deprived of their garrisons, of which they were in urgent need.

Shortly afterwards, Stilicho with the same troops destroyed the bands of Radagais, to whom Alaric's advance had pointed out the way; they were a gigantic army of emigrants, composed of East Teutons and Swabian Germans, who had already crossed the Apennines and reached Fiesole. This band had reached the Central Danube in a state of unrest, the reasons for which apparently continued. As, however, the invasion of Italy was a failure, other bodies of the same kind advanced by the Danube, broke through the position of the Alamanni, and crossed the Rhine in 406, some of them remaining in Gaul, while the main body reached Spain, where they founded the kingdom of the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi. Their forcible passage through the territory of the Alamanni proved a benefit to the Burgundians, who had long been hostile neighbours of the Alamanni and had been prevented by them from advancing. They now followed this band to the Rhine, where they stopped, and founded a kingdom about Worms, one of the few tangible historical events in this general history of change and migration, which has, however, found a special and tragical illustration in legend and poetry.

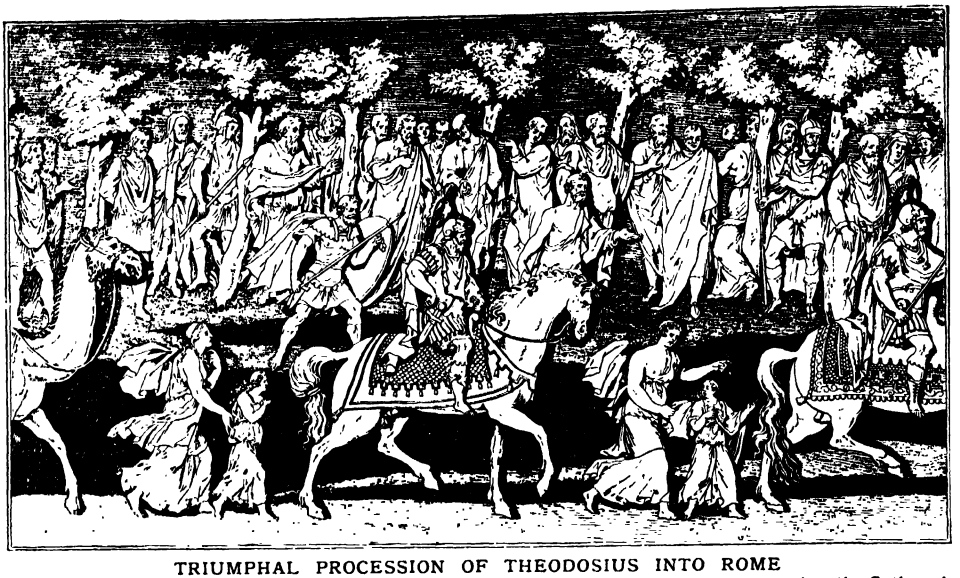
Stilicho's Victories and Death

Stilicho was unable to use his victories for the restoration of the West Roman prestige, or to take new measures to secure the northern provinces, which had been abandoned owing to force of circumstances. He ended his life in the course of a court intrigue in 408, and a contemptible paroxysm of panic against the Teutons ended in the massacre of the women and children of the very troops who had just saved Italy. The warriors who had suffered under this visitation then turned to Alaric, who now found no army to oppose him. On several



STILICHO: GOVERNOR AT ROME

Of Vandal origin, Stilicho rose to be commander-in-chief of the Roman army, and married the emperor's niece, Serena. In 394, Theodosius appointed him governor at Rome. After defeating Alaric, king of the Goths, in two great battles in 402 and 403, Stilicho aimed at making himself master of the empire, but latterly his own soldiers turned against him. He died, in 408, in the course of a court intrigue.



TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THEODOSIUS INTO ROME

To Theodosius, as emperor of the East Roman Empire, was entrusted the conduct of the war against the Goths, who finally yielded. In 383 Theodosius suppressed the revolting Maximus, and the following year he entered the imperial city in triumph. That great triumphal procession is represented in the illustration, which is reproduced from the Theodosius Column, erected by the Kaiser Arcadius, in 110, at Constantinople, and demolished in 1695.

occasions he made himself master of Rome and of the whole peninsula as far as Ravenna. If he wished to occupy Italy permanently, it was necessary to secure his possession of the corn provinces of Sicily and Africa, without which Italy might well be starved out, under the stress of opposition from the East Roman Empire. On a journey to the Straits of Messina the Visigothic king died in the year 410.

After some hesitation his brother-in-law Athaulf gave up an attempt to found, as he expressed it, a Gotia in place of a Romania—a fact which points to some similar idea entertained by Alaric. Athaulf was convinced that the "unredeemed simplicity" of his Goths made it impossible for them to follow the Romans as masters of a civilised empire. Thus a convention was concluded with Ravenna; the imperial court which had seen Gaul overrun by Burgundians, Vandals and Alans, and partially absorbed by Franks and Alamanni, placed the Visigoths in the south of this province. Gaul, which was now to receive the "unredeemed simplicity" of the Goths, was at least upon an equality with the Italy of those days in point of culture; many characteristics of civilisation which had decayed and died in Italy, especially literature, were still cultivated in Gaul. Athaulf's ideas were largely influenced by the emperor's clever sister, Placidia, who became the wife of the Goth, and was especially anxious to see Honorius master of Italy. It was intended that the Visigoths should receive their province in South Gaul as federal allies; Rome then might persuade herself that she was acting for the protection of this province, then threatened upon every side. After some months of internal and bloody confusion among the Visigoths, and after a barbarian reaction against the relations of Athaulf with the Romans and their emperor, which ended in his death, an arrangement was concluded upon these lines. This arrangement rather favoured than prevented the possibility that the Visigoth community might develop into an independent empire, side by side with the West Roman court, which ruled Italy from Ravenna.

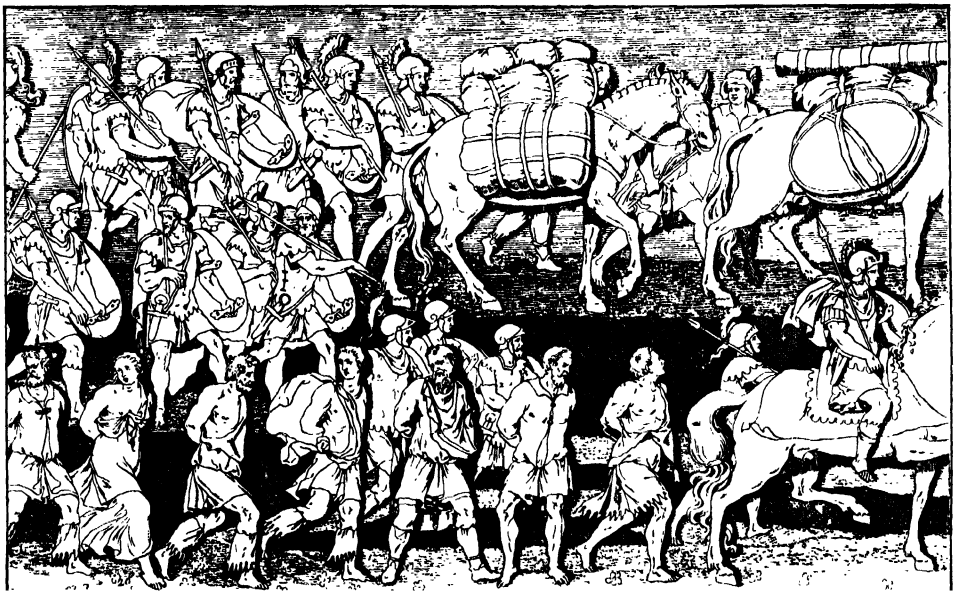
Their settlement in Gaul and a certain understanding with the policy of Ravenna had turned the Visigoths against Spain and the Teutonic powers in that country. But before these questions could become acute, the Vandals under King Geiserich evacuated the peninsula, and left only their name, Vandalusia, to the southern districts which they had inhabited. The far-seeing Geiserich then availed himself of the hostility existing between the imperial regent, Aëtius, and the African governor, Bonifacius. This latter, as commander of the only province which had as yet been

spared invasion, counted himself at least as important and supreme as the master of the other provinces; Italy was to him no more than a province, owing to her dependence upon Africa for her corn supply.

In 429 the Vandals crossed the straits; they soon overran the country, and finally conquered Carthage. They occupied the Balearic and Tyrrhenian islands, and made a footing on the shores of Sicily, while their fleet was supreme in the Mediterranean. It seemed that the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts were steadily falling into the hands of the Teutonic nations. The retirement of the Vandals from Spain proved of advantage neither to a revival of Roman power in that country, nor to the little kingdom of the Suevi, but placed the Visigoths in the position of future masters. Rome was again in that position which she had occupied before the Punic wars, with the difference that her power was now upon the decline.

Rome, however, still possessed the tradition of a policy superior to that of the barbarians, if wielded by a clever hand; she could replace the decaying forces of her citizens by mercenaries. In view of the horrifying loss of Africa and in opposition to the East Teutonic power that was there rising, Aëtius felt the need for some temporary success of the Roman arms. For this purpose the Burgundian kingdom of Worms appeared weak enough, and it was certain that neither the Alamanni nor the Franks would help it, as it had pushed itself between them. An occasion for war was easily provided by some infringement of Roman rights in Gaul. With the help of the Hunnish bands Aëtius destroyed the aged king Gundikar and his kingdom in 437. The homeless remnants of the Burgundian people might become a source of general disturbance in East Gaul, while the Gallic problem could be settled only by their complete subjugation; the Roman ruler was therefore obliged to give personal consideration to the matter, and after some years settled them as federal allies in Sabaudia on the Lake of Geneva at the frontier of the Alamannic conquests on the south-west.

The Huns had now but a short way to go in order to reach the Rhine. They were already masters of the Teutonic peoples on the Noric Danube, so far as these had not retreated before them, under pressure from the expeditions of Radagais and the Gallic invasions of the Vandals and Danubian Suevi; certain Vandals still remained in Pannonia among other tribes in subjugation to the Huns. Their employment against the Burgundians had



GOTHIC PRISONERS IN THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THEODOSIUS

already shown the Huns the road westward. This same employment, however, had inspired Geiserich with the idea of inviting the Hun forces westward, to further his own political aims. Geiserich recognised that the Visigoths even now might become the principal opponents of the Vandal empire; they were a rising and a conquest-loving nation, and as all other directions had more or less been closed to them by the Teutons, they would be forced to expand along that line which the Vandals had followed forty-five years previously.

Attila's Famous Advance

Thus the famous advance into Europe of Attila, the leader of the Huns and allied peoples, during the year 451, was chiefly due to the diplomacy of Geiserich. In accordance with this policy the Visigoths and Aëtius formed the main line of resistance. Notwithstanding the indecisive result of the battle on the plains of Mauriazen, Attila speedily abandoned his attempt. The plundering raid which he undertook upon Italy in the following year, which was opposed by Aëtius and not by the Visigoths, displayed even greater indecision. No definite plan of changing the situation in Central Europe seems to have been entertained by the Hun monarch. On the death of Attila, in 453, the empire of the Huns speedily collapsed. The subjugated East Teutons and Suevi secured their freedom under the leadership of the Gepids, while the East Roman Empire recovered its courage for offensive measures.

Geiserich remained master of the situation in the west. In the confusion which followed the fall of Aëtius in 454 he appeared in Rome as arbitrator. As if he were gathering plunder from subjugated territories for his capital, he shipped objects of value, works of art, and trophies from Rome to Carthage.

Italy's Fate in the Balance

Between East Rome and Africa, Italy now appears as a province the fate of which had not been definitely decided. While the East Roman Empire was anxious to secure the existence of a West Roman emperor who should in reality be East Roman governor in Italy, the Teutons simply occupied the country as they pleased. No attempt of the kind was made by the Vandals, who would only have hampered their action by such occupation, but only by the Teutons, who formed the standing army in Italy.

The undiminished continuance of the Roman Empire and of its universal supremacy remained not only unquestioned by Italian ideas, but also by the Teutons in Italy. The Byzantine emperors had recently wielded the *imperium*, which existed unimpaired. The Byzantine government had despatched Julius Nepos as emperor of Italy; he, however, was obliged to retire to Dalmatia before the adroit upstart Orestes, the successful maker of emperors, and Patricius, the father of Romulus Augustulus.

The fact that Odoacer now secured the fall of Orestes was but another satisfaction to Byzantium, though there was no prospect of restoring Nepos to Italy. It was necessary to conclude a treaty with Odoacer recognising him as dependent king, as formerly with Athaulf and Wallia, to whom the empire had previously abandoned parts of Gaul; but an attempt was made to secure some theoretical supremacy over Italy. Through Odoacer the senate proclaimed the abolition of the Italian imperial dignity, which had always been more or less dependent on East Rome. By way of compensation East Rome was asked to grant Odoacer the title of Patricius and admit the legitimacy of his position with regard to the Italians.

Odoacer's Great Achievements

Odoacer never suspected that his achievement in overthrowing the West Roman Empire would be the starting-point of a great historical period and that historical science would treat his reign as a landmark. The importance of the events of 476 is not merely confined to the replacing of Nepos and Orestes by Odoacer, but is accentuated by a long series of previous events and by the possibilities which were laid open for the future. Moreover, as the remaining Teutons recognised in Italy a Teutonic and not an imperial court, many obstacles to their development were removed; as Odoacer was not a supreme authority over them, the quondam West Roman province seemed for the first time to be left in isolation, or abandoned to those who desired to extend their power. Thus the settlement of the old Roman-Teutonic army in Italy is connected with further changes in West and Central Europe.

EDUARD HEYCK



THE EMERGING OF THE NATIONS

ITALY AND THE LOMBARDS

AND THE DAWN OF FRANKISH SUPREMACY

AFTER the confusions of the Visigoth and Vandal invasions, Italy enjoyed a period of comparatively settled government under Odoacer and his Heruli. Odoacer had never entertained any thoughts of an imperial policy; he wished to take the place of the Western emperor only over Italy itself and its Roman inhabitants, and as the viceroy of East Rome. He certainly defeated the Rugii, who had established themselves in Noricum, a province still remaining to Italy; but after his success, he abandoned the province and transferred the Roman population to Italy.

Odoacer's campaign in Noricum had been caused by the intrigues of Byzantium with the Rugii. Byzantium, indeed, was extremely reluctant to see this upstart upon the throne of Italy; if a Teuton were to reign there at all, it would be better to have a king who was bound to the imperial court by respect and friendship, and who would consequently act in full compliance with Byzantium. Such a character was Theoderic, an Ostrogoth, of the family of the Amali from Pannonia. He had grown up in Byzantium as a hostage, with full knowledge of and a high respect for Roman civilisation; he had now united in his own person the power of his father and his two uncles, and also that of a prince who was not of the Amalic kindred. If he entered Italy he would be exactly the ruler whom Byzantium would wish to see; moreover, the Ostrogoths would then leave Pannonia, where they had established themselves after the collapse of the Hun supremacy, and where they might easily become inconvenient to Eastern Rome. Here the Emperor Zeno invested Theoderic with full powers, and the remnants of the Rugii were to follow the Ostrogoth to Italy. Odoacer's action a short time previously—in 448, when he surrendered and evacuated Noricum, the province neighbouring on Pannonia—was a vain attempt to avert the coming storm. In that same year the Goths and the Rugii started, and reached Italy in 489. A year later the supremacy of Odoacer had collapsed, though the sea fortress of Ravenna protected the king until he could be blockaded with a naval force. In 493 Odoacer surrendered on condition that he should be left as joint ruler in Italy; Theoderic speedily freed himself from this embarrassment by murdering his rival. Thus he reigned alone over the peninsula as patricius; the capital and many Romans regarded him from the outset as a conqueror, who was justified in recovering Italy for the emperor; his Goths settled upon the allotments occupied by the troops of Odoacer, who remained subject to him.

Byzantium's Choice of a Ruler

Theoderic on the Throne of Italy

Theoderic's rule is to be understood from two special points of view; in the first place, he restored their former conditions of life to the Romans in the country after the government of Odoacer, which they considered as a foreign usurpation; in the second place, his reign implied a renewal of western imperial supremacy over its former province of the West Roman Empire. The policy implied in the first point of view, and the consequent consideration which Theoderic showed for

Roman customs in general, was increased and developed to a remarkable care for the prosperity of the country. He introduced an economic revival and provided Italy with new or improved material appliances. He constructed buildings greater than any emperor had built for a long period; he encouraged a later growth of the native antique philosophy, and in every respect was ready to consider Roman claims as much as Gothic.

As regards the revival of the supremacy of the West Roman Empire, we find a curious state of double dealing; Theoderic acknowledged the imperial rights of Byzantium and its supremacy over himself, but on the other hand his chancery documents, delivered to the court of Thuringia in the silence of the Teutonic interior, referred to himself and the house of Amali as free and independent heirs of the West Roman emperors. Thus, Theoderic, probably with complete success, after the manner of Aëtius, regarded the whole of the west, including old Germania and the Africa of the Vandals, as contained in the political purview of the western imperial power which he represented, and in every political event or transformation, throughout Central and Western Europe, he felt bound to declare his position. Thus, when the rising power of the Franks, under Clovis, defeated King Gibuld, and deprived his people of their independence, and when the loss of a king had left them without a leader, Theoderic proceeded to exercise his supremacy over Rhætia in the old province of Italy and over the Alamanni there settled, who had been in the course of migration.



"LAST OF THE ROMANS" Boethius, Theoderic's Minister, has been described by Gibbon as "the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countrymen." He was accused of treason, and was executed, without a trial, in 525.

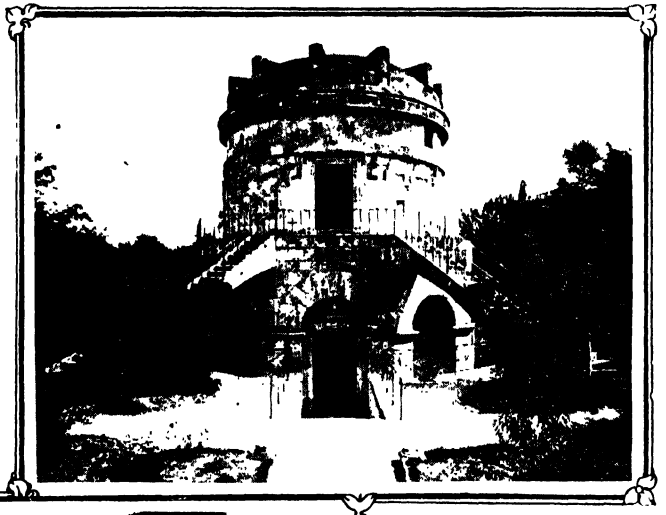
Theoderic, relying partly upon ties of kinship, attempted to hold in connection the Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Thuringians, Heruli, and Varini in one great friendly federation, managed from Ravenna and turned against the restless Franks; he was also anxious to gain influence over his brother-in-law, Clovis, by overtures of friendship. His efforts proved fruitless. In the year 507 the Merovingians advanced to the attack upon the Visigoths, a conflict which the world had anxiously awaited for many years. The Burgundians were allied with the Franks during the struggle, and the other tribes remained neutral. Theoderic, who was thrown upon his own resources, saw the defeat of his son-in-law, Alaric II., while in the next year, 508, his dangerous ally subjugated almost the whole Gallic portion of the Visigoth empire. Only in Spain, which, after the elevation of Odoacer, the Visigoths had rapidly conquered as far as the Suevic Galicia, did the Visigoths and Alaric's son, Theoderic's grandson, who had taken refuge there, find themselves safe.

The struggle in the west was followed with close attention, and with the foresight of a superior ruler by a yet earlier power, that of Byzantium. The politeness of Theoderic, his loyal recognition of his position as the vassal of East Rome, his care and consideration for Roman civilisation, could not prevent the existence of a deeper hostility between the two powers than had ever existed in the old period of joint imperial rule. The great point of variance was the fact that the East Romans hated the Goths as Arians and as heretics ruling Catholic Rome. Hence Clovis, King of the Franks, had been, since his baptism, regarded by Byzantium as Theoderic had formerly been, when the destruction of Odoacer was a desired object.

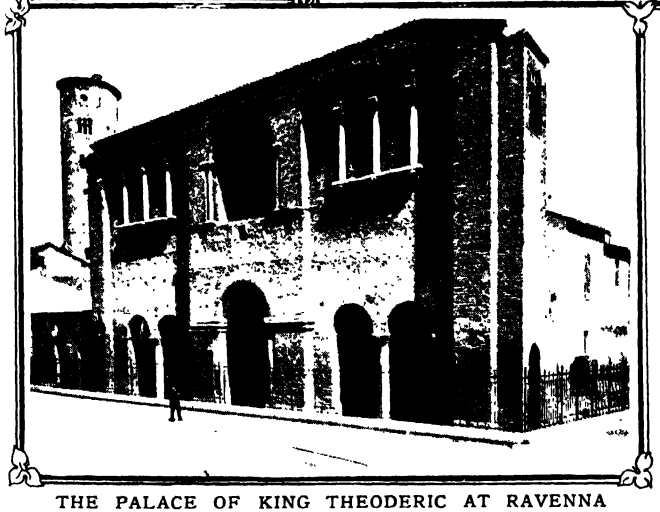
While Clovis marched against Alaric II., an East Roman fleet had attacked Lower Italy without any open declaration of war. When Clovis returned from his victorious campaign he met envoys from Byzantium, who invested him with the dignity of Roman Consul, which he accepted with the greatest respect and with a show of outward solemnity.

Byzantium then helped to check the advance of that Teutonic power which alone among the new conquering states maintained close connection with the districts of pure Teutonic nationality, and, in consequence, alone seemed capable of creating a future for the Germans.

Such being the state of affairs, Theoderic abandoned his position of neutrality so far as to send an army across the Alps, the success of which secured him a certain share in the plunder; he conquered the country between the Durance and the sea, which the Visigoths had occupied at the time of Odoacer, and which Clovis had handed over to the Burgundians as the price of their help. The Franks, on the other hand, retained Auvergne, Aquitania, and the territory north of the Garonne, and, south of it, Gascony, including Toulouse. Thus the Visigothic kingdom of Spain retained in Gaul only that strip of coast-line, with the town of Narbonne, which is known as Septimania. The Ostrogoth and Visigoth kingdoms were connected by the geographical line of passage over the Tyrrhenian Sea. Moreover, the Franks allowed Theoderic to exercise for the moment a supervisory power over the Visigoths. As regards the destruction of other Frankish noble tribes by Clovis, and the despotic institution of a general Frankish federation, or imperial supremacy of the Merovingians, Gregory of Tours has, indeed, no chronology to give, as he borrowed his narrative of these events from the epic legends of the time; he therefore adds the events to which he can give dates as an appendix. He also adds a further isolated notice of the fact that Clovis murdered his own nearest blood relations. The weakness of the more developed Teutonic states still consisted in the lack of any monarchical succession, and in the old traditional rights of the royal house. Two powerful rulers attempted to avert this danger in favour of the monarch. Geiserich created the right of seniority—that is, the right of the oldest member of the famil to the succession, an idea calculated to offend as little as possible the theory of family right; an institution through which the Vandal Empire perished. Clovis, with characteristic disregard of theoretical definitions, but with full practical effect, "not sparing his own near relatives," secured the result that of all the Merovingians he alone remained in existence for the moment, and the succession was



THE TOMB OF THEODERIC



THE PALACE OF KING THEODERIC AT RAVENNA

afterwards secured to his sons to the number of four. Even this means naturally proved ineffectual in the future. Thus family right continued to retain its power, even among the Franks. Both the later Merovingians and the Carolingians were able to limit its influence only by reducing the number of claimants by murder or other violent measures of exclusion. Of these two great Teutonic contemporaries, the West Teuton and practical politician, Clovis, was the first to die, in 511. His kingdom was not divided, but after their father's death his four sons all became kings of the Franks and of the subject peoples. Their working arrangements regulated only the amount of their income and the limitations of their administrative power. The result was by no means to produce four ruling houses. On the contrary, when the death of one brother occurred the survivors took particular care to reduce the extension of the ruling power and to exclude the sons of the deceased from any share in the government. The policy was successful upon one occasion, on the death of Chlodomer, but fruitless on the death of Theoderic, the governor of the pure Teutonic subjects of the empire, who had his capital at Metz. The rights of the royal family as a whole, which in early German history had been subject to the practical effects of personal influence, were thereby driven back a step; the actual governor became more strongly distinguished from hereditary claimants, partly as a result of his own course of aggrandisement and partly under the influence of the manifold responsibilities of the kingdoms which now represented the supremacy of the Franks over other nations and over Roman subjects.

Four Kings of the Franks

Consequently the foreign policy of the Franks and of their kings followed the common and federal interests, and in the course of it the most strongly interested brothers appeared as the leading and guiding powers. Among the Burgundians, Sigismund, the son of the deceased Gundobad, attempted to repair his position by adopting Catholicism and courting the favour of Byzantium, with the result that he exposed himself helplessly to the attacks both of Ostrogoths and Franks. Theoderic was strengthened by the domestic difficulties which hampered the Frankish government, and when the Franks deposed and killed King Sigismund in 523, he annexed new parts of the Burgundian territory; the Merovingians, on the other hand, were obliged to spare the Burgundian kingdom under Sigismund's brother, Godomer, and not until 532 were they able to overthrow and to incorporate it with their own.

Frankish Government in Difficulties

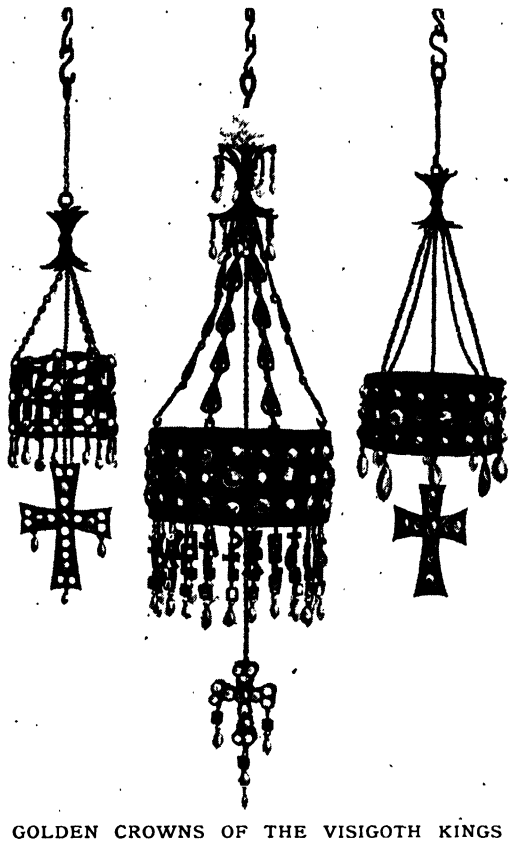
Theoderic died in 526, saddened by the knowledge that his policy of care and reconciliation had proved fruitless, and that he had only stimulated the tendency of the Italian Romans and their Catholic Church towards the Eastern Empire. The epic poems of popular tradition, in their picture of his character, concerned themselves but little with these concluding events, of which they were in any case not likely to take account. They have depicted the main feature of his fame as resting upon the fact that he became perforce an arbitrator and the greatest of the heroes who have governed the Teutons and restrained both the Siegfrieds and the Hagens among the Franks. The picture will in any case remain the more striking as, after his death, no one arose to prevent the Franks from disturbing the Burgundians, the Thuringians, the Alamanni in Rhætia, and the Baioarii in Rhætia and Noricum. In Byzantium that strong, energetic, and prudent ruler Justinian had succeeded to the throne about the time when the successor of Theoderic, the queen-regent, Amalaswintha, began to grow alienated from the Goths, owing to her ungovernable preference for everything Roman. Her government was only legitimised by her son Athalaric, who died in 534; but a short time previously she had been able to perform important services to the East Roman emperor and his generals upon the occasion of the African expedition which had begun after long hesitation, and ended in the destruction of the Vandal kingdom. Having secured his power in Africa and upon the Tyrrhenian islands, the emperor of the Balkan Peninsula could not avoid the obvious necessity of finally destroying the intermediate Gothic position in Italy.

Destruction of Vandal Kingdom

An outward reason for war was afforded by the fact that his ally, Amalaswintha, was murdered by an Amalian, Theodahad, who became king after the death of Athalaric, in 535. After Theodahad, who was by no means a ruler to the

liking of the Teutonic nation, had fully displayed his incompetence in the field against Belisarius, Justinian's general and the conqueror of the Vandals, the Goths considered themselves justified by circumstances in breaking away from the alienated and degenerate family of the Amali. In their council, or *thing*, upon the open field they elected a new king and leader, Witichis, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in a war with the Gepids. The Italian war of Justinian was regarded with favour by the Franks, as they hoped to derive advantage both from their old friends the East Romans and also from the expelled Ostrogoths, to whom they owed a debt of assistance. Witichis left to them the concessions which Theodahad had already made, the districts of Southern Gaul, formerly occupied by Theodoric.

But Frankish policy was cherishing bolder plans. Theudebert, the son of Theuderic, an energetic character, was ruling at Metz. It was he who proposed the carefully planned attack, in alliance with the Lombards and Gepids, upon the superior power of East Rome, and who removed the figure of the emperor from his gold coins and placed on them the word Augustus after his own name. At the moment when Witichis succeeded in involving Justinian in a war with the Persians in 539, Theudebert invaded Italy with a great army, and fought both against the Goths and against the Byzantine troops, who were intended for further employment in Asia. A supremacy over the West was indeed inconceivable without a position of predominance at the old centre of the empire, the more so as Theoderic the Great had strengthened the theory that the two conceptions were inseparable. Carolingian history thus announces itself in the person of this ambitious Austrasian. As it proved, however, he was not able to inspire his peasant infantry with a permanent enthusiasm for his imperial policy, and sickness among his troops forced him to retire from the Apennine peninsula.



GOLDEN CROWNS OF THE VISIGOTH KINGS
These beautifully worked emblems of power, belonging to the Visigoth kings of the seventh century, were found near Toledo, in Spain.

At a later period the Merovingians renewed their attempts to gain by diplomatic means some territorial concessions in Italy.

The majority of the Ostrogoths abandoned Witichis in consequence of his lack of success. Belisarius, whose policy recalls that of Wallenstein, threw away the opportunity afforded by his command of the war in Italy, and the royal position among the Goths was characteristically given to a relation of Witichis, his uncle Uraja. He, however, was advanced in years and advised the choice of Hildebad, who had bravely and nobly defended the important town of Verona against Belisarius, and who was of noble birth, as the nephew of the Visigoth king Theudis. He began not unsuccessfully to reconcentrate and reorganise the confused Gothic kingdom, but jealousy broke out between his family and that of Uraja, in which he took the wrong side, lost much of his prestige, and was finally murdered to satisfy private revenge. At this moment the Rugii, who were settled in isolation from the Goths, set up a king of their own,

Eraric, while the Goths remained for months without a leader, or accepted the rule of the Rugic king.

Eventually Badvila, or Totila, a nephew of Hildebad, was appointed king, and Eraric, who had attempted to consolidate his position by recognising the imperial supremacy and accepting the dignity of patricius, was murdered. The Goths once again gained an interval of twelve years for unity, recovery and hope. King Badvila regarded Justinian's actions in 550 as dangerous, when he attempted to play off against him the old royal rights of the Amali. Theoderic's granddaughter, Amalaswintha, was still living in Byzantium. Witichis, who had formerly been elected king by the people, had prudently married her. At the present moment she was the wife of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, whose capacity and wealth determined Justinian to make an expedition to Italy. Germanus was then suddenly carried off by sickness while he was collecting Teutonic light troops in Illyria for his enterprise; as a matter of fact, the Ostrogoths showed much indecision and weakness before this danger.

Ostrogoths Weak in Face of Danger

Once again Badvila gathered his forces for a determined advance, upon the appointment of Narses, who had already held a command under Belisarius. His fleet, however, met with disaster at Sinigaglia, and the rude Danubian Teutons, who formed the flower of Narses' troops, surrounded Badvila and conquered him at Taginæ (Gualdo Tadino). The Gothic king received his death wound from the Gepid leader in 552.

Thereupon the Goths entrusted the political power to Teja, who commanded a considerable force as Badvila's general, though his troops had not arrived in time for the battle, and therefore remained intact. In the battle of Vesuvius in 553 Teja was unable to save the Gothic Empire, though he preserved the inextinguishable honour of their armies, which was not the case upon the downfall of the Vandals. The remnant of the Goths in the town garrisons of Upper Italy now sent for the Frank Theudbald, a son of Theudebert. But this youthful king (548-555) died so early that he was unable to exert any personal influence upon the course of affairs in Italy. On the other hand, two West Teutonic "dukes" of Alamannic origin, the brothers Leuthari and Butilin, invaded Italy, unchecked by the Frankish government, with 72,000 Alamanni and Franks. They were joined by the remnant of the Teutonic nationality, and seriously threatened the position of Narses for a considerable time. The Arian East Teutons were also divided by dissension of every kind from the Catholic Franks and the Alamanni, who were chiefly heathen. The usual summer maladies broke out among the Germans, and Narses was master of them all until the spring of 555. The danger of the government of a Radagais or of an Odoacer in Italy was averted. The last warriors of Teja had marched northwards across the Alps at an earlier period. Other thousands of the Goths were now transferred to the East Roman Empire. The commander of the Heruli, who had held a post under Narses, Sindwal—probably Sindwalt—attempted to establish himself on the Etsch. He, however, was overthrown and executed by his former master. To the Goths eventually succeeded, in 568, the wider empire of the Lombards.

The Great Battle of Vesuvius

Empire of the Lombards

In the course of long migrations and changes of settlement the Lombards had become a strong military power. Their final victory over the Gepids of Pannonia in 566, though gained with the help of the Avars, had given them sufficient self-confidence to venture upon the conquest of Italy. This enterprise was, however, by no means entirely successful. Alboin is rather to be regarded as the first of the long roll of Italian petty princes which most clearly displays, for thirteen hundred years, the political disruption of the peninsula.

For the moment, the Roman or Byzantine garrisons retired from the valley of the Po, from Piedmont, Emilia, and Northern Tuscany, to the coast, in almost every case. After the surrender of Milan, on September 4th, 569, Pavia, then known as Ticinum, which had offered a bold resistance for several years, was captured in 572 and became Alboin's capital. At that period, however, any thorough foundation of an empire was out of the question. The wanderings of the Lombards from the Lower Elbe to the Lower Vistula, from this again to the Central Danube, and thence over Monte San Michele, at Gradisca, to the Po, and the severe struggles which were often a matter of life



THE RETREAT OF THE GOTHS AFTER THE BATTLE OF VESUVIUS IN 553

When the Gothic king Badvila was killed in battle, in 552, the Goths entrusted the political power to Teja, who had been Badvila's general. He encountered the Romans, under Narses, at the battle of Vesuvius, in 553, and, though he was unable to save the Gothic Empire, he preserved the honour of their armies. The illustration shows the retreat of the Goths, bearing the corpse of Teja, after their defeat at Vesuvius, and the weird ceremony attending the procession.

or death to their nationality, were influences by no means calculated to raise them from their semi-barbarous condition. Nor were their travelling companions and allies any more civilised than themselves; these were the remnants of the Gepids, the East Slavs and West Teutons, and the 20,000 Saxons who had accompanied them. Hence their invasion was more formidable in character than the occupation of a third of the country by the Ostrogoths of Theoderic or than the invasions of the Visigoths, who indeed entered the imperial service. The movement thus forms the culmination of the barbarian invasions.

Italy Completely Subjugated

Alboin enjoyed his success for no long period; in the early summer of 572 he fell a victim to the vengeance of his second wife, the Gepid Rosamund. A similar fate befell his successor, Clepho or Kleph, in 574, after a reign of eighteen months. The leaders of the tribes had become military commanders and members of the royal retinue, under the supremacy of the king, towards the end of the period of migration; at a comparatively early date they became dukes, ruling a definite tract of territory, and exercising jurisdiction according to the customary law over a certain number of Lombard tribes. By this process the subjugation of Italy was completed; consequently it could never become a settlement carried out in due form. The old territorial owners fled, if they had not first been killed. Before the intimidated Roman element could turn to its own advantage the mistakes of an over-centralised royal power, such bold and ambitious leaders as Faroald and Zotto rapidly formed, even in Central Italy, the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Narses, the conqueror of the Goths, had been dead for some considerable time, while Byzantium was threatened by the Avars and Persians; the imperial leader Baduarius was repulsed between 575 and 576 near the strong fortress of Ravenna. The process of Lombard-Arian conquest was marked by the devastation or extermination of the Catholic priesthood, and its wild destruction of episcopal sees has been unmistakably proved by statistics. The old capital towns of Ravenna and Naples rose almost in complete isolation above this inundation, and were able to defy the untrained barbarian hordes by means of their fortifications. Even in these quarters, however, attempts were already being made to secure Frankish help. Austrasia in particular was induced to aid in the expulsion of the heretical invaders in 582, by means of a magnificent present from the Emperor Maurice. Byzantine bribery also secured the transference of individual Lombard dukes to the imperial service in 584.

Destruction in the Train of Barbarians

These ten years of selfish ambition were brought to an end by the view that a stronger king was required, if the Lombard nationality was to maintain its ground in Italy; the majority of the dukes chose for this purpose Authari, the son of Kleph. The new government was forced to struggle desperately in order to extort recognition from such of the dukes as refused submission; together with the *gastalds*, who administered the scattered portions of crown territory, certain dukes maintained more or less independent positions as territorial princes until the fall of the empire. Authari, however, showed much dexterity in yielding when force was useless, and turning every favourable moment to the best possible advantage; he was thus able to survive even the perils of the summer of 590, which brought with it the dangerous invasion of Childebert II. of Austrasia. He married Theodelinda, a daughter of the orthodox Duke of Bavaria, Garibald, a Frankish vassal in possession of important Alpine passes, but remained an Arian till his death, in 590.

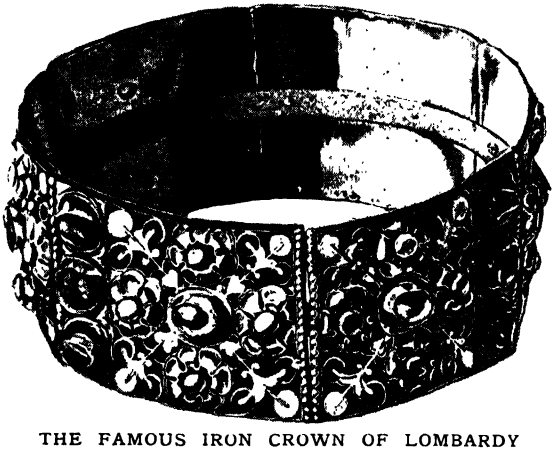
Missionaries to the Lombards

At that moment the rising power of the Roman bishop in Central Italy was almost paralysed by the secession of the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Bishops of Istria from the decrees of the fifth synod of Constantinople the queen also adhered to the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon. None the less he eventually rendered great services in the dissemination of the Catholic faith among the Lombards, who had remained isolated in this respect after the conversion of the Visigoths in 587. Beyond the limits of Ravenna but very few remnants of Ostrogoth and Lombard Arianism are to be found.

The fruits of the work of Authari were clearly displayed under the rule of his brother-in-law, Agilulf, who forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in November, 591. A

copper tablet, overlaid with gold—now in the Bargello at Florence—which was made at that period, represents him surrounded by lifeguards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail. The refractory dukes of Bergamo, Treviso, and Verona were speedily humiliated. The appointment of Arichis of Friuli as Duke of Benevento gave a definite form to the comparatively aimless settlement of the Lombards in Southern Italy. The centre was under the powerful rule of Duke Ariulf of Spoleto.

Fortunately, during those dangerous ten years at the close of the sixth century the Church possessed an energetic restorer and a defender of first-rate capacity in the person of Gregory the Great, who ruled for thirteen years and a half —590 to 604; otherwise the Roman element, even within the states of the Church, would have succumbed speedily and for ever to the advance of the Lombards, which now proceeded upon more definite lines. The fact is proved by the manner in which the Lombard and Byzantine armistice was concluded in the autumn of 598, and also by the increased power of the Exarch of Ravenna, who was entrusted with one of the most responsible state posts, and had resumed the powers of Theoderic, though not with a hereditary title; it was a rise of power conditioned by the permanent danger of exposure to barbaric attacks.



THE FAMOUS IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY

There is a tradition that this celebrated crown of Lombardy, deposited in the Cathedral of Monza, was made from nails used at the Crucifixion of Christ, and given to Constantine by his mother, the Empress Helena. Henry VII. was the first of the Italian kings who is known with any certainty to have worn it, in 1311. Charles V. was the last of the emperors who made use of it until Napoleon crowned himself with it.

The stern logic of facts had transformed a peaceful portion of the empire into a frontier province under military law and composed of different fragments, the several frontiers of which ran into the interior and not along the coast-line of Italy, and could be secured only by the wearisome work of fortified garrisons. As the imperial government was more hardly pressed, the inclination to independence and the possibility of separation from Byzantium naturally increased; this tendency forms one of the main features of Italian history, from the unsuccessful revolt of Eleutherios in 610 until the complete break with the East Roman supremacy introduced by Charles the Great in 781.

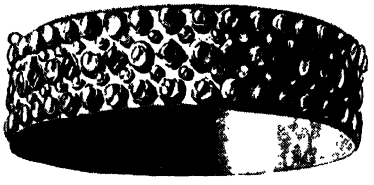
After the death of Agilulf, in 616, Adaloald, who had already been baptised into the Roman Catholic faith, ascended the throne as a minor, under the regency of his mother Theodelinda. To this period belongs the settlement of the disciples of the Irish monk Columba, who had been driven from his settlements in the Vosges by the lawless Brunhilda, and had taken refuge on the Bobbio with the permission of Agilulf; in 628 they left the camp of the schismatics and went over to the papacy, with flying colours. In 626 Adaloald was overthrown, apparently for the reason that he had shown excessive favour to the Roman nationality, and his place was taken by Arioald (626–636), the husband of his sister, who was also a Catholic. He, however, was unable permanently to check the disruption of the Lombard kingdom, a process which was accelerated by the autonomous spirit of the dukes, and was partly due to the preponderance of Roman civilisation; in any case, the outward rest which Italy enjoyed upon the whole under the Exarch Isaac (625–643) and the Pope Honorius I. (625–638) in no way contributed to strengthen the Lombard position.

No Lombard revival occurred until the secular policy of the orthodox Curia suffered a severe defeat on June 17th, 653, when Pope Martin I. was deposed by imperial decree, as a result of the Monothelite quarrel. The revival was begun by King Rothari (636–652), who introduced a national advance in the second half of the seventh century by the severity of his attitude

towards the autonomous aspirations of the dukes in contrast with the more feeble policy of friendship with Rome. His organising spirit is evidenced by the decree of November 22nd, 643, which provided his subjects for the first time with the advantage of a legal code, though written in Latin. Immediately afterwards the Lombard attacks upon the remnants of the Byzantine supremacy were renewed with a success which implied a simultaneous strengthening of the government's dynastic power.

Throug. Murder to a Throne

Rodoald, the son of Rothari (652-653), was succeeded by the Catholic Aripert, the cousin of Gundeberga; he reigned until 661, and his policy was marked by conciliation towards Rome. During the dissension between his sons Godepert and Perctarit, Duke Grimoald I. of Benevento secured the throne by murdering the former, expelling the latter, and marrying their sister. The national life then entered upon a real revival. Grimoald succeeded in uniting the Lombard districts in the north with those in Southern Italy, and thus formed a powerful kingdom with resources which almost doubled the achievements of Rothari.



QUEEN THEODELINDA'S CROWN

This famous crown of the queen of the Lombards, who reigned about 600, is in the treasury of the Castle of Monza. Theodelinda, who was a daughter of Garibald, the orthodox Duke of Bavaria, married King Authari.

Even the Emperor Constans was obliged, in 663, to renounce his project of driving the intruders from the old centre of the empire, and contented himself with the possession of Sicily. In consequence, Rome was deprived of her importance as the chief political town and capital for almost 1,207 years, while her ecclesiastical pre-eminence suffered a further blow from the action of Constans, who granted with equal readiness and shortsightedness an independent position to the Bishop of Ravenna. It must be said that the latter after no long time turned upon his patron; the increasing division between the Curia and the East had been extended between 606-741, notwithstanding the attempts at reunion and the efforts of thirteen Syrian or Greek Popes, for the Curia had been finally and inevitably driven by the emperor into the open arms of the Franks, and Ravenna gradually decayed and was unable to maintain its position alone.

At the same time the kingdom which had thus been vigorously held together by the iron grasp of Grimoald was broken up almost immediately after the death of the king, in 671. Romuald, the elder son, maintained, indeed, his position in the south as duke of Benevento, but in the north Perctarit, who had been formally expelled, drove out the young Garibald at the first onslaught. The grand-nephew of Theodelinda was in policy and in religion an adherent and supporter of the pacific policy of the Bavarian dynasty. During the last quarter of the seventh century the Catholic Church made great progress on account of the abandonment of the Monothelite position and the condemnation of the orthodox Pope Honorius in 681, which had facilitated a reconciliation between East and West, and the splendour of its progress benefited chiefly the Roman papacy. Arianism disappeared, and, even in the schismatic north-east corner, gave way to the Roman Catholic system under King Kunibert (690-700).

The uniformity of religious belief now prevailing in Italy and the peace which had been concluded on the ground of mutual recognition between the Lombards on the one hand and the Curia and the empire on the other, about the year 682, could not prevent the separation of Italy into a Lombard and non-Lombard portion. Within the jurisdiction of the Lombard kingdom the Roman nationality steadily decayed, notwithstanding the superiority of its civilisation; the Roman respect for law was overthrown by these colonists, and the idea of "abstract obedience" was replaced by the Lombard idea of unlimited freedom and the abandonment of all restraints. The desire of individuals to act as they pleased was a constant obstacle to the foundation of real political freedom. The separatism of the south, which even at the present day is clearly obvious beneath the outward union of Italy, may be attributed to the loose relations of the strong duchy of Benevento with the North Italian kingdom quite as reasonably as to the separation of the dioceses of Lower Italy, which were

What Freedom Meant to the Lombards

inclined to Byzantium, a movement certainly promoted by the ruling classes.

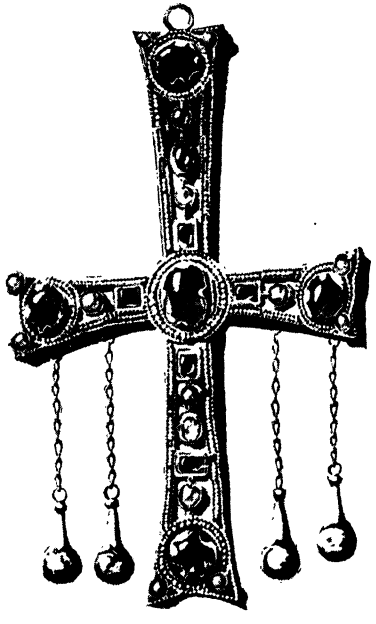
This partition of Italy into divisions of different character and different politics was materially supported by a change in the centre of power, which became gradually obvious, and is in close connection with the above-mentioned alienation of Western from Eastern Rome; this was the movement for freedom which was vigorously begun by Pope Sergius with the "quinisext" (the ecclesiastical assembly of Constantinople, which completed the fifth and sixth councils); the movement was, however, organised about the year 710 by Georgius of Ravenna.

The design simply aimed at bringing to an end the supremacy of Byzantium, which in many respects persisted only in name. This object would, no doubt, have been attained at a much earlier date had not inopportune resumptions of the Lombard attacks shown that the Byzantine protectorate was not only highly desirable, but at times absolutely necessary.

The fact that the Lombards resumed their plans of conquest after short pauses was due to the essential nature of their constitutional system; it was only by expansion over the country that the crown could maintain its position against the dukes, and the good understanding with the Curia was not likely to be impaired by slight aggressions, as the papacy was also working against the emperor, while from 726 the Iconoclastic quarrel added fresh fuel to the flames and formed another point of union between the Romans and the Lombards.

The Lombards were then ruled by King Liutprand (712–744); though his resources were limited, he was able to turn them to the best advantage, and showed great ability in increasing his power. He succeeded his father, the "Wise" Duke Ansprand, who died after a short reign in the spring of 712. Liutprand was a second Grimoald in his policy of unification; during the struggles between the Curia and the imperial government he showed great cleverness in preserving the balance between these forces.

About 730 he helped to reduce Pope Gregory II. (715–731), who had made himself almost entirely independent, to the position of a supreme bishop of the Church, using, on the one hand, the exarch for the humiliation of Spoleto and Benevento, while he also provided him, on the other hand, with sufficient occupation for his energies by promoting the autonomous tendencies in Central and Northern Italy.



THE CROSS OF KING AGILULF

A brother-in-law of King Authari, Agilulf forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in 591. His reign lasted until his death, in 616. The cross is now preserved in the treasury of the Castle of Monza. A copper tablet, overlaid with gold, now in the Bargello at Florence, represents Agilulf surrounded by some of his lifeguards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail.

The local governing powers (tribunes, etc), which had grown up in the meantime in such towns as had remained Roman, and which were indispensable to the further development of Italy in later years, could no longer be silenced after 730. Venice, moreover, now began to rise from entire unimportance, favoured as she was by her geographical position upon the lagoons and islands of the North-west Adriatic, under the government of a "dux," whose office was originally of Byzantine origin, but in the course of the eighth century gradually became dependent upon the choice of the Venetian fishermen and traders.

For about 150 years a kind of alliance had existed between the Lombards and the Franks, a traditional connection which was emphasised by the loyal friendship of Liutprand with the powerful mayor, Charles Martel; this connection was now exposed to a severe test. The Pope found that his conventions with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who preserved their independent spirit though repeatedly subjugated, were an inadequate protection against the Lombard attacks, which were

renewed notwithstanding the treaty of Terni in 742; as he could secure no help from East Rome he applied for assistance to the Frankish king, Pippin, from 752 onwards. The test proved too severe. Liutprand was succeeded by Hildeprand, and he again by Duke Ratchis of Friuli, before the expiration of the year 744;

Evil Days for the Lombards

the friendliness to Rome of this latter monarch was replaced in June, 749, by the ruthless oppression of his brother Aistulf. It was this change which brought about the breach.

The new king, who had been in occupation of Ravenna since the summer of 751, had conceived the idea of shattering the Roman nationality to its very foundations, and thus drove the first nail into the coffin of the Lombard kingdom. The alliance between the Pope and the Franks had been prepared by the mission of Boniface and the appeals of Gregory III., though these had been fruitless (739–740); the accession of Pippin in 751 definitely secured the alliance, and even a united Lombard state could hardly have resisted these combined forces. The Frankish king was pledged by the agreements of Ponthion and Quierzy in 754 to restore the status quo ante, in other words, the frontier lines of 682; and when his mild remonstrances produced no effect upon Aistulf, Pippin crossed the Alps in person upon two occasions (754 and 756), defeated the Lombards, and forced them to restore Ravenna and the castles which they had previously conquered, though he did not urge a complete restoration of the territory taken before 749 by Liutprand and others from the Curia, or, more exactly, from the emperor. This, again, was a "barbarian" attack.

The promises made in the agreement of Quierzy were thus not entirely fulfilled. But the performance, though incomplete,

Extending the Pope's Power

produced a result of vast importance to later Italy; this was the valuable foundation of the States of the Church, which even now had become something more than an extended territorial estate, and offered a convenient basis for the further extension of the Pope's secular power. The Frankish king could never have conceived the idea of recovering the territories alienated from the East Roman ruler and placing them in the hands of imperial officials; what he had done was done merely to the glory of God and from his desire to serve the sacred chair. The fact that the occupant of this chair was subject to the supremacy of the empire, as the governor of the Roman duchy and as an imperial bishop; the fact, again, that he himself had been brought under the imperial authority by the Pope's gratitude, which conferred upon him in 754 the title of "patricius Romanorum" —these were matters which troubled Pippin not at all. Thus the movement for Italian freedom had won a further victory, and the separation of Rome from Byzantium had secured a highly promising recognition beyond the bounds of Italy. The interference of the chief secular power of Central Europe in Italian affairs soon grew stronger and was often repeated; but for centuries its work survived it in its creation of the Patrimony of Peter, a state within a state.

Aistulf suffered from the effects of the utter failure of his attempted policy of aggression only for a few weeks; he died in December, 756. His place was unexpectedly

Monk Dons a Crown

taken by that Ratchis who had renounced the crown seven and a half years previously, and had become a monk in Monte Cassino. Spoleto and Benevento immediately seized this welcome opportunity to break away from the kingdom, while in the north a powerful opposition king arose in the person of the Tuscan duke, Desiderius; these facts dictated the future policy of Ratchis, and while formerly a supporter of Rome, he was now forced to oppose the Pope and the Franks. On the other hand, the Curia had an easy task; it supported Desiderius when he made overtures to Rome, and secured from him a promise of the restoration of such imperial towns as had been left by the events of 756—Bologna, Imola, Faenza and Ferrara, Osimo, Ancona, and Humana—while he also undertook to secure the abdication of the monk king, who was now hard pressed.

As soon as he had secured the power, Desiderius revealed himself as a second Aistulf or Liutprand. He opened negotiations with Byzantium with the object of again reducing the excessive power of the Curia, while he declined to offer any prospect of a serious attempt to redeem his promises of restoration; at the same time the dilatory character of his diplo-



PAVIA: ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE LOMBARDIC DOMINIONS

This ancient town, known to the Romans as Ticinum, was taken by Charlemagne in 774, and its historic university, which still stands, is said to have been founded by the great warrior in that year. It was at Pavia, centuries later, in 1525, that the great battle was fought which resulted in the defeat of the French and the capture of their king, Francis I., by the troops of the Emperor Charles V. The town was joined to the kingdom of Italy in 1859.

macy avoided any open breach with the dreaded Carolingians. However, about 763, through the intervention of Pippin, a peaceful recognition of the status quo was definitely secured. Thus the Frankish king had already been invited to arbitrate in the struggle for the supremacy of non-Lombard Italy waged by the emperor and Pope. Frankish friendship, moreover, proved a permanent possession, guaranteed as it was by the unanimity of orthodox faith in opposition to the iconoclasm of the East. This protectorate was continued during the following years, which saw a series of bloody struggles upon the several elections of the Popes; in spite of repeated attacks, the Lombard nationality was unable to exercise any material influence upon Roman affairs.

The comparative peace prevailing in Italy was significantly disturbed by the complications in the Frankish Empire which resulted in the death of Pippin on September 24th, 768. The confusion was initiated, as is often the case, by a woman. The queen-widow, Bertrada, married her son Charles to the daughter of the Lombard king, who had previously been crushed—she was called Desiderata, according to the *Vita Adalhardi*. The mother of Charles intended the marriage to make him brother-in-law of Tassilo, the refractory Duke of Bavaria. It was only to be expected that this remarkable change of Frankish policy should produce a revival of the Lombard claims. For the moment, indeed, Desiderius, under the pressure of necessity, displayed a friendly attitude towards the Frankish alliance with the Pope. The line of cleavage between these powers was not, however, definitely bridged by this alliance, and was widened by the open dissension of the two brothers, Charles and Carloman, in the middle of 771.

After the death of the latter, on December 4th, Charles took possession of the other half of the empire on the Italian side, and the widow Gerberga saw no alternative before her but an appeal to Desiderius to protect her children who had been deprived of their inheritance. The materials for a conflagration were completed by Charles' divorce of his Lombard wife, which coincided in date, and was no doubt in practical connection, with these events; he married Hildegard, a Swabian of noble birth. The restoration of the Roman towns, proposed and actually begun by Bertrada, soon came to an end. Faenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio remained in Lombard hands; and in declared hostility against his revolted son-in-law, the Lombard king advised Pope Hadrian I. to crown the sons of Carloman in 773.

Negotiations were opened, and papal expostulations passed continually between Charles and Desiderius; but all efforts proved fruitless, and the expedition to Italy began in the same year. By the autumn, the Franks were in front of Pavia, the strongly fortified capital. Thence, at the end of March, 774, Charles betook himself for the first time to Rome, where the Easter festival was celebrated, and the "promissio" of Pippin was solemnly received; the frontier delimitation was conducted upon principles characteristic of the age, in a general and very indefinite manner, and the Curia was thus enabled to prove from it a "Donation" of the most extensive kind. Pavia fell at the beginning of June, and Desiderius, with his wife and daughter, was taken prisoner by the Franks. Such was the end of the Lombard kingdom.

Fall of the Lombard Kingdom

The Lombard nationality, however, was by no means expelled from Italy. The Crown Prince Adelgis, who had been co-regent with his father from 759, had fled from Verona to Byzantium, but the Dukes of Friuli, Chiusi, Benevento and Spoleto continued to hold out, the last-named being for a time dependent upon the Pope. Nor were any bounds placed for the moment to the extent of the foreign supremacy. From the year 774 onwards Charles was simply the heir and successor of Desiderius, and the immediate representative of the Lombard dynasty. The name of the nation which occupied the throne had changed; the "barbarian" intruder was there as before.

There was, however, one essential difference in the situation—the Franks were compelled to interfere in Italian affairs, whereas this power of interference had formerly been the special object of the Lombards. It may also be asserted that even after the thorough and conscientious execution of those tasks which Pippin's promises had laid upon his great son there existed at the moment no clear appreciation of the vast historical importance of the twofold supremacy which had been secured. There were two reasons to prevent such appreciation. In the first place, the relation of the Pope to the emperor and to the Archbishop of Ravenna was at that time but vaguely defined, and was, indeed, in process of transition. Many points were still uncertain, although the general policy of separation from Byzantium had long been clearly perceived, and had been reinforced and pursued by the efforts of the Franks to emphasise their own independence.

Relations of Pope and Emperor

Considerable doubt also existed concerning the extent of the territorial claims and rights which the Curia might raise to districts that had now come under Frankish supremacy. It is obvious that this question contained the germs of much future dissension between the Pope and his previous protector, who had now become a neighbour, with interests of his own. On the other hand, Charles must not be too hastily credited with fixed aims or a comprehensive policy. He was a great conqueror, because he never shrank from any opportunity of extending his frontiers, and was always able to cope vigorously with the new obligations to which he thus laid himself open. He was, however, also obliged to consider the circumstances in which he found himself, and he had no prophetic expectation of those vast consequences which might result from the alliance that he had set on foot between the Roman patricius, the Italian king, and the monarch of Central Europe. From this point of view his acquisition of the Roman imperial crown must be regarded and understood.

Charles' Great Task of Reconstruction

In the autumn of 780 Charles undertook his second journey to Rome after a temporary reorganisation of the affairs of Upper Italy. The task of reconstruction was advanced in the famous capital about the middle of April, 781 (Easter), and the eldest son of Charles, Pippin, who had been "crowned" with his younger brother Louis, was given the government of the subjugated territory, with a court of his own and a special administration at Pavia. He is commemorated by a fresco of more than life size, which still survives in San Zeno Maggiore at Verona. At the same time the frontiers of this kingdom, which was almost independent, were arranged upon the principle of 682, though including the patrimonium of the Sabine country which had been occupied under Liutprand. The hopes which the Curia had vainly cherished for twenty-seven years were thus at length fulfilled; at the same time the vague and therefore unlimited, claims which it had advanced shortly after 774 were

more closely limited by these arrangements. The settlement of relations with the Byzantine south was a matter of much greater difficulty. As, however, the East Roman Empire, which was then in the hands of the Athenian Irene, had abandoned the policy of the great Isaurian Leo III., the solution proved surprisingly simple, or, in other words, unexpectedly peaceful; at any rate, the ambassadors of the empress offered no objection to the complete and absolute occupation of the Lombard possessions by the Frank power. The "liberation" of Italy, begun in 619, was now completed. Connected with the process, though the connection was not expressly stated, was the actual recognition of the separation of the papal states from the imperial federation. In another direction the East and West were brought together, though Charles himself stood apart with reference to doctrinal questions raised by the decree concerning the veneration of images issued by the Council of Nicæa in 787. Thus the old division of Italy into three parts —the Lombard, or Frankish, province, the Patrimony of Peter, and the isolated south—had been preserved; the archbishopric of Ravenna was allowed by Charles to lapse. There appeared, however, a new phenomenon, which has never been duly appreciated, and requires careful consideration; the papal states are henceforward an independent and no longer a vassal power—protected, indeed, by the Frankish kings, but manifesting their independence in charters, coinage, etc. It is obvious, of course, that they retained this position only during the transition period of the twenty years from 781 to 800, when the supremacy of East Rome had been overthrown, and no equivalent compensation had been secured by the creation of a West Rome. From this point of view the coronation of Charles by Leo must be regarded as a backward step, an impolitic movement, or, better, a confession of weakness, which was the inexorable result of the submission of the Roman bishop to emperors who regarded their dignity seriously. The pontificate of Hadrian (772–795) must from this point of view be regarded as a culminating moment in the history of the papacy.

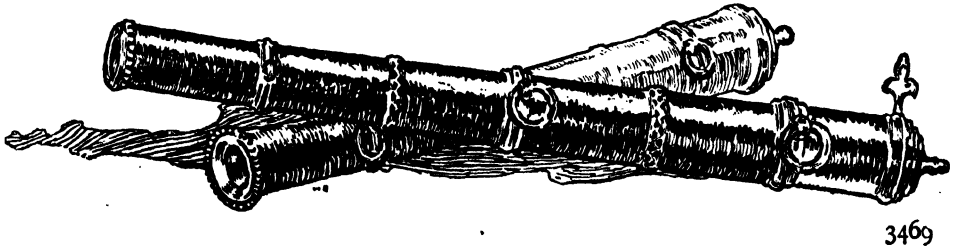
Italy in Three Parts

Even at that time, however, the Curia had become conscious of a certain inadequacy in its power, as appears during the third visit of Charles to Rome at the outset of 787, when Hadrian attempted to induce the Frankish king to turn his military power against Arichis of Benevento, who had fortified Salerno, but was entirely loyal in other respects; the result was his subjugation and the surrender of important points to the states of the Church. At Easter Charles carried to its necessary conclusion the breach with Irene which had been sealed by the Council of Nicæa, abandoning his consideration for the East, and "granting the restoration" of the southern patrimonies to the Pope.

The Italian Dominions of Charles

In the following year the Carolingian also abandoned an attempt to include Southern Italy in his world-wide political schemes. The ducal throne of Benevento, which had been vacated by the death of Arichis on August 26th, 787, was given to the heir, Grimoald, upon his recognition of the Frankish supremacy. Charles did not even insist upon the actual performance of the conditions imposed upon Grimoald's father, and thereby crushed for the moment the germs of a possible alliance between the remnants of the Lombards and Byzantium, which was thirsting for vengeance. His Italian dominions were further secured by the overthrow of Tassilo and the incorporation of Bavaria in 788, which made the most valuable Alpine passes available as Frankish lines of communication. At the same time the kingdom of the Avars, which had long been threatening the north-east of Italy, was crushed and destroyed by King Pippin, upon whom this task was imposed for geographical reasons (791–796 and 803).

H. F. HELMOLT





KINGS OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION FROM 511 TILL 737

RISE OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION

FROM THE GREAT CLOVIS TO CHARLEMAGNE

ABOUT the time when the petty Teutonic tribes of the Continent were permanently amalgamating in alliance with larger nationalities the Franks appeared in the whole of the Lower Rhine districts. In the second half of the third century they were known to the Romans by this name. That the appellation was intended to distinguish the peoples it denoted as being "free," compared with those within the Roman provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, seems improbable; it is more likely that the title, as among the Saxons and others, was adopted from some military weapon, and only at a later period became the designation of the dominant people of the Franks, and also an honourable appellation. The chief nations which formed the Frankish federation were the Chatti, Chattwari, Chamavi, Sigambri, Bructeri, Ambsiwari, Canninefates, Kugerni and Batavi; the last, a fragment of the earlier federation of the Chatti, had previously migrated to the district at the mouth of the Rhine. Thus the north and south extremes of the federation appeared as closely related.

Nations in the Frankish Federation

In the case of individual nationalities, the royal family is invariably retained; a purposeful and vigorous federal policy is called forth only by the necessities of some important war with the Romans. At other periods raids are made by individual tribes, or rather by enterprising bands sent out by the tribes, and for this reason the tribal names are preserved by the Romans throughout the fourth century. After that period they disappear behind the general name, Frank. The individual tribes become Frankish districts, which remain independent military communities, with their own royal families, developing their legal rights in isolation. Among the Chamavi, a traditional right of this kind retained its force for centuries, long after one reigning tribal family, that of the Merovingians, had secured the domination of all the remaining Franks, and an equalisation of constitutional rights had been secured, at any rate among the two larger groups. These two groups formed a transition stage on the road to a uniform constitutional system, and were provided by that general amalgamation of tribes into federations, of which we have spoken above; these groups appeared as the Ribuarii and Salii. The connection of the Salic Franks with Saal, Salland, Salhof, Salweide, is not very striking in view of the strong contrast between the Franks on the shores of the Rhine and the "sea Franks," while the latter branch may be shown, philologically, to have gained their name from the word "Salhund," meaning a "sea-dog." It has also been urged, and perhaps correctly, that the most southward, or Upper Franks, who advanced their settlements beyond the Moselle and later to the Main and beyond the Neckar, should not be included among the Ribuarii. In that case the great people of the Chatti would form a special group in the federation, side by side with the two above-mentioned. Questions of this nature must, however, remain open.

Where the "Sea Franks" Got Their Name

The empire often fought against the Franks with military success, and the name of Julian was as terrible to them as to the Alamanni, but these wars did not produce permanent peace. Moreover, the Romans were enabled, by the loose composition of the federation, to play off one tribe against another, and to take discontented nobles with their followings into their own service. As regents of the empire, Arbogast, himself a Frank, and Stilicho repelled the Franks by force.

The Clever Game of the Romans

When, however, Stilicho was obliged to recall the troops from Britain and the Rhine to protect Italy against Alaric,

the Franks did not forthwith overrun Gaul; a settled peasant population, even at a stage when property ownership is undeveloped, must have more cogent reasons for abandoning their homes in a body than the possibility of exploiting a subject population in new territory. It is more probable that they gradually spread into Gallic territory from their previous boundaries as the superfluous and enterprising elements of the population felt the need of migration, and preferred to make fresh settlements upon Gallic soil rather than open up fresh ground at home. Their occupation was carried out according to the usual economic forms; and the question must remain for the moment unsolved whether the Franks thus advancing left any of the Gallo-Roman population in the area of their new settlements. Hitherto the possibility is better attested by the existence of Frankish and also of Walloon laets, and by the fact that Latin documents are sealed with a Roman signet ring by King Childeric, than by the proofs which an examination of Frankish place names is supposed to yield. In any case the Frankish language was predominant in the districts immediately acquired.

Traces of the Frankish Advance



CLOVIS, THE EMPIRE FOUNDER
Regarded as the founder of the Frankish Empire, Clovis I. appeared on the scene in 481. In 486 he overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and vastly extended his own sway.

The Upper or Chattian Franks advanced to the Moselle, Nahe, and Saale. After Aëtius had destroyed the Burgundian empire of Worms they also occupied this district; that final success of the Roman power upon the Rhine, if intended to intimidate the Franks, produced no permanent effect. This movement brought the Chattian Franks into competition with the Alamanni, who were also extending in that direction. Sooner or later the question would require an appeal to arms. The Ribuarii advanced over the districts of the Eifel to Trèves. At an earlier period the Salii had advanced from the old settlement of the Batavi to Toxandria into the land between the Scheldt and the Maas. Although the Romans were highly indignant at this "presumption," Julian himself preferred to leave them undisturbed; it would certainly be wrong to say that they appeared in Julian's campaigns as the most distinguished of the Franks. After the year 400 they advanced by the Scheldt, on both banks, towards the Sambre and the "Kohlenwald," where the carboniferous strata appear on the northern slopes of the Ardennes – that is to say, nearly to the modern Franco-Belgian frontier.

About this period the federation as a whole possessed little importance; in the year 451 portions of the Franks fought both for and against Attila. The Salii were still under the royal families of their component nationalities. We observe, however, that as soon as the darkness begins to recede in the course of the fifth century, the kingdom exercises a leading influence which grows clearer as the nationality extends in area and begins to pursue a definite foreign policy. In particular the Salian Merovingian family consciously turned to account the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman dominion, which still existed by the side of its own people in Gaul. The Merovingian king, Chlodio — a nickname derived from some more formal name which is not known—the first historical personality that emerges from the mists of epic and etymological legend, extended his dominion at the beginning of the fifth century to the Somme from the districts which were still called after the former Belgian Tungri. It would be a mistake to estimate the culture or the character of the early Frankish kings by the scantiness and the barbarity of our sources of information, or to regard them as standing upon a lower level than Odoacer of the Visigoth kings.

The Great King Clovis I.

In 481 appears on the scene the king who is regarded as the founder of the Frankish Empire, familiarly known through French sources, as Clovis, though more correctly as Chlodwig—*i.e.*, Ludwig

o · Lewis. The general trend of the policy of Clovis has often been examined; the dexterity with which he alternately planned to secure the amalgamation of the Teutonic and Roman populations and to keep the balance between them has often been pointed out. If our information for this period were as extensive as it is for later centuries, the prudent simplicity of Clovis' policy would probably vanish before the revelation of the many-sided and complicated relations which are usually maintained by established states, even when their civilisation is inferior to that of migrating nations. All that we can attempt to determine is the position as evidenced by the course of events. Clovis was a Teutonic and heathen ruler of a Franko-Salic district with a Gallo-Roman population. As ng as the Gallo-Roman supremacy persisted as a state, and as inapplicable to certain parts of that population, many dangerous points of difference and unsettled questions must have arisen, even though the Gallo-Roman population considered that their prosperity was advanced by the Teutonic ruler. In 486, the Merovingian overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and extended his power at first to the Seine, and afterwards over the whole district. Thus the whole of the Roman dominions in Gaul now became a Teutonic kingdom, and lost all connection with any foreign political centre, except possibly with the distant Byzantium; Ravenna was no longer in Roman hands. There was, therefore, no reason why Clovis should make haste to conciliate the orthodox Church, to which a considerably increased number of his subjects belonged. His history is by no means characterised by precipitate action, but rather by consideration and foresight. It was, however, in the nature of the case that he should be converted sooner or later, even as his father had worn the Roman signet ring. He had no inducement to remain an Arian, as his wife was a Catholic and his children were brought up in that faith. We shall also be correct in emphasising the fact, which has often been noted, that



BAPTISM OF THE GREAT CLOVIS

The conversion of Clovis to the Roman Catholic Church, in 496, is said to have been due to the influence of his wife, who was a devoted member of that body and brought their children up in its faith. There were also various reasons why he should publicly associate himself with the Catholic Church, and these, no doubt, weighed with the prudent Clovis.

From the mural painting by Joseph Blanc in the Pantheon

as a Roman Catholic, Clovis would gain the adherence of a Frankish party among the Catholic subjects of the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths. Even if the fact had never occurred to him, it must have been brought to his mind by the congratulations of the Burgundian archbishop, Avitus of Vienne, on his baptism.

Clovis Converted by His Wife

It is said that his Catholic wife was the instrument of her husband's conversion. Had she been able to secure this result unaided, her efforts would certainly not have ceased until the kingdom had sent forth a mission to work among the Franks. But of this we hear nothing; when Clovis became a Christian, he was thinking of his Roman and not of his Frankish subjects. The conversion of his immediate followers was inevitable, as they were bound to follow their leader; the free people obeyed their own inclinations, and remained for the most part in heathenism.

The date of the conversion coincides with that of the first campaign against the Alamanni, in 496. This nation was now a uniform whole, under the king Gibuld, or Gebaud, which is nearly the same in the Alamannic phonetic system; the war was conducted by the Franks as a federal war, during which the king of the Ribuariis, Sigibert, received a wound in the knee which lamed him. The problem at stake was the general decision whether the Frankish federation or the people of the Alamanni should exercise supremacy in the east and north of Gaul and secure the lion's share in the appropriation of land. In the concluding campaign of 501 the Franks were victorious, and took care to destroy the prospects of the Alamanni for the future. To the advantage of the upper Frankish nationality of the Chatti, the Alamanni as a whole were driven behind the Lauter and Murg. To the south of that point they came under foreign supremacy;

The Franks in Roman Territory

numerous Frankish lords, especially in Alsace, had made good a settlement among the Alamannic tribal villages, in the manner in which the Franks had already settled in Roman territory; and by the side of these, much of the occupied lands remained reserved as Frankish state property.

The conflicts of Clovis with the Alamanni and the Burgundians are certainly connected as regards the forces which were employed. The Burgundian war falls between the two campaigns against the Alamanni.

The Burgundians, after their settlement in Sabaudia by Aëtius, had, in 443, strengthened their position under King Gunjok, who was a member of the old royal tribe of the nation, and had gradually extended around the district of the Rhone. Upon the death of Gunjok, in 473, the leading royal family consisted of his three sons, Gundobad, Godegisel and Chilperic. In the last year of Gunjok's life, his son Gundobad governed in Italy as patricius, after the death of Ricimer. Thence he was speedily recalled home at the outset of a family feud between the rival brothers. After the fourth brother, Godomer, had been set aside at an earlier period, Gundobad killed Chilperic with the sword—according to the comparatively clear information provided by the epic poem—and extended his supremacy towards the Mediterranean, the settlement of the account between himself and Godegisel being deferred for the moment. The Catholic Church of the Roman inhabitants was

Activity of the Catholic Church

suffering under the oppression of the Arian Burgundians, and had the satisfaction of gradually invading the distracted royal family; for instance, it found a zealous champion in the wife of Clovis, a daughter of Chilperic, whose two brothers Gundobad is also said to have supplanted. When Clovis himself became a Catholic Christian, and discovered speedily afterwards the Frankish interest that existed among the Roman subjects of the Burgundians, the natural result was an informal compact between the royal family and Catholicism, and a certain rivalry in this direction, in which the conflicting brothers strove to outstrip one another. Godegisel requested King Clovis to interfere on his behalf in 500. Gundobad was beaten at Dijon and forced to retire to Avignon.

At that moment, however, Clovis suddenly broke off hostilities, and turned upon the Alamanni, who had not been definitely defeated, and now completed their destruction. Godegisel was abandoned and executed, when Gundobad seized Vienne; the latter, until his death, in 516, reigned as the sole king of the Burgundians, issued important laws, and strove by improving the organisation of his kingdom and his relations with

Catholicism and the Merovingians, to avert the grievous dangers that had threatened his rule.

The descendants of Clovis had turned to excellent account the disappearance of Theoderic's defensive policy and the annihilation of the East Teutonic tribes on the Danube. If their attempt to gain a footing in Italy failed, the absorption of the Central European territories into the Frankish kingdom would continue as before, with less to impede it.

Long before, the Hermunduri had advanced from the river district of the Elbe to that of the Main, whence they had maintained friendly relations for the most part with the Romans, though they passed through severe struggles with their western neighbours, the Chatti. The general migration of the second century pushed the Hermunduri forward to the Danube frontier and the "*Limes*." The forward movement of the Alamanni and Burgundians then cut them off from contact with the Romans; they disappeared from the view of Roman or of modern historians, and their existence is unfortunately buried for us in the forests of Central Germany. There is no doubt that the Düringe, or Thuringians, are connected with them; these people appeared within the neighbouring sphere of Frankish history after the fifth century, though at first only in the dim light of epic tradition. Thuringi were also to be found on the left of the Lower Rhine among the Franks, and these must no doubt be regarded as emigrants from the main body. This formed at that time a considerable kingdom under one dynasty, extending from the Harz to beyond the Main. After a long period of cautious friendship, the sons of Clovis proceeded to wage the same decisive warfare against the Thuringians with which their father had attacked the Alamanni; they were at the same time helped by the struggles of kinsmen within the royal house, such as had previously favoured intervention. In alliance with the Saxons they destroyed the Thuringian kingdom in 531, and pursued their triumph as thoroughly as Clovis had done in the case of the Alamanni. The Frankish settlements were advanced along the Main to the heights which form the Thuringian forest; and such Thuringian tribes as were living to the north of the Rennstieg were made dependent and tributary. For the future history of Germany it was a highly important fact that the triumphant Frankish Empire proceeded to expand eastward, and that its extended supremacy in German districts was united with a system of Frankish colonisation. This conquest could never have been achieved by the Franks, except with the help and alliance of a people whom they would obviously have to fight for eventual supremacy, the Saxons. These latter, as the price of victory, received the land from the Unstrut to the Saale and Elbe; they made the inhabitants tributary, reducing them to the position of laets, themselves occupying that of overlords. For the moment the Merovingians could afford to defer the impending struggle for supremacy. The strong conservatism of these Low German populations had hitherto declined to allow any one tribal family to secure political preponderance over the rest, such as might be secured through the leadership of a close federation or an over-kingdom of Saxony. Nor did anything of the kind develop in the future. On the contrary, the aristocracy of the noble tribes, retaining their equality, were able to increase their prestige and to secure it by legal forms, usually in connection with questions of wergeld and marriage contracts; the old nobility of the other great peoples did not attain success, because they were broken down at a comparatively early date and fettered by the monarchy which arose in their midst.

Victorious Sons of Clovis

Franks and Saxons in Alliance

This refusal to permit the rise of a strong individual leadership produced its natural consequence upon the federal policy of the Saxons; their federation, which was great, and upon occasion powerful, was inclined to avoid collision elsewhere, interfered but little in the affairs of other Teutonic alliances, and confined offensive operations against the Franks to petty wars, which produced no result and were feebly conducted, until the final and long delayed struggle was eventually forced upon them by the decision of Charles the Great.

Wave of Advancing Slavs

Together with the Thuringians, or as a result of their defeat, a number of other racial fragments came under the supremacy of the Franks. These had settled down as dependents of the Thuringians between them and the wave of Slavs advancing

from the east; they included fragments of the Angles, who formerly inhabited the peninsula of Jütland, and took an important share in the migration to Britain. There were also the Wareni, or Wereni, or Varini, who were ruled by their own kings as late as the time of Theoderic; they were a fragment of that considerable people formerly settled on the Baltic and driven away by the Slavs, who also took some share in the colonisation of Britain. Under the Frankish supremacy both were considered as forming part of the Thuringians, though down to the time of Charles the Great they retained separate legal codes. As the Angles and the Varini migrated simultaneously from the neighbouring districts in the north, it is not surprising that under Carolingian sway these two codes were united in one, which held good in the Thuringian districts of Engili and Werinofeld; the less so, as these two peoples had been neighbours for centuries in Central Germany.

Peoples Who Colonised Britain

At the point where these Angles and Varini were settled, and, in fact, everywhere to the east of the old Thuringian districts, settlements were thus lying vacant for homeless peoples—we also find Frisians in the district of Friesenfeld—for the reason that these districts were menaced by the advances of the Slavs. Similarly the "Helvetian Desert," though not occupied by the Teutons, had formerly attracted and retained such Kelts as, in the words of Tacitus, had been made desperate by necessity. Thus the Saxons, who had turned to the Eastern Harz after the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom, may not have felt themselves entirely comfortable. When the Lombards started to Italy, an independent band of Saxons, said to be more than 20,000 strong, accompanied them. A gap was thus formed on the Slav frontier, and this the Frankish governor hastened to stop with Swabian settlers—that is, North German Suevi, not of the Alamannic tribe—who were given the districts of the Bode and the Dipper for colonisation. This information suggests that the cession to the allied Saxons of territory from the East Harz to the Elbe in 531 may have been a clever piece of far-sighted Frankish policy, intended to form a barrier against the Slavs. The existence of a mediæval "Hassingau" also points to the settlement of Hessian colonists on the Lower Saale. The Saxons who had marched to Italy were unable to acquiesce in the necessity of becoming Lombards, as the Lombard legal code demanded; they were unwilling to abandon their national law and custom, as the continued preservation of these implied national, if not political, independence at that date. This theory met with considerate and successful treatment from the Frankish conquerors. The Saxons therefore started out again in 572 and crossed Mount Genèvre to the Merovingian kingdom, at first with no settled plan, but in 573 with the object of recovering their old possessions on the Harz. They were given permission to march thither. The Hessians were so diminished in battle with the Suevi, who were first affected by the attempt of the emigrants to resume their lands, that at length both nationalities found the available land sufficient for their purposes.

The Smart Policy of the Franks

In 534, shortly after the subjugation of the Thuringians, the Merovingians incorporated the Burgundian kingdom in their empire, also the district of the Alamanni, who were formerly under the protectorate of Theoderic at the moment when Witichis abandoned the Ostrogoth part of Gaul.

Bavarians Incorporated by the Franks

The Franks were now neighbours of the Baioarii, or Bavarians, and afterwards incorporated this nationality within their empire, towards the middle of the sixth century, apparently by peaceful methods. The family of the Agilolfings, which was equal in rank to the royal houses, and superior to the five other noble families of the Bavarian federation in respect of wergelds, retained, or thus acquired, the leadership of the Bavarian people; the latter alternative is the more probable. Possibly the Agilolfings were Franks transferred to this district. The Merovingians naturally could not permit the existence of other kings, and certainly of none with full governing powers in their own empire, beside themselves; hence the well-known Roman term *dux*, the title of the provincial military commander, which had been borne, for instance, by Alaric in Illyria, was employed in the comparatively similar case of Bavaria.

After the Lombards had become masters on the plains of the Po, local differences and collisions began in the Alps between



AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS: CHARLES MARTEL ENTERING PARIS

Mayor of the palace to the Frankish king of Austrasia, succeeding his father, Pippin, in the office, Charles Martel fought successfully against the Frisians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Alamanni. All these victories, however, were eclipsed by his great triumph over the Saracens, whom he utterly routed in the hard-fought battle of Tours in 732. This victory saved Western Europe from the Moslem domination, which was then imminent. Martel, as represented in this illustration of the event received an enthusiastic welcome when he entered Paris after the epoch-making battle.

themselves and the grandsons of Clovis, which eventually became lengthy wars, under the continued impulse of Byzantine diplomacy and money expended in subsidising the Franks. On the Frankish side the struggle is marked by an effort to extend their territory to the Italian mountains, while the Lombards were anxious to appear as the heirs of the Ostrogoths, and to secure their former supremacy in Southern Gaul. At the same time the Franks and Lombards did not respectively determine the destinies of the Teutonic world, as Clovis and Theoderic had once done; nor did the new masters of Italy, who were not yet in full occupation of the country, and had difficulty in making head against Byzantium, attempt to follow any imperial policy in Western or Central Europe. The old friends of the Lombards, the Bavarians, had gone over to their side, notwithstanding their inclusion in the Frankish monarchy. After some attacks of the Franks, which seem to have been delivered with greater vigour, these campaigns ended in the year 590. The Merovingians gave up their attempts to secure influence in Italy, which they had continued for more than half a century at various intervals, and refrained on their side from interference with the Lombards in Southern Gaul.

The New Masters of Italy

The indecision of the Italian policy of the Franks, the loose connection of the Bavarians with the Frankish Empire, and other indications of decay, are to be explained by that cause which acted as a disruptive or weakening influence upon the Teutonic empires in general—namely, the family struggles within the reigning dynasties; these invariably revived upon every question of policy or other pretext, and the special course which they ran among the Merovingians will justify reference to them as the struggles of Brunhilde and Fredegunde. The most important result of these struggles is the rise of the new Frankish nobility. Clovis had thoroughly exterminated the old noble families. Thus the Franks of the Merovingian period surprise our constitutional historians by the fact that, in contrast with the Alamanni, the Bavarians, or the Saxons, they possessed no aristocracy or nobility standing immediately below the crown. The new aristocracy was one of service, and arose among the superior secular and ecclesiastical officials. Distinguished from these was the Mayor of the Palace, whose office originally represented the royal prerogatives which were derived from the *patria potestas* of early German society—a power exercised over followers and household servants, and now increased in proportion as that power had extended.

Rise of the Frankish Nobility

Among the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Anglo-Saxons the *major domus* never became more than a distinguished master of the household—the title is borrowed from the Roman official of that name, in accordance with the early German reluctance to form new words and titles from the native language. The Frankish mayor became the chief supervisory official and overseer both of the king's property and of all court and state offices. Eventually powerful "nobles" in the gradually increasing lands of the empire, such as Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria, which were enlarged despite the partitions and struggles of the Merovingians, made this important office a personal and family possession; they then speedily ceased to lead their vassals in the king's service, and began to use them as a weapon against him. This connection between the mayoralty and the rising aristocracy eventually led to the fall of Brunhilde.

Factors in the Fall of Brunhilde

Although the Merovingian royal house was never lacking in leading characters, this connection never allowed such leaders full access to sovereignty and administrative power; it was a connection prepared by Clovis and actually used by his descendants in conjunction with Roman conceptions of supremacy. The Teutonic communities of the Frankish people came into existence only during the military mobilisations held in different years, and were only occasionally concerned with political affairs, while the action of the Crown was restricted by a continuous and more or less constitutional co-operation of "nobles." Moreover, the nobility, as ruling aristocracies are ever particularist—for community of interests is destroyed by excess of unity—frustrated those opportunities which occurred for concentrating the dynastic government of the whole Frankish kingdom in one person.

It was not until the mayoral system grew sufficiently strong to pursue its own ambitions or dynastic purposes,

and to employ the military forces of the official nobility, notwithstanding their territorial and particularist tendencies, that the struggle began afresh for supreme power within the Frankish kingdom. In this struggle succumbed successively the Austrasian mayor, Grimoald, a son of the elder Pippin, and the Neustrian, Ebruin or Ebroin, the latter upon his first attempt. After Ebruin was murdered, in 681, at the moment of his success, the nephew of Grimoald and the grandson of Bishop Arnulf of Metz, upon his father's side, Pippin of Herstal, the major domus of Austrasia, became the mayor of the whole Frank Empire by his victory at Testri, near Peronne and St. Quentin, in 687. The kings of the Merovingian dynasty then became of no importance. Compared with the mayor of the palace, they occupied a position analogous to that which belonged after 934 to the caliphs of Bagdad, as compared with the Emir al-Omra, or to the Japanese Mikado before 1867, compared with the Shogun. After the victory of Testri there "reigned," in the words of the annals composed shortly after that event, the family of Arnulf and Pippin, united in the person of Pippin, which was afterwards known as Carolingian. Pippin began the task of incorporating the Frisians in the empire with greater determination than had been previously brought to the attempt. He also tried, by force of arms, to subjugate the alienated Alamanni; their dukes had risen from their position of officials to become national leaders in the wide sense of the term, and leaders of a nation which regarded itself as a special and independent race. The Frisians were among those Teuton tribes who had been most strongly influenced and utilised by the Romans, and during the Carolingian period they displayed the greatest capacity of all the Germans for trade and manufacturing pursuits; their political and constitutional organisation remained, however, for centuries far removed from the characteristics of the old German institutions.



WARRIOR OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

This statue of a Frankish warrior, which stands in the Roman-German Museum at Mainz, was reconstructed from discoveries in burial places of the fifth to eighth centuries.

Though we cannot gain much information about their earlier history, we can yet see that, about 1300, their institutions corresponded with those current in the past federal epochs of other nations, and were analogous to those of the Alamanni in the fourth century. The Folk, with its assemblies and its noble families, formed a unit of organisation. Every year at a special time, namely, in the spring—Whitsuntide was the season provided by Christianity, which was driving out or transforming the institutions of heathen priesthood—the general assembly of all Frisians met at Upstallsboom, near Aurich, and discussed the affairs of the federation and such matters as war and peace. The customary law of the Frisians was developed for the individual communities, and also for the whole of Friesland, by the legislative activity of the annual assembly. We have observed the process by which the Folk becomes a nation in the case of the Franks—Salii and Ribuarii—and how it was carried out by pure geographical distribution among the Lombards—Austria and Neustria—and the Saxons—the Eastphalians, Angrians, and Westphalians.

The Frisians had been visited since the outset of the seventh century both by Franks and by missionaries. As among the Visigoths during the Dacian period, and afterwards among the Danes, or as, in the case of Catholicism, among the Burgundians, the missions had been largely supported by the political interests and

aims of individual nobles. After the middle of the seventh century Aldgild is known both as duke and as king of the Frisians in the annals which we owe to his influence; similarly Ratbod, who was afterwards conquered by Pippin at Wykte-Durstede, bore a Frankish title equivalent to that of duke, while his position must be regarded as equivalent to the ducal status among the Bavarians and Alamanni. The prospect of any general leadership of the Frisian nationality was, however, destroyed by the rivalry and the struggles of the noble tribes.

Rivalries and Struggles of the Noble Tribes

When the Carolingians occupied the position of king and had ceased to be merely higher officials, it was inevitable that they should absorb family rights as they exercised their authority and interfered in the struggles of relatives which thence arose. This process began immediately after the death of Pippin, and Charles Martel emerged victorious.

Although he was never able to consolidate the empire as a whole, his efforts were by no means fruitless, and his achievements were perhaps limited at the moment by the approach of a serious danger, the invasion of Frankish Gaul by the Spanish Arabs. The struggle against the Arabs was continued from 730 to 740, and was not definitely settled by the famous battle in 732 at Old Poitiers. The successful repulse of Islam from Central Europe not only proved the salvation of Western Christianity, of Roman civilisation revived by the Teutons, and of the general Indo-European character of the composite races in Europe, but also gave a considerable impulse to new developments. The necessity of keeping a standing cavalry force under arms in Southern Gaul for the long struggle with the Saracens stimulated the process of transforming the German military system in the direction of chivalry. Among the Frankish portions of the empire the transformation of the Teutonic army into a cavalry force was a process which had gradually pervaded the remaining tribes, though the Saxons and Frisians were least affected.

Christianity Repulses Islam

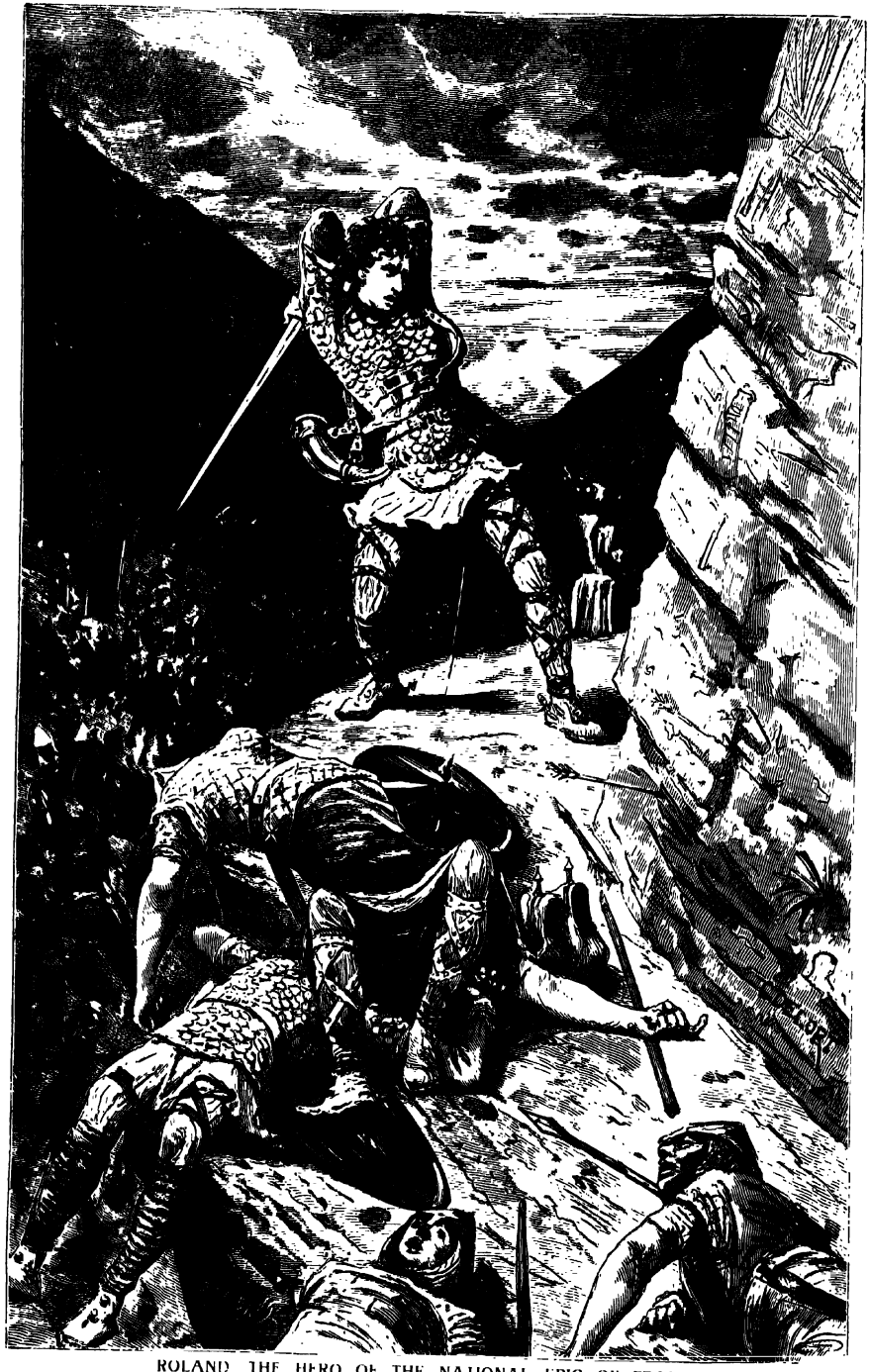
In spite of all the efforts and the imperial power which Charles the Great exerted to secure the direct administrative action of the state upon questions of government, all official duties and responsibilities committed to other hands assumed a form of feudal dependence, and this the more easily, as the advance of agricultural progress involved the payment of all rewards in the form of arable ground and soil. The possession of offices, the capable management of surplus products, the continual entrance into some feudal relation of free men who wished to be relieved of their public duties or the difficulties of existence, the exemption of influential lords from the general duties of state administration, and the grant of judicial powers over their possessions and their people—these were all influences which steadily advanced the size and the independence of great territorial domains.

It was, however, the Church which turned its landed property to special account in acquiring administrative powers and lordship. She received far more extensive immunities than the laymen. She was not discouraged by any temporary decrease of possessions or power, such as took place when Charles Martel, finding large supplies necessary for the repulse of the Saracens, procured them by wide appropriation of Church property or of property which in popular ideas had long been regarded as subject to the Church. His sons agreed to return what they could. The Church, however, was able to make use of any opportunity.

Germans Won to Christianity

About the time when the armies of the Austrasians and other Germans had saved the West from Mohammedanism, and during the following decade, the Frisians, the middle and the southern Germans, were largely won over to Christianity, and their districts subjected to Church organisation, by means of the missions of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish evangelists, and especially by the pioneer work of the Anglo-Saxon Winfried. The Teuton conceived of his Christianity as giving him membership in a greater community, wider than his own tribal district, or his most extended conception of the Folk, an idea which in the political world was to dawn upon him much more slowly. Nor was this the only common point of interest which bound the Frankish mayors of the palace to the Church and induced them to regard the universal claims of the Bishop of Rome, which Winfried invariably exalted above his own, as coincident with their own interests.

EDUARD HEYCK



ROLAND THE HERO OF THE NATIONAL EPIC OF FRANCE

A nephew of Charlemagne and the greatest of his paladins, Roland became the theme of legend and romance. On Charlemagne's retu
Spain, Roland, commanding the rear-guard, fell into an ambuscade in the defile of Roncevalles and perished with the flower of French c
His fabulous sword remained unbroken after he had struck it ten times on a rock, and legend tells that he finally threw it into a poisoned



THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

IN THE DAYS OF ITS POWER AND GLORY

OF the two sons of Charles Martel who succeeded jointly to the position of mayor of the palace, Carloman shortly retired to a monastery, leaving Pippin—Pépin le Bref—at the head of the Frankish dominion. The only thing wanting to confirm the power of his predecessors within the Frankish Empire had been the title of king, which was something more than a trifle in the eyes of the people; Pippin determined to secure this title with the help of the ecclesiastical power.

The representatives of St. Peter in their little "Patrimonium" on the shores of the Tiber, with Rome as its capital, continually felt the pressure exerted by the Lombards, who from 568 had expelled the Byzantines from Italy after their Ostrogoth triumphs, though the Lombard want of a navy obliged them to leave the Byzantines in possession of Venice, the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and of the southern point of Italy. Hence, as early as the time of Charles Martel, the Curia had conceived the plan of using the warlike Franks to crush the Lombards, who had grown enfeebled in the milder climate of Italy and by their contact with the moral degeneration of Roman culture. Upon the receipt of a secret missive from Stephen IV., Pippin invited the Pope to visit the Frankish Empire, and promised him a safe conduct through the Lombard territory. The two met at Ponthion, on the Marne, on January 6th, 745. Pippin was subsequently anointed as king at Soissons (July 25th) notwithstanding the representations of his brother Carloman. Pippin's two sons were anointed with himself. Thus the dignity which he had seized became a hereditary monarchy resting upon divine right, and the allegiance of the Franks to Pippin and his descendants became imperative. As early as 751, the nominal monarch, Childeric III., had been illegally deposed in the diet at Soissons and sent into a monastery.

Hereditary Monarchy Established

The newly crowned monarch received the title of Patricius of the Romans—that is to say, protector of the Romans and of the Pope, and thus occupied a position which had hitherto been held by the East Roman emperor residing in Byzantium. In return, Pippin conducted two triumphant campaigns against the Lombard king, Aistulf, whom he forced to surrender the territory taken from the Pope. To the Pope was given, besides the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the whole of the coast line from the south of the Po to Ancona, without reference to the claims which Byzantium could lay to these last-named possessions.

Increase of the Papal Power

The Donation of Pippin is the beginning of the later increase in the secular power of the Popes; their position largely distracted the interests of the occupants of this highest spiritual dignity from their ecclesiastical calling and involved them in secular partisanship and policies; at the same time it gave them some independence in their dealings with the great European powers, the petty princes of Italy, and the incorrigible insubordination of the Roman populace.

The Lombard kingdom remained for the moment independent; Aistulf, however, paid tribute, and the appointment of his successor, Desiderius, was subject to Frankish approval. Desiderius naturally joined Byzantium, the rights of which had been infringed equally with his own by the Franks; the independent lords of Beneventum and Spoleto turned for support to the Frankish Empire. It is obvious that in this state of affairs the Frankish ruler did not become dependent on the Pope, who required his protection against the Lombards, the Byzantines, the inhabitants of Rome, and the petty princes of Italy. It is clear that the Pope was rather depending upon the Franks, and this relationship served to increase the halo of religious sanctity surrounding the

kingship which the Frankish ruler had assumed.

Once in possession of this predominant position, which extended far beyond the limits of the Frankish Empire proper, Pippin had no difficulty in humiliating and subjugating refractory neighbours. Thus Aquitaine, over which many struggles had been fought, came permanently into his possession in 768; eleven years previously Duke Tassilo of Bavaria had taken the oath of allegiance. Only the free Saxons – who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine to the Lower Elbe, divided into four groups of West- and East-Phalians, Angrians and North Albingians – were able to maintain their old faith and possessions, though obliged to make certain payments of tribute. The unity of this extended empire was expressed in the partition which Pippin carried out before his death, on September 24th, 768. His two sons, Charles and Carloman, received districts containing a mixed population of Teutonic and Romance elements under conditions presupposing the common government of the whole.



PIPPIN THE FIRST KING
Succeeding his father, Charles Martel, at the head of the Frankish dominion, Pippin at once set himself to secure the title of King, which had not been held by his predecessors. He gained his end, being anointed at Soissons.

These careful beginnings of the comprehensive empire which Pippin had secured were steadily extended by his son Charles the Great, or Charlemagne; the coping-stone of the whole fabric was the imperial dignity and the succession to the position of the Cæsars in ancient Rome, united with a right of protectorate over the whole of Christianity. The first step was the subjection of all Teutonic peoples who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire. The most dangerous enemies were the heathen Saxons, and the task of conquering this nationality was the more difficult for the reason that it was necessary to subjugate one tribal district after another, and that every failure inspired a revolt, which ran through every canton of the three tribes, as far as the frontier of the Eider in Nordalbingia. Hence the final subjugation and conversion to Christianity of this last bulwark of the old Teutonic freedom was a process extending over some thirty years—772 to 804.



THE LAST MEROVINGIAN KING
Though Childeric was the nominal monarch of the Frankish dominion, the reins of government were in the hands of Pippin. The Pope decided that the man who actually ruled should sit on the throne. Childeric was, therefore, deposed in 752, and sent into a monastery.

As early as 777, at the diet of Paderborn, after two unsuccessful battles, the Saxon chiefs had offered their submission, undertaking to forfeit their freedom and possessions if they disavowed the Christian faith or broke away from their fidelity to Charles, his sons, and the Franks. The most bitter enemy of the Franks was Widukind, who had been appointed duke by the general assembly at Marklo on the Weser; he escaped the obligation of this agreement, and of baptism, by a flight into the Danish land across the Eider. While Charles was fighting in Spain against the Arab Omayyads in 778, the revolt broke out afresh. Under the leadership of Widukind the rebels advanced to the Rhine, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastating Thuringia and Hesse and destroying the Christian colonies. In 780 they were reconquered as far as the Elbe, and their land was divided into countries according to the Frankish method, native magnates being appointed counts. At the memorable assembly of Lippspringe in 782, Christianity was imposed upon them by strict legislation. Forcible entry into Christian churches, disregard

of Christian fasts, or the murder of the clergy, were made punishable with death. Upon their baptism, the Saxons were to forsake the devil and the heathen gods —in the opinion of the Church the latter were the tools of the devil—and to acknowledge the Trinity in Unity. The pacification seemed so far complete that in 782 Charles made a levy of his new subjects to complete his expedition against the Wendish Sorbs on the Saale. The Saxons, however, attacked the Franks on the march at Süntel, between Hanover and Hamlyn, and defeated them. Charles took a cruel revenge, executing his Saxon prisoners, who are reported to have been 4,500 in number, at Verden on the Aller; this was the signal for a general revolt, but the victories of Charles at Detmold and on the Hasa in 783 finally secured the success of Christianity in Saxony. The leaders and all the nobles were baptised, including Widukind and his comrade Abbio, at Attigny, in 785.

The newly subjected territory was now divided into the episcopal sees of Halberstadt, Paderborn, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück, Verden, and Bremen. The system of tithes was introduced and the Frankish system of military service imposed upon the Saxons. Once again—792 and following years—irritation against these two latter innovations ended in a rebellion, which was punished by the transportation of 10,000 Saxon families to the Frankish Empire; in the lands thus left vacant Frankish colonists were settled. In this way the strength of the old race was broken. The supposed "peace of Salz," concluded in 803, on the Frankish Saale, cannot be proved by documentary evidence.



THE GREAT CHARLEMAGNE

This illustration, taken from the painting by Albert Dürer, in 1510, represents the great Charlemagne in the coronation robes of a German emperor of that period.

The religious character of these long wars was outwardly indicated by the presence of missionaries and of the relics of the saints with the armies. The Christian "message of peace" was introduced by armed force and bloody persecutions, methods repeated 900 years later in the Huguenot wars under Louis XIV. These methods, however, were in complete accord with the arbitrary spirit of the times. The work of conversion was soon firmly founded, and the execution of the more stringent laws could afterwards be abandoned. Christianity became the pioneer of civilisation, and upon the economic side the Saxon territory was improved by the careful cultivation of the ecclesiastical domains.

The hold which Christian life and thought had gained even upon the lower classes is shown by the gospel harmony of the "Heliand" composed about 830 by a Saxon peasant, a poetical idealisation of the work of Christ, based upon the Bible narrative. On the other hand, no religious interests influenced the wars by which Charles forced the Lombards, Bavarians, Danes, Wends, and Avars either to become incorporated with his empire or to recognise his supremacy. The campaign in Spain was inspired only by the desire to secure the Frankish frontier against a repetition of the Moorish invasion. For this purpose Charles fought in alliance with the Arab king of Saragossa against his enemy the caliph Abd ur-Rahman—a Christian thus uniting with an unbeliever, as, during the Crusades, the Knights Templars occasionally helped the Mohammedans against their co-religionists.



CHARLEMAGNE RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF WIDUKIND

When Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne, succeeded his father, Pippin, on the throne, he set himself to subjugate all the Teutonic peoples who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire. One of the bitterest of these enemies was Widukind, who led a revolt while Charlemagne was fighting in Spain, and, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastated Thuringia and Hesse and destroyed the Christian colonies. Widukind, however, finally yielded to Charlemagne's power, and, adopting Christianity, which had been imposed by legislation, was baptised in 785.

The destruction of the Frankish rear-guard in the valley of Roncevalles, the historical nucleus of the "Chanson de Roland," was due to the Basque mountaineers and not to the Arabs, who, however, availed themselves of this defeat to regain the territory conquered by Charles.

The Frankish monarch and the papacy also stood in close alliance, even in cases where matters of European policy were concerned rather than ecclesiastical and religious questions. It was to this alliance that the Lombard kingdom fell a victim in 774. Desiderius had renewed his attacks upon the papal possessions, and had, moreover, entered into close relations with Charles' brother Carloman and his family, who were hostile to the emperor.

Desiderius had recognised the two sons of Carloman, who were not yet of age, as Frankish kings after their father's death, in 771. The family dissension thus threatened was averted by the premature death of Carloman, upon which Charles was appointed sole ruler by a decree of the national assembly, and the nephews were passed over. None the less, after a victorious campaign, Charles put an end to the independence of the Lombard state, was crowned at Milan, divided the conquered territory into counties, and introduced the judicial and military organisation of the Frankish Empire. Desiderius was sent into a monastery, the usual fate of troublesome competitors in that age. Charles thereupon hastened to Rome to take part in the Easter festivals of April 3rd, 774; he was received in solemn procession and concluded an alliance of friendship with Pope Hadrian at the tomb of the Apostle Peter. There is no doubt he then renewed the Donation made by his father; it is, however, more than doubtful whether, as a papal record asserts, he conferred Parma, Mantua, Reggio, Venice, Spoleto, and Corsica upon the papal chair as fiefs. Of

these supposed grants Charles himself retained Spoleto after the conquest of the Lombard kingdom. Even though these and other districts were declared papal possessions by a decree of Louis the Pious in the year 817, the points at issue were then claims and desires rather than actual rights of practical possession.

We find the king and Pope agreed upon the desirability of overthrowing Tassilo, the last Bavarian duke. He had renewed his old oath of allegiance and had given hostages, but was administering his territory from the Lech to the Enns as an independent prince. Charters were dated by the years of his reign and he had appointed his son to succeed him. In the year 787 negotiations took place in Rome between his ambassadors and those of Charles, though the latter were not given full powers to treat.

The Pope threatened the duke with excommunication if he broke his faith. Upon the complaint of certain treacherous Bavarians that Tassilo had joined Charles' enemies the Avars, who were collected at the Theiss—the duke was condemned to death in the following year by the imperial diet at Ingelheim, though Charles commuted his sentence to confinement in the monastery of St. Goar. Bavaria was united with Franconia; the limits of the empire were extended to the Saale and the Wilzes in Pomerania, the East Mark, Austria, thus becoming the frontier against the Avars, and the Mark of Brandenburg securing the empire against the Slav Sorbs. The territory taken from the Avars, from the Enns to the Raba, was given up to Frankish colonists, and Christianity in the Danube district was revived by the foundation of the Archbishopric of Salzburg.

Charles had many opportunities for using his position as protector of the papacy after the accession to that dignity of Leo III. on December 26th, 795. Leo sent the banner of the city of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's tomb to the Frankish king, while Charles used the protectorate thus given to him by advising the Pope to follow the canonical rules and to avoid simony. In the year 799 there broke out against Leo a popular revolt which was instigated by his immediate relations. The threatened Pope fled to Charles, and

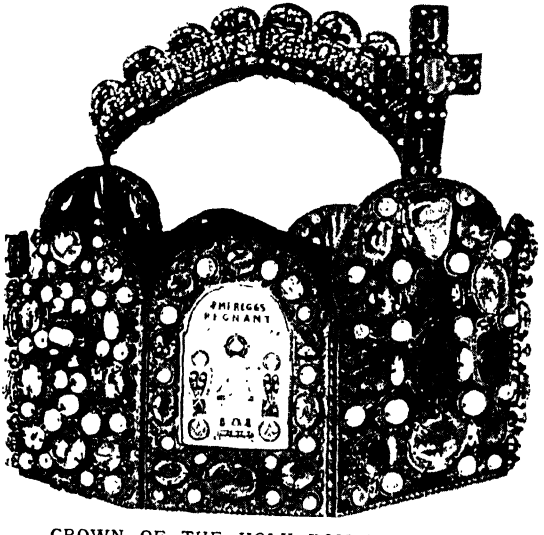


ANOINTING THE YOUTHFUL CHARLES THE GREAT AS KING OF THE FRANKS
From the painting by Schnorr von Carolsfeld at Munich

was brought back to Rome by force of arms. Before Christmas, in the year 800, Charles held a court at Rome to decide between the Pope and his opponents. The latter did not venture to bring any proof of their accusations, while the former swore to his innocence; and at his request his opponents, who had been condemned to death, were punished only with exile. On December 25th Charles was crowned emperor in the church of St. Peter; the matter had been previously discussed, but was carried out in a form distasteful to him, as it seemed to confer too large a measure of independence upon the Pope, who required his help, though upon this occasion the Pope himself bent the knee before the ruler of Christianity.

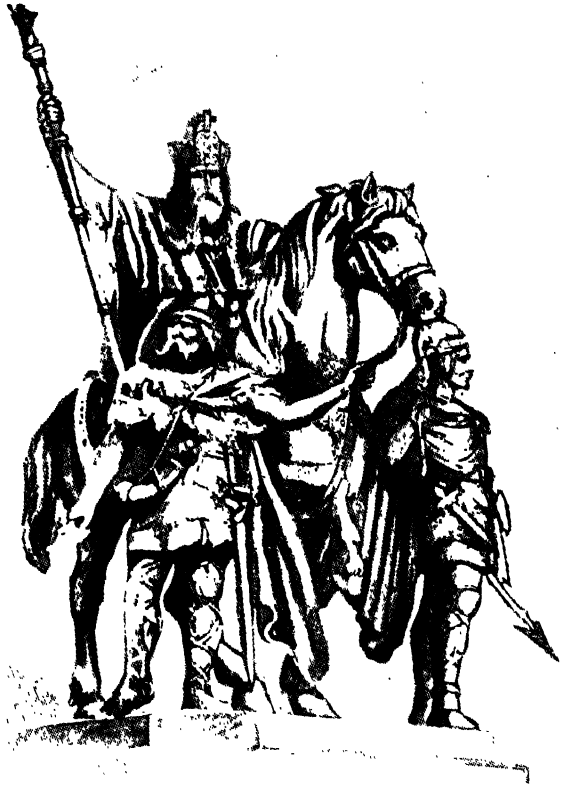
Thus the political unity of the nations of Europe had received the blessing of the Church, for Charles' empire included the countries from the Pyrenees to the North Sea and from the Eider to the Apennines. Disregarding the claims of Byzantium to the title of Roman Empire, the Frankish monarch now ruled as the successor of the Cæsars. His relations with Byzantium were already strained, and this tension, accentuated by dogmatic quarrels and the division of the Greek Church from the Roman, would no doubt have led to an appeal to arms had not the military weakness and dissensions of the Byzantine Empire forced the authorities to compliance. For a time the project was even entertained of a marriage between Charles, who was nearly sixty years of age, and the Empress Irene. Charles also asserted his superiority over the Eastern Empire by his arbitrary interference in the lengthy quarrel concerning the adoration of pictures. An assembly of Frankish bishops at Frankfort declared in 794 against this practice, the resumption of which had been ordered by the Empress Irene. He also wounded the pride of the Byzantines in 799 when he received the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the city of Jerusalem from the patriarch, thus coming forward as protector of the Holy Land. This fact in no way disturbed the friendly character of his relations with the Abbasid caliph, Harun al Raschid, who kept peace with the patriarch. In 811 Byzantium was obliged to recognise the imperial supremacy of Charles, and received Venice as the price.

The last decade of Charles' reign was disturbed, apart from some frontier wars, only by a dangerous invasion of the Danish ruler Gottfried, who made a triumphant advance with a large fleet on the Frisian coast and threatened with destruction the Christian colonies in the north of Germany. As no fleet of war existed, the chastisement of this enemy was out of the question, and the danger was averted only by Gottfried's murder in 810. The east and south frontiers of the empire were, however, firmly defended by the Marks, under the command of warlike counts. These were: the East Mark, protecting Thuringia and Franconia against the Avars, Sorbs and Bohemians; and in the south the Spanish Mark, which was organised in the year 810 after the reconquest of the district between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. In the year 806 Charles divided his territory, according to the tradition of his house, among his three sons, Charles, Pippin and Louis, upon principles that secured the chief power to the eldest, and were intended to maintain a close federal alliance between the three parts of the empire. The death of the two eldest sons (810–811) overthrew these arrangements, and on September 11th,



CROWN OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

This symbol of royal power, known as the Crown of Charlemagne, or the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, is in the Treasury at Vienna.



THE CHARLEMAGNE STATUARY GROUP IN PARIS



CHARLEMAGNE ADDRESSING THE PRINCES OF THE STATES

813, Charles himself crowned his youngest son as emperor, without the assistance of the Pope, who was entirely subordinate to his will.

The Great Ambition of Charles

Charles had realised the idea of a Cæsar-Pope—that is to say, the union of the secular and ecclesiastical powers; in the government and administration of his wide empire he also aimed at unlimited power. Frankish kings had originally been nothing more than the first among their vassals. At the time of the conquest of the Roman districts the leaders nominally possessed the right to dispose of all military acquisitions; but, in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they were obliged to make a general and equal division of all land and property. From the stage of communistic enjoyment of the land, that of private ownership was bound to arise, as the kings, in order to secure adherents, were accustomed to confer land upon nobles for agricultural purposes, which land was thus given as private property.

The occupation of such allodial land —that is to say, of land held in freehold—implied an obligation to serve in war, to provide an armed force, and to administer justice in the smaller divisions of the counties. During the continual wars the fields lay fallow and property was ravaged. Hence the smaller freeholders adopted the method of surrendering their property to some noble, or to the Church, from whom they received it back as a fief (*beneficium*) for a yearly rent. A long-standing custom was the conferment of Church property upon smaller men, or the grant of it by royal decree, under terms which provided for its eventual return, to nobles for a rental, which was generally unpaid. Charles Martel was especially fond of this form of grant. The great landowners also made grants of small estates in return for payment in kind and product.

Charles' Regard for the Poor

Charles the Great wisely strove to protect the freemen, supporting their independence, and creating a close bureaucracy dependent only upon himself. For this purpose the obligations of the freemen were strictly regulated, and the counts, who were chiefly territorial owners and used their power to plunder the peasants, were prohibited from any attempt to destroy the independence of that class. The poorer men were relieved by Charles of the duty of personal military service, by the regulation that several might join to equip one man. Those parts of the empire which lay at a considerable distance from the seat of the war were partially relieved of the necessity for service.

Charles also limited the number of court days and assembly days. General meetings of the freemen of the county were to be held only thrice a year, to discuss the most important matters affecting the rights and welfare of the community; all other judicial sessions took place under the presidency of the count, and after about 775 seven assessors only were summoned to attend, as representing the communities. These were chosen from the principal men by the royal "missi dominici" (itinerant commissioners), the supervisory officials of the county, while the counts had a voice in the matter. These measures did not, however, secure self-government or real communal freedom. Charles was chiefly anxious to increase the prosperity of the freeman. His own estates were regarded as models of their kind. He was accustomed to examine the smallest details, to look over the accounts, and to increase the productive powers of the non-free. His wife and daughters managed the household personally, and were obliged to spin and card wool. This high example exercised a stimulating influence upon agriculture. Villages and courts arose where formerly the land had been fallow. Trade also revived. Military roads went along the Rhine to the North Sea, from the Elbe to the Black and Adriatic Seas. Feuds and other disturbances of the peace were suppressed by stern regulations.

Humble Pursuits in a Royal Palace

The administration of justice was the object of the emperor's special care. Every week a communal court was held under the presidency of a Hundred, or, while a county court was held monthly, under the count of the district. The "missi dominici" were obliged to make quarterly journeys of inspection, when they examined every detail, inspected the courts and the military contingents, and represented the interests of the crown against the spirit of feudal separatism. As commissioners dependent upon the crown, they took the place of the old independent dukes. The ruler was advised upon matters of legislation by an imperial assembly composed of the ecclesiastical



THE STRASBURG OATHS: LEWIS AND CHARLES FORMING AN ALLIANCE

When the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, the Eastern and Western Franks, under the rule of Lewis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development. In the Treaty of the Meerssen in 870, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that their Romance districts, Provence and Burgundy, should belong to the West Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should come under the East Frankish ruler. In contrast to the Roman language of the West Franks, and also to the ecclesiastical Latin, a German vernacular language had there developed, the first specimen of which is to be found in the Strasburg Oaths which Lewis and Charles, when forming their alliance against Lothair, took, each in the language of the other, in February, 842. The oath bound not only the two princes, but also their officials, who were to be judged guilty of rebellion if they broke their allegiance to their feudal lords.

and secular nobility and of the royal officials, a continuation of the old popular and military assembly of the Mayfield which had long become meaningless; this assembly received and confirmed the decrees of Charles in the spring, while in the autumn an imperial privy council met for deliberation. Hitherto two legal systems had been in vogue, the Salic and the Ribuarian. It was now advisable that the united empire should have a uniform system of law; the two existing systems were improved by Charles, who introduced his own regulations in his "capitularies." In contrast to those issued by the Merovingians, these decrees are characterised by their humanitarian character and their limitation of capital punishment. They were supplemented by his successor, and the earliest collection of them is dated 827. Though written in Latin, they breathe a Teutonic spirit and faithfully reflect old Teutonic customs, morality, and institutions. Charles also caused collections to be made of the popular laws of the larger tribes under his rule—the Saxons, Angles, and Frisians.

Limitation of Capital Punishment

Below his court officials, the clergy formed the medium of higher culture, their energies being chiefly confined to studying the creeds of the Church, liturgies, and extracts from the Fathers, the writing of ecclesiastical Latin and the reading of some ecclesiastical authors. Of these court clergy, the highest in rank was the arch-chaplain, *apocrisiarius*, who kept the emperor informed as to all ecclesiastical matters and received his orders. The arch-chaplain was at the head of the Imperial Chancery. In the High Court of Justice the president was the Count of the Palace, the highest secular official. With him sat commissioners, who were chosen from the most experienced lawyers of the court. Upon occasion Charles himself presided in these courts.

The Frankish Empire was essentially an amalgamation of the Roman and Teutonic civilisations; side by side with the popular law existed the civil law of Rome, just as ecclesiastical Latin existed side by side with the vernacular dialects. Similarly, Charles attempted to conjoin Teutonic legend and tradition with the remains of Roman civilisation and culture. Hence he caused to be made collections of the old Teutonic songs which celebrated the exploits of the legendary kings; he conceived the idea of a German grammar, and replaced the Latin names of the months with German names. To the four German terms which existed to denote the direction of the wind he added twelve new ones, if we may believe the report of Einhard.

Roman and Teutonic Civilisation

His own tutors in the classical languages and civilisation were partly Anglo-Saxons, with whom were now to be found the learning and philosophy which had perished in Italy with Cassiodorus and Boethius. Of these scholars the chief was Alcuin of York, who created the monastic school of Tours, and was the leading spirit among Charles' group of scholars. To him Charles owed his knowledge of rhetoric, dialectic and astronomy. The Emperor's teacher of grammar was Peter of Pisa, a priest like Alcuin. The most distinguished historians of Charles' exploits were Einhard, who was by origin from the Odenwald, and wrote the first complete biography of the Emperor—the only defect of which is the unnecessary plagiarism of sentences and phrases from the lives of Suetonius—and Angilbert, who immortalised the emperor's feats in an epic poem.

Charles Immortalised in Poetry

Since the time of Gregory of Tours and his contemporary, Jornandes, or Jordanes, the historian of the Ostrogoths, historical writing had sunk to a low ebb. It now revived in the hands of Teutons who wrote Latin. At Charles' court lived for some time the Lombard Paul, son of Warnefried, or Paulus Diaconus, the author of the history of his nation to the year 744, which is based upon old sagas and legends. Charles himself attempted to remedy the defects of his youthful education. When advanced in years he would spend the nights, though with no great success, in learning to write, an art which was chiefly confined to the clergy and scholars. On the other hand, he had completely mastered Latin and the elements of Greek, if the testimony of Einhard may be believed. He was acquainted with the work of St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei." He caused his sons and daughters to be also educated in the sciences, and for the education of young nobles and of the more talented sons of the middle class he provided the School of the Palace, which he himself was accustomed to inspect, in addition to the model school of Tours.

Among the arts, he had an especial preference for music and architecture, both of which he applied to the service of God. He attempted to improve church music by the introduction of Italian masters, whose cleverness, however, could do little with the rough voices of the Franks, while divine service was amended by the use of a book of homilies which Paulus Diaconus composed. Charles paid zealous attention to the construction and decoration of churches. For the Basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle he sent for marble from Italy, and provided a magnificent supply of gold and silver vessels and ecclesiastical robes and vestments. He visited the church morning and evening, and often at night, and took pains to secure the observance of order and decorum in the services. He also afforded valuable assistance in the decoration of the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Those Christians who lived beyond the boundaries of the Frankish Empire ever found a ready supporter in Charles the Great.

How Charles Enriched the Church

In accordance with the spirit of the time, he enriched churches and monasteries by presents and grants of land; the Frankish clergy, whom he kept in strict obedience, began to claim political power on the ground of their wealth, even in his successor's reign. Apart from tithes, the Church possessed wide properties and estates—the abbey of Fulda, for instance, owned fifteen thousand hides shortly after its foundation. At the same time, these incomes had to provide for much charity, for the education of the poor, and other obligations, while the overlords retained their right of appropriating church property in order to reward their own adherents. The monasteries and churches remained, however, the central points, not only of education, but also of trade and intercourse, of manufacture and agriculture.

The great ecclesiastical festivals were also the most important market days. Even if business was at a standstill on those particular days, it was carried on the more zealously either before or afterwards. In the towns and market villages, foreign merchants came in where formerly trade and manufacture were permitted only to the members of guilds. The name "mass" for a market was derived from the solemn high mass which was held on such days, and was attended by numerous natives and foreigners. Around churches and monasteries arose new marks and even new towns. Within the territory of the monastery lived also the non-free artisans, who worked for the inmates of the monastery, and stimulated manufacture by their industry and cleverness. Agriculture and viticulture, gardening and vegetable growing, were increased by the example of the monasteries; new products were discovered and new methods introduced. The growth of the ecclesiastical estates and their methods of cultivation on a great scale, which almost recalled the Roman *latifundia*, gave a useful impulse to changes in the primitive system of agriculture in vogue upon noble and peasant properties.

Improved Methods in Agriculture

Charles remained a true Teuton in his mode of living; his dress, his favourite exercises of riding and hunting, were entirely German. Of an excitable disposition, which could move him easily to tears, he was yet entirely master of himself. He had, for instance, completely overcome the tendency to excessive drinking which was characteristic of the Teutons, and, to a less degree, his inclination to eating, which his bodily vigour permitted him to satisfy. His constant activity, extending often through the hours of the night, was a standing example. Wherever he went he inquired personally into details; his household, the administration of justice, and the settlement of quarrels were subjects in which he took most interest. He resided in his palaces at Nimwegen, with its sixteen-cornered chapel, at Nieder-Ingelheim, built in 768-774, and at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, rebuilt between 777 and 786, and not in the Romance portions of his empire.

In 793 Charles attempted to connect the Rhine with the Danube by the canal from the Altmühl to the Rednitz, which was never completed; at Mainz he built a wooden bridge over the Rhine 500 yards long, and when this was burnt down in May, 813, he projected the construction of a new bridge in its place. He was often obliged to change his headquarters owing to the difficulty of collecting the necessaries of life in any one spot, for communications by road or river were then highly defective. In his last years Aachen was his favourite residence, and its hot baths provided him with relief

The Later Years of Charlemagne

for his growing infirmities; he advised his son, his friends, and his courtiers to make constant use of them, and often more than one hundred persons bathed together.

He was distinguished above all other Franks for his breadth of mind, which was especially obvious in his preference for foreign culture and its exponents, and in his disregard of the limits of nationality and of religious faith, when higher political objects seemed to be at stake. He concluded alliances, not only with Alfonso II. of Galicia and Asturias and with the Scottish princes, but also with Harun al-Rashid, who was a friend of culture. Under the protection of this Mohammedan, Charles sent an embassy to adorn the Holy Sepulchre, while Harun sent messengers to conduct the Franks on their homeward journey, bearing presents to Charles of treasures, robes, and spices of the East, in addition to an elephant, for which the Frankish ruler had asked.

Charles also showed an entirely German spirit in his relations with the female sex. He did not indeed follow the traditional polygamy of his ancestors, but he constantly changed his wives and was never long a widower. After marrying the daughter of Desiderius at the wish of his mother, Bertrada, for whom he had a great respect, he divorced her for unknown reasons and married Hildegarde, a Swabian woman of noble birth, who died in 771. After this, in 783, he married a Frankish woman, Fastrada, who was followed by the Alamannian Ludgard, who died in 800. Beside his legal wives, he had concubines, whose numbers increased to three after the death of Luidgard. He allowed his unmarried daughters entire freedom of sexual intercourse.

The glamour which has been spread around this great emperor and his paladins by legend and poetry must pale in the light of historical truth. But this will also destroy the grotesque picture of the one-sided French Charlemagne, to which French historians have clung until recent times, in conscious opposition to German manners. Charles the Great is rather to be regarded as the earliest exponent of the excellencies of the Teutonic character, the rudeness of which he was able to moderate while overcoming or mastering its weaknesses.

It is a common historical experience that great empires, consisting of mixed peoples connected by outward ties rather than by inward solidarity, often lose their greatness or fall into disruption upon the death of their founder. Such was the case in the fourth century B.C. with the empire of Alexander the Great; also in Central Asia, after the death of Tamerlane; and the phenomenon was repeated in the case of the Carolingian monarchy. The one-sided theory which regards mankind as master of circumstances, and not as subject to them, usually makes the less capable successors of great princes responsible for such disruption; but the deeper reasons lie in foreign and domestic political conditions. Such was the case with the Frankish Empire. Notwithstanding his sedulous care for the defence and security of his frontiers, Charles the Great had never been able entirely to overcome two dangerous enemies.



LOUIS THE PIOUS

The sole heir of his great father, Charlemagne Louis the Pious was, in 814, crowned emperor at Rheims. He has been denounced as a weakling because he divided the empire among his three sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis.

Even during his time the Northmen, or Vikings, were plundering the English coasts under the leadership of their petty kings, who had been driven out of their Norwegian possessions by powerful governors. In 795 they captured the island of Rathlin on the north coast of Ireland, in 802 the missionary settlement of Iona, one of the Hebrides, and in 804 they sailed up the Boyne and captured Dublin. They were also advancing in the interior of the country: in 789 they raided Wessex, and in 799 Northumberland. Charles fortified the coasts and rivers on the north frontier of his empire, but for want of a fleet he could no more permanently repel these raids than drive back the Danish sea-king Gottfried. The example of the Northmen in Western Europe was repeated by the Saracen pirates in Southern Italy, and



THE DEPOSITION OF LOUIS THE PIOUS

These
a second
upheaval
which followed, Louis was deposed in 833, but he returned to the throne about a year later, and died in 840.

here again Charles strove to protect himself by fortifications at the river mouths and harbours. The main object of the Northmen was the extortion of tribute and the acquisition of plunder, and the extent to which Charles' successors suffered under this plague will be seen when we study the history of Scandinavia.



THE EMPEROR LOTHAIR
This son of Louis the Pious was crowned in 823. Troublous times followed, in which Lothair and his brothers struggled for supremacy.

The second enemy was the Slav people, who were divided into a number of tribes; they had occupied the country abandoned by the Germans during their migrations from the Baltic and the mouth of the Elbe to the Bohemian Forest; thence they had extended to Styria and Carinthia, to the Danubian territories of the Byzantine Empire, and even into ancient Greece. In Moravia a powerful empire had arisen under Svatopluk who died in 895 - which was not to collapse until the beginning of the tenth century. The modern territories of Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia and the Austrian Alps were in the possession of Slavonic tribes. Notwithstanding the victories of Charles over the Sorbs and Wilzes, they retained their wide sphere of influence practically undiminished. The dissension prevailing among the individual tribes, of whom even in Charles' time the Obotrites of Mecklenburg joined the Franks, made it impossible that they should withstand the superior military prowess of the Germans.

Until the tenth and eleventh centuries they were steadily driven back before the missionary zeal of their western neighbours; only in heathen Prussia did they resist the power of the Teutonic knights until the thirteenth century. In the interior the feudal nobility had been kept in check by the strong hand of Charles, but its tendency to separatism had not been thereby destroyed. The rich presents and favours of Charles had raised the power of the ecclesiastical nobility, which soon became a force threatening the monarchy, although the papacy continued subject to the protectorate of the Franks for a longer period.

Louis the Pious was the sole heir of his great father, who died on January 28th, 814. He was crowned emperor in Rheims by Pope Stephen V., and was by no means the helpless weakling that he is painted in the traditional accounts of his reign. During the lifetime of his two elder brothers he was naturally thrown into the background and was brought up in Aquitaine by monks in an environment of prayer and penance. After his accession he continued the great work of conversion begun by Charles, and created two strong centres of Christianity in the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Hamburg.

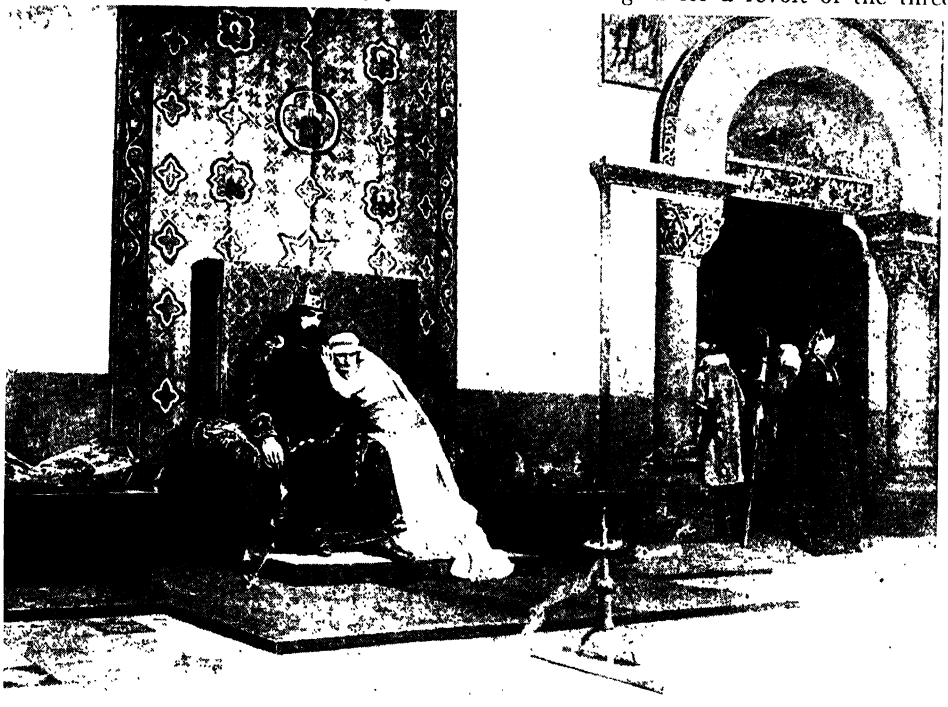
Hamburg was intended to form a bulwark against the heathen Danes and Northmen, but was reduced to ashes by them in 837, about thirty years after its foundation. Louis also followed his father's example by enriching the clergy with gifts of land and rents; but he allowed the secular princes subordinate to himself to appropriate Church property. It was chiefly for this reason that the clergy, who were conscious of their independence, conspired against the Emperor on behalf of his rebellious sons.



CHARLES THE BALD
Another son of Louis the Pious, for whose benefit the principle of the partition of the empire was altered—a step which led to strife.

The action of Louis in dividing the empire between his sons. Lothair, Pippin, and Louis, in 817. has been denounced as weakness. But this partition was in the first place proposed rather by the great ecclesiastics of

the empire than by Louis himself, and was but a continuation of the precedent set by Pippin and Charles. The unity of the empire and the emperor's own position were guaranteed by the provisions that Louis should remain sole ruler during his lifetime, that the imperial title should pass only to the eldest son, without whose consent the other two sons could not wage war, conclude peace, or negotiate upon questions of foreign policy, while the consent of the national assembly was necessary before they could enjoy their



THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROBERT THE PIOUS

Robert II., King of France, better known as Robert the Pious, incurred the severe displeasure of the Pope because of his marriage with Bertha, a distant relative of his own. The king was commanded to put Bertha away, under pain of excommunication, and though he struggled for four or five years against the terrors of the papal ban, he was at length compelled to yield, and to send from his side the wife to whom he was deeply attached. He afterwards married Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse. Robert reigned for nearly thirty-five years, dying in 1031.

From the painting by Laurens in the Luxembourg

shares. Upon the death of the eldest brother the next in age was to take the seniority. Pope Paschal I., who had been won over by guarantees securing his territory, agreed to this scheme of partition and showed great readiness to support the empire. On April 5th, 823, he crowned Lothair as emperor, and allowed the new ruler to impose a regulation upon the Romans by which they were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope and the Emperor, while the papal elections could take place only when the Emperor's consent had been obtained

The misfortunes of Louis were due to his weakness in dealing with his second wife, the Guelf Princess Judith. In order that the son of this marriage, Charles, afterwards known as the Bald, should not be thrown into the background, Louis altered the principle of partition in favour of this son without the consent of the nation, but with the assent of the compliant Pope. These feminine intrigues were the signal for a revolt of the three other sons, whose possessions were thus reduced. The rebellious sons were now joined by the West Frankish clergy, who had grown extremely powerful.

The Empress Judith became a special point of attack on the part of the opposition nobles. These were laymen, many of whom had already shared in the revolt of Bernhard, the nephew of Louis. They were able to relieve themselves of Judith by confining her in a monastery; but the monarchy was too

firmly rooted to be overthrown at one blow. Louis was able to find help among the East Frankish nobility against the West Franks and his own sons, of whom Lothair was the ringleader. At an imperial diet held at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, in 831, the emperor and his queen, who had come back from her monastery, were justified, and Lothair was forced to submit. The revolt of the clergy from the crown offered a favourable opportunity to the Pope for breaking away from the dependent position which Charles had introduced, and for making himself supreme over the shattered power of the king. When the sons again raised the banner of revolt they found Gregory IV. on their side. At Colmar, in Alsace, the Emperor's officials, seduced by the Pope himself, deserted to their rebel comrades in arms at the end of June, 833; Rotfeld, where this treachery was completed, received the contemptuous name of Lügenfeld, or field of lies. We now find a division in the ranks of the West Frankish episcopate. Many who feared that the papal aggressions threatened their own independence renewed th , iance to Louis; a minority, led by the vigorous Archbishop Ebo of Rheims, forced the Emperor to do penance in the church of St. Médard at Soissons, to abdicate his position as emperor, and to enter a monastery. The other party induced Louis to withdraw the decision which he had made at St. Denis, and to renounce his deposition at a council at Diedenhofen in 835. The Emperor was induced by his wife to make a fresh partition in 839, under which Louis, whom she hated, was placed at a disadvantage in favour of Lothair and Charles, although it was to Louis in part that the Emperor owed his restoration; Pippin had died on December 13th, 838. Louis then took up arms against his father, who, however, died at Ingelheim before any battle was fought, on June 20th, 840. The struggle for the inheritance was carried on by the two younger brothers, Louis and Charles, who joined their forces against the domineering Lothair. Lothair was utterly defeated at the Ries in the beginning of 841, and at Fontenoy en Puisaye, near Auxerre, on June 25th, where the flower of the Austrasian nobility fell. He summoned to his help the heathen Saxons, to whom he promised the restoration of their old privileges, and the Danes; he also secured the support of the papal legates, but he was unable to recover the supremacy of his West Frankish territory. He therefore agreed to the partition treaty of Verdun on August 10th, 843. He was left in possession of the imperial title, together with the old province of Austrasia, the main portion of Burgundy, the Alamannic districts on the left bank of the Rhine, Provence and Italy; that is to say, of a district extending from the mouth of the Rhine to the harbours of the Mediterranean. Neustria, Flanders, and Britanny, North-west Burgundy, Aquitaine and the Spanish Mark went to Charles. Louis, known as the German, received all the country on the right of the Rhine, and on the left bank Worms, Mainz, and Speier, together with parts of modern Switzerland.

Revolt of the Clergy

Death of Louis the Pious

Thus the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, although Lothair retained the imperial title. The East and West Franks, under the rule of Louis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development, affecting their national characters, their languages and their policies, which ended in the differentiation of France from Germany. The kingdom of Lothair was broken in 855 into three parts connected by a show of outward unity. These were: Austrasia, with Friesland, and the left bank of the Rhine "Lotharingia," so called from its future owner, Lothair II.—Provence, with Burgundy, and Italy, which belonged to the Emperor Louis II. Lotharingia, although inhabited by Germans, was exposed to French aggression.

The Divided Carolingian Empire

However, in the treaty of Meerssen on August 8th, 870, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that the Romance districts—namely, Provence and Burgundy—should belong to the West Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should fall under the East Frankish ruler.

Politically, however, the separate portions of the divided empire went their own ways. In East Francia, the old hereditary Duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria gradually gained a new importance which menaced the existing unity. In West Franconia a number of greater and smaller vassals secured their independence, and in course of time reduced the crown to the position of a meaningless and helpless shadow.

RICHARD MAHRENHOLTZ



THE BRITISH ISLES

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MIDDLE AGES

By H. W. C. DAVIS, M.A.

FROM the western shores of Europe there extends northward into the Atlantic Ocean a broad submarine shelf at an average depth of 300 feet below the surface. On the north-western edge of this shelf rise Great Britain and Ireland, the only two European islands of any considerable size. They are surrounded by upwards of 900 smaller islands. The whole group is to be regarded as a fragment of the European continent. It was separated from the continent at a period when the mammoth and the cave-bear were still thriving species, and when the Glacial Epoch had been succeeded by one of milder climate. The flora and fauna of the British Isles are different from those of Europe, and the first human immigrants came hither before the formation of the English Channel and the North Sea. Of these earliest inhabitants we possess some memorials, for the most part flint implements and weapons. There are stones which seem from their shape to have been used as missiles; others to be wielded by the hand for purposes of striking and cutting; while some are carefully pointed, and appear to have been fitted with wooden handles. In these stone weapons we find every degree of finish: the earlier are rudely chipped into shape; those of later origin are polished with a skill which a workman of to-day, using the best modern tools, would find it difficult to imitate. The stock to which belonged the makers of these weapons is a matter for conjecture. They are, however, generally agreed to have been a dark-haired race of the primitive Altaic stock, the Iberians of Tacitus, and in default of fuller evidence this hypothesis may be allowed to stand. This primitive people advanced some distance from their first stage of civilisation. They learned to make clay vessels. They developed a primitive agriculture.

Inhabitants of the Stone Age

But the means of subsistence which they could procure in this way and by their older industries of hunting and fishing must always have been scanty, and we cannot suppose that they increased in numbers to any great degree. Hence they fell an easy prey to the Indo-Germanic race of the Kelts. This people, advancing westward through Europe, expelled the Iberians from every land in which they met them. On reaching the Atlantic they broke up into a northern and a southern horde, the latter marching over the Pyrenees into Spain, while the former entered the British Isles. By this time the Atlantic had forced a passage through the English Channel. The flat alluvial lands of North-western Europe had sunk; and the British Isles were now separated from Scandinavia by the broad but shallow basin of the North Sea.

How Britain Became an Island

The Keltic newcomers were a stalwart race, and they had already passed into the age of bronze. Inured to war by their long wanderings, and equipped with superior weapons [see page 2431], they can hardly have found much difficulty in dealing with the Iberian aborigines. The latter fled for refuge to Ireland, to Cornwall, to the mountains of Wales and Scotland. Their descendants may still be detected in these outlying regions, but appear to have adopted the language of their conquerors. There are traces of a non-Aryan speech in the Keltic districts of the British Isles, but these traces are slight. In the Keltic immigration two successive waves can be distinguished. First came a tribe which bore the name of Goidels; next followed the Brythons, who drove their forerunners to join the Iberians in the more remote regions of the

Coming of the Kelts

British Isles. The dialects of the two tribes were different. That of the Goidels gave birth to the Gaelic, Manx, and Irish tongues; while from the Brythonic dialect are descended those of Cornwall, now a dead language, and of Wales. It is probable that these two first and most important swarms of invaders were continually followed up by smaller bands. At all events, we know that Britain was, in the first century B.C., still liable to immigrations of Keltic tribes from Gaul. But of these movements and the conflicts to which they gave rise history has nothing to record. Before the coming of the Romans, Britain was known to the civilised world simply as a land of tin mines.

Britain as a Land of Tin Mines

The development of the tin trade appears to date from the time of Pytheas of Marseilles—a Greek scientist, who died in 322 B.C.—who visited Britain with the object of ascertaining what truth there might be in the current rumours of the country's mineral wealth. He explored the east coast of Britain for a considerable distance, and observed the habits of the natives. Tin he can hardly have found in the parts which he visited, but his native city appears to have followed up the inferences which he drew. There is the evidence of coins to prove a trade connection between Britain and Marseilles at the close of the third century B.C. When Posidonius, another Greek explorer, visited Britain, about 110 B.C., he found that the tin trade with Marseilles had reached considerable proportions, and that the ore was mined and smelted by the Britons with a degree of skill which presupposed a long experience.

In the wake of the Greek scientists came the Roman legions. Julius Cæsar found the Kelts of Britain troublesome neighbours to the newly conquered provinces of Gaul, and he raided Southern Britain in 55 and 54 B.C. To these incursions we are indebted for his highly interesting account of British life and manners. Otherwise they had little result. In the words of Tacitus, Cæsar can be said only to have indicated Britain as a future field for conquests. At his first attempt, he barely succeeded in effecting a disembarkation before the approach of the winter season compelled him to withdraw; on his second appearance, he crossed the Thames and entered Essex, but withdrew after receiving the submission of the Trinobantes and some other tribes. From this time forward the relations of Britain with the Roman world were peaceful, until Claudius undertook the work of reduction in 43 A.D.

Julius Cæsar in Britain

At this date, as in the time of Cæsar, Britain, though comparatively populous, was weakened by political divisions. It was inhabited by tribes of small size, who rarely, if ever, agreed to unite under a common leader; and the task of the invader was facilitated by the mutual jealousies of tribal kings. Every stage of civilisation appears to have been represented among these tribes. Those of the south-east had benefited by peaceful intercourse with the Roman Empire and by the infusion of new blood from Gaul. They drove a considerable trade with the continent, not only in slaves and skins and metals, but also in corn and cattle—a fact from which we may infer that they had reached considerable proficiency in agriculture and stock-breeding.

These tribes made use of coins of gold, silver, brass and copper. They showed some skill in working bronze and iron and clay. The remoter peoples, however, conducted their trade by the primitive methods of barter, were barely able to manufacture the rudest types of pottery, and depended largely on stone instruments. The interval between the most and the least civilised was great. But even the tribes of the south-east had made little progress in the art of war. Their strong places were defended by earthworks and wooden palisades; there was no walled town or fort to be found in Britain, and the ordinary village was open to the first attack. The strength of a British army lay in the scythed chariot and light cavalry. The skill of the individual combatant was often great, but the armour and weapons of offence were poor. There was a want of discipline, and if the initial onslaught proved unsuccessful, the entire host melted rapidly away.

Weapons of the Early Britons

Such difficulty, therefore, as the Romans experienced in effecting the conquest and holding the conquered country was due rather to the circumstances of geography and to the scattered nature of the population than to the strength of the tribal communities with which they had to deal. The work of reduction proceeded steadily, though chequered with



THE WRESTLERS: AN INCIDENT IN THE PREHISTORIC STONE AGE

From the painting by Stuart G. Davis, by the artist's permission



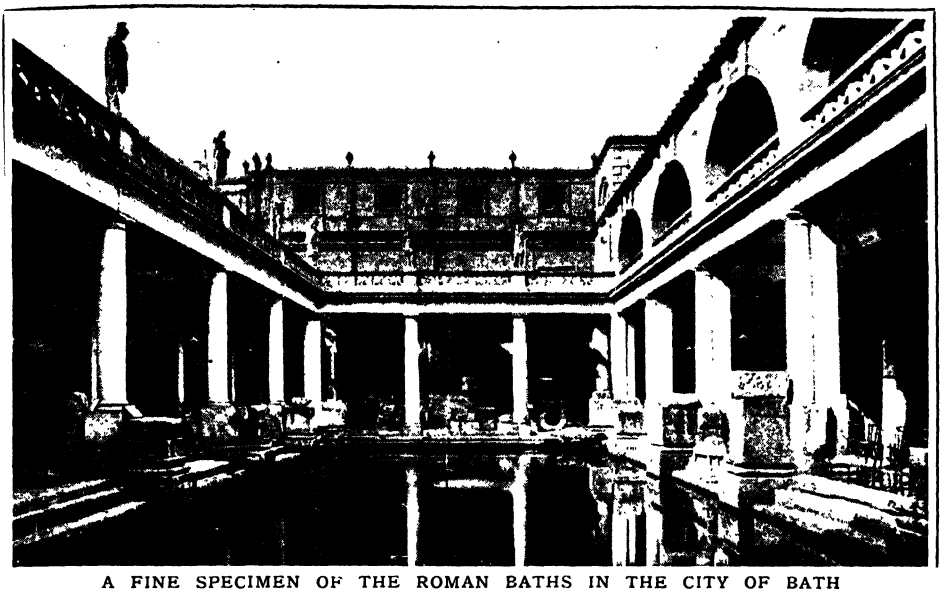
JULIUS CÆSAR LANDING ON THE SHORES OF ENGLAND
Following in the wake of the Greek scientists, the Roman legions found their way to the shores of Britain, Julius Cæsar landing in 55 B.C., and raiding Southern Britain. The Roman occupation, beginning a century after Cæsar, lasted about 350 years.

occasional reverses, until the time of the Emperor Hadrian. Of the early governors of Britain the most successful was Julius Agricola (78-84 A.D.), who completed the conquest of Wales, extended the sphere of Roma influence to the Firths c Forth and Clyde, instille into the tribes farther north a wholesome fear of the Roman name, and was meditating an invasion of Ireland at the time of his recall. It was in his time that the leading British families were induced to adopt Roman manners and send their sons to Roman schools.

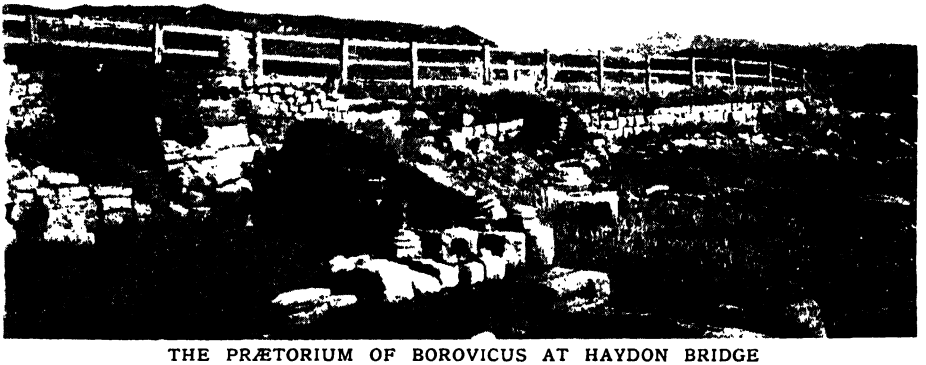
Hadrian, who visited the island in 119 A.D., is remembered in British history for the great wall of stone, studded with forts at regular intervals, which he built between the Solway and the Tyne, apparently less as a boundary for the Roman province than to regulate the communications of the subject tribes on each side of the wall. As far as the Forth and Clyde the whole land remained Roman territory. Recent archæological discoveries suggest that Roman garrisons were at one time stationed even further to the north; but the attempt which Severus made, in 208, to continue the northern conquests of Agricola was rudely checked. The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for about 350 years. Little, however, is known of the history of this period. The legions of Britain were an important factor in several dynastic revolutions. Carausius in 288 attempted to make his governorship of the island a stepping stone to the empire, and Britain remained under his rule, an *imperium in imperio* for eight years. In Diocletian's scheme for the administration



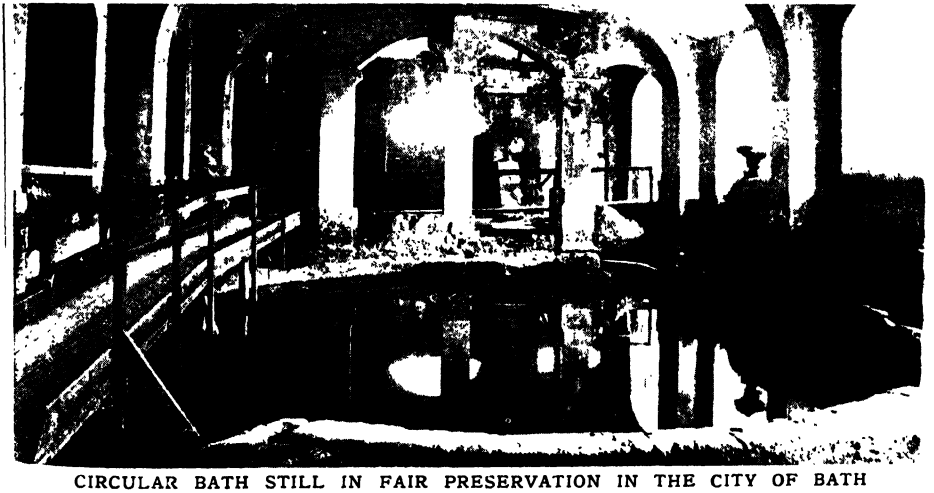
MONUMENT TO THE BRAVE QUEEN BOADICEA
Boadicea, an early English queen, fought the Romans in the first century leading her people to the battle. It is said that rather than be taken prisoner she slew herself. This statue group, by the late J. L. Thornycroft, stand at the foot of Westminster Bridge, London, facing the Houses of Parliament



A FINE SPECIMEN OF THE ROMAN BATHS IN THE CITY OF BATH



THE PRÆTORIUM OF BOROVICUS AT HAYDON BRIDGE



CIRCULAR BATH STILL IN FAIR PRESERVATION IN THE CITY OF BATH

RELICS OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF ENGLAND

Photos by Valentine

of the empire, Britain, Gaul, and Spain were grouped together under a Cæsar, who was subordinate to the Augustus of the West. Constantius, the first holder of the new office, who died in 306, became in due time an Augustus, and planted his capital at York. Through him Britain may claim a connection with the work of his son Constantine, the founder of the new Rome on the Bosphorus and the first of the Christian emperors. Britain, therefore, plays a certain part in the general history of the empire. But of the provincials, as distinct from the legionaries and their governors, history is almost silent.

The First Christian Emperor

Christianity found its way into the island by the beginning of the fourth century; but the old Keltic deities long continued to receive the veneration of the natives. Roads and colonies and camps were built; in the south-east, in the Severn valley, along the lines of the great roads, and in the neighbourhood of the great military stations the dominant race built sumptuous villas, and attempted to maintain the luxury of the Roman fashionable life.

But however much the noblest Keltic families may have been affected by Roman example, there was a broad gulf fixed between the conquerors and the great mass of the conquered. City life and Roman administrative methods offered little attraction to the provincial, and Caracalla's gift of the citizenship to all the free-born inhabitants of the empire was an inadequate return for the crushing taxation which was necessitated by an elaborate and centralised government, a magnificent imperial court, and the enormous armies of the continental frontiers. In Gaul and Spain the empire took firm hold upon the minds of its subjects, and a new Gallo-Roman nationality came into existence in these countries; but in Britain the Kelt remained, as of old, turbulent, attached to his tribal traditions, impatient of civilisation, apparently incapable of political development.

Britain Attacked by Barbarians

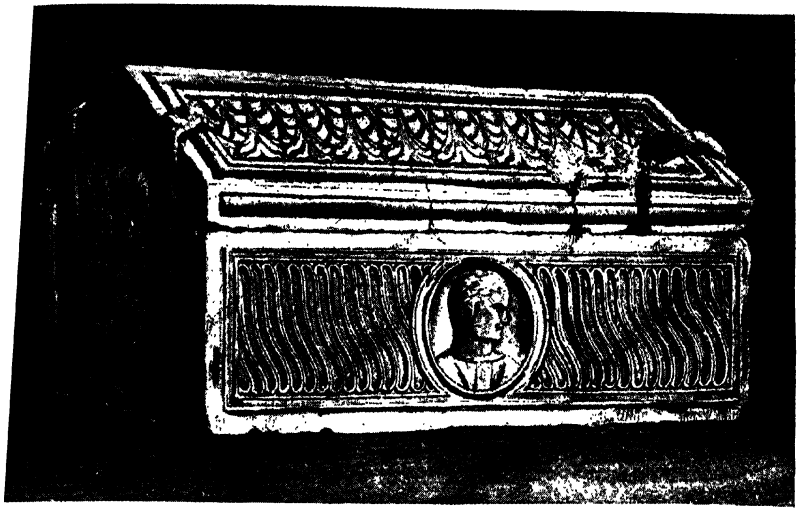
In the fourth century A.D., Britain, though shielded by the sea from the pressure of the main barbarian advance, began to suffer from the guerrilla attacks of the untamed Kelt on the one side, and of the Teutonic pirate on the other. The country lying north of the Roman walls was overrun by Scots from Ireland. The Picts, or "painted people," the older inhabitants of the north, recoiling before the invasion, sought to make a passage through the Roman frontier and to find a safer dwelling in the south. Flying squadrons of the Scots harassed the south-west coast of Britain, while the appointment of a "Comes Litoris Saxonici," to supervise the defence of the south and east coasts, bears witness to the raids of a people hereafter to be intimately connected with the fortunes of the British Isles.

In 367 the Roman armies of occupation were utterly defeated by invaders from the north and pirates from the sea; two years elapsed before the security of the province could be restored. In 383 a Roman governor, Clemens Maximus denuded the British provinces of their legions in order to make a bid for the empire; and although, fifteen years later, a few soldiers were sent from Rome to Britain, no attempt was made to raise the garrison to the old strength. In 407 the last of the Roman governors left Britain to repeat the adventures of Clemens Maximus; with his departure the Roman occupation came to an end. The Britons, so long protected by the armies of the empire, were left to defend themselves as best they might. Some great roads, some decaying cities, soon to be reduced to ruin, a Christian Church of dubious vitality, a degraded Latin dialect as the language of educated society, a few improvements in the art of agriculture, a few titles of office and insignia of rank—such appear to have been the legacies which the Roman conquerors left behind them.

Romans Leave Britain

There followed on the Roman period a time of wild confusion and anarchy, extending over the best part of two centuries. It is the time in which Britain was colonised by the Angles, Jutes and Saxons; in which the Keltic population was pushed to the far west, or exterminated, or enslaved, according to the humour of different bands of Teutonic invaders.

These invaders came from the German coasts of the Baltic Sea: at first, if the traditions may be trusted, as pirates under war leaders, afterwards, when the opportunities afforded by Britain were more fully realised, by tribes and nations with their wives and children and household gods. Each band chose its own







ROMANS IN LONDON: MEMORIALS OF THEIR OCCUPATION

It is an interesting fact that the first mention of London by classic writers is that which occurs in the Annals of Tacitus. Excavations for building purposes, carried on in recent years in the vicinity of the Mansion House, have brought to light many important evidences of the occupation of London by the Romans. The above illustrations show several discoveries. The stone sarcophagus was found at Haydon Square in the Minories, the sculptured figure on the left was unearthed in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate, while the piece of tessellated pavement was discovered in Bucklersbury.

point of descent, and worked inland till settlements were provided for all the adventurers, or natural boundaries were reached, or the way was barred by the settlements of earlier swarms. Bernicia and Deira—later united as Northumbria—between the Forth and the Humber; East Anglia, between the Wash and the Stour; Essex, Kent, Sussex, and the West Saxon state, which, beginning at Southampton, spread out fanwise on each side of the Itchen valley and on the north extended into the basin of the Thames, are the chief of the early settlements. Far inland, in the upper valley of the Trent, and round the Peak in Derbyshire, were clustered the tribes which afterwards coalesced to form the Mercian kingdom. In Cornwall, Wales, Strathclyde—that is, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the western lowlands of Scotland—were huddled together the remnants of the unsubjugated Keltic people.



THE BAPTISM OF KING ETHELBERT

The fifth king of Kent, Ethelbert, began his reign in 568, and followed in the paganism of his fathers. His wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, the Frankish king, was a Christian, and worked persistently to induce her husband to adopt Christianity. When Augustine, despatched by Pope Gregory on a missionary enterprise, reached England, he had conferences with Ethelbert, who ultimately became a convert, and submitted to the Christian rite of baptism.

From the fresco in the House of Lords by William Dyce, R.A.

Of intercourse between the two races there can have been little save such as exists between master and slave. Place names apart, the Keltic element in the English language is small and unimportant. Whatever traces of Keltic tribal institutions survive in the Teutonic parts of Western England must be attributed to the fusion of races at a later period, when the influence of a common religion had softened their antagonism. The political system and the private law of the early English kingdoms are purely Germanic. These kingdoms are ruled by descendants of Woden; in the smaller of them the old national assembly of all the freemen has still the ultimate authority. In the *gesiths* of kings and great men we may recognise the *comitatus* described by Tacitus. The popular law courts, in which the freemen act as assessors to an elected judge, the village community, in which land is periodically redivided, the methods of agriculture, the law of succession, the division of social classes—all remind us of the society depicted in Germania. The religion, too, so far as we can judge from scant memorials, can be referred to the same source—a dry, prosaic rendering of the mythology which Scandinavian imagination has glorified and immortalised. Into this rough and primitive society the Christian religion made its way at the end of the sixth century. It was imported from Rome, and not from Keltic Britain. Not that Christianity had failed to take hold upon the British Kelt. The names of St. Patricius, the evangelist of Ireland, and of Pelagius the heretic, are enough to prove the interest of Roman Britain



EDWIN, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, A CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY

The conversion to the Christian religion of Edwin, who became king of Northumbria in 617, was another of the triumphs of the early Church in Britain. When an attempt was made on his life with a poisoned dagger, Edwin declared that if he recovered and defeated his enemies, he would cast off his idols and serve Christ. He was restored to health, and subdued those who had conspired against him; then he spent a long time in silence deliberating over the question of religion. Finally, he publicly declared his acceptance of Christianity, and was baptised at York in 627.

From the fresco by Ford Madox Brown in the Manchester Town Hall

in the new religion. If the legends may be believed, religion had helped to animate resistance to the barbarian. St. Germanus of Auxerre is said to have led the Britons to victory against the Picts and Saxons at the Hallelujah Field in 430. But the Kelts made no attempt to proselytise among their Saxon conquerors.

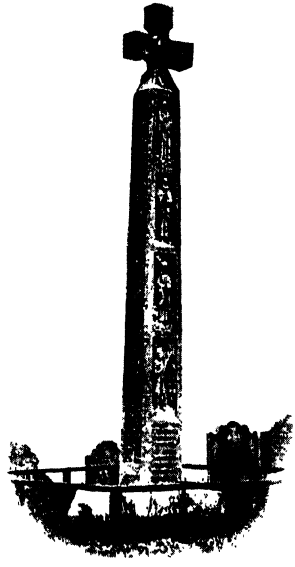
The first missionaries came from Rome at the bidding of Gregory the Great in 597, and the victory of the new creed is inseparably connected with the name of their leader, Augustine, who converted Ethelbert of Kent, at that time Bretwalda, or overlord of Britain, made Canterbury the metropolitan see, and established bishoprics at Rochester and London. Augustine and his patron did not, however, live to see the conversion of the west and north. The evangelist of East Anglia was a Burgundian bishop, Felix by name (about 631); at the same date the kingdom of Wessex accepted the ministrations of Birinus, another missionary from Rome. In Northumbria the good work was begun by Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, and encouraged by King Edwin, who succeeded, on the death of Ethelbert, to the paramount position among the rulers of the English. But Edwin fell in battle against the Welsh and Mercians in 633, and Northumbrian Christianity was temporarily obliterated in the period of anarchy which followed his death. Under his successors, Oswald and Oswiu, a race of Keltic missionaries from the Irish monastic colony at Iona was introduced. Northumbria embraced that emotional, ascetic type of Christianity which had developed in the Isle of Saints during two centuries of separation from the general body of the Western Church. But the priests of the south came into conflict with their Keltic rivals of the north, and at the Synod of Whitby in 654 King Oswiu decided in favour of St. Peter's men. His decision determined the issue of the conflict in every part of England. The Keltic priests submitted or retired, and the English Church was remodelled according to the Roman pattern by an archbishop sent from Rome, the famous Theodore of Tarsus (669-690). From his time the ecclesiastical unity of England may be said to date.

Royal Converts to Christianity

The English Church Remodelled

The whole body of the English clergy now acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, and began to meet in national synods for legislation and mutual encouragement. Thus the nation was schooled by the Church in habits of common action and self-government. Apart from this great service, the new religion deserves gratitude for the stimulus

which it gave to intellectual activity. It inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon, who died in 680, and of his anonymous disciple in whose rendering of the Old Saxon Genesis we have an anticipation of Milton's genius; and in the person of the Venerable Bede (673-735) it produced the greatest historian of the Dark Ages, and one of those encyclopædic scholars who handed on the torch of learning through a period of general ignorance. Whatever learning, intellectual activity, or poetic imagination existed in the early English was encouraged and protected by the new religion. With the internal squabbles of the English kingdoms and the vicissitudes of their early struggles for supremacy the historian need not concern himself. After the death of Oswiu, in 670, Northumbria rapidly sank from her paramount position. Doomed by Nature to remain poor and thinly populated, she was further weakened by the feuds of Bernicia and Deira. Her kings, moreover, allowed themselves to be distracted from English affairs by ill-judged schemes for the conquest of the Picts and Scots. Mercia rose to prominence on the ruins of Northumbrian greatness. Cut off from the sea on every side, composed of heterogeneous elements, backward in civilisation, Mercia nevertheless succeeded, under Offa's rule, in dominating all her neighbours (757-796). This sovereign drove the Kelts still further to the west, and fixed the boundary between Wales and England by constructing the great earthwork known as Offa's Dyke. Under his guidance England first entered into the sphere of European politics; he was on friendly terms with Charles the Great, and



CÆDMON CROSS AT WHITBY
The new religion introduced into Britain by Augustine inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon, a servant of the monastery at Whitby, who sang all the principal events in sacred history. Cædmon died in 680.



THE ANCIENT CATHEDRAL OF IONA AND ST. MARTIN'S CROSS
On the little island of Iona, in the Inner Hebrides of Scotland, stand the partially-restored ruins of the oldest Scottish cathedral. The history of this sacred isle begins in the year 563, when St. Columba, leaving the shores of Ireland, landed upon Iona with twelve disciples. Here they built a monastery—the mother church of the Picts. The Norsemen burned the building and massacred the sixty-eight monks on one occasion, and slew fifteen of the monks on another. "That man," said Dr. Johnson, on the occasion of his visit to Iona, "is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona"



KING EGFRID AND CUTHBERT, THE HERMIT OF FARNE ISLAND

In this illustration Egfrid, king of Northumberland, is seen offering the bishopric of Hexham to Cuthbert, who had originally been a shepherd boy, but became a monk at Melrose, and subsequently led the life of a hermit on an islet off the Northumbrian coast. It is not known whether the humble servant of the Church accepted the king's offer, but in 685 he was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne, which he resigned soon afterwards to return to his hermitage. He died in 687, and was buried at Lindisfarne. Two hundred years later, in consequence of the ravages of the Northmen, his remains were removed, and ultimately found a resting place on the hill where Durham Cathedral now stands.

From the design for the fresco by William Bell Scott at Wallington Hall, Northumberland

respected, though disliked and feared, by the papacy, now reawakening to a sense of its European obligations. But Offa died before the power of Mercia could be consolidated, and within thirty years Wessex had supplanted Offa's dynasty in the supremacy.

The victory of Wessex was due to King Egbert (802-839), whom, in his younger days, the hostility of Offa had driven to take refuge at the Frankish court. The lessons learned at Aachen by the exile were not thrown away. When he returned, after the death of his enemy, it was to establish for himself in England a position analogous to that held upon the continent by Charles the Great. He incorporated in his kingdom the provinces of Sussex, Surrey, Kent and Essex; the rulers of East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, and North Wales became his vassals, and the West Welsh were confined within the narrow limits of Cornwall. North of the Thames and west of Offa's Dyke his power rested on insecure foundations, but he had sketched the plan of the political edifice which his dynasty was to complete. H. W. C. DAVIS



SPAIN AND ITS CONQUERORS

UNDER THE GOTHS & SARACEN INVASIONS

THE union with the Roman Empire had at first been an indisputable advantage to Spain. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were encouraged, excellent roads and bridges were made, aqueducts were built for the towns, harbours were constructed and improved. But the ruinous economic policy of the emperors, which reduced Italy to an uninhabited wilderness, began to make its fatal results gradually apparent in Spain.

In the Iberian peninsula those enormous latifundia, or estates, sprang up, the owners of which led a luxurious and useless life in the towns, while gangs of slaves drove the plough where free men had once gained their daily bread in zealous toil. The country folk were cheated out of their ancestral acres in all kinds of ways, and went to swell the parasitic proletariat of the towns. Civic pride died out, and the municipalities became copies in miniature of Rome—like Rome, corrupt, and inhabited by a population to whom work was as hateful as vice was familiar. The nation lost its vitality and its personality, its warlike spirit and its love of progress. Those who still retained some degree of vigour expressed their hostility towards the excesses of a hypertrophied civilisation, after the fashion of the half-subdued highlanders in the north, by joining the banditti of the mountains, whose numbers increased to a dangerous extent, and who became a factor of very serious import in the daily life of the nation. Jewish immigration, which had been especially extensive under Domitian, at last assumed such proportions that at the time of the Goths we find the Jews forming an important and dangerous element of the population. The general advantage to the country was very small, as the productive powers of the nation were not appreciably increased by the mercantile Semites.

Rome's Vices Reproduced in Spain

When Christianity gained a footing on the peninsula, it might have fulfilled the task that lay before it—namely, to end the growing sterility of the spiritual life, and to lay the foundations of a development upon different lines; but it could not, and would not, breathe fresh life into the civilisation of the ancient world, to which it was essentially indifferent or hostile; and it was equally powerless to shatter its dull, stereotyped formalism without that external aid which was afterwards provided by the upheaval of the great migrations. Heathen philosophy and poetry were replaced by theological disputation, which was equally fruitless, and was carried on with great animosity. It entailed the useless expenditure of the nation's entire intellectual powers at a time when the barbarians were thundering at the very gates. One great problem, however, Christianity solved: it replaced the political ties of the Roman Empire, which was then upon the point of dissolution, by a spiritual bond, which united the nations of Europe, and enabled them to take up the old civilisation, to preserve it, and to improve it for themselves.

Christianity in the Peninsula

Christianity made but a late entry into Spain. For a long time the growing Christian communities remained unnoticed and undisturbed. They developed an organisation of their own, and kept peace among themselves, while in other districts of the Roman Empire theological differences of opinion had begun to excite enmity. The first persecutions took place in the year 287, and are especially remarkable for the fact that when the Spanish Christians had deposed certain apostate bishops, and elected others in their stead, they addressed themselves to the bishops of Carthage for confirmation of their action, and did not appeal to the authority of the Pope.

Deposition of Apostate Bishops

who had already begun to exercise his supremacy over the Church.

In the year 297 the first Spanish martyrs suffered death—the Bishop Fructuosus of Tarraconia, with two of his priests; and in 303 the number of martyrs rose considerably during the persecutions of Galerius Maximianus. Here, as everywhere, repressive measures resulted only in the wider extension of Christianity. When the new faith emerged victorious under Constantine, there were already nineteen bishoprics in Spain, the incumbents of which met in solemn council at Illiberis, not far from the modern Granada, to regulate the affairs of the Spanish Church. Their resolutions indicate a stern determination to preserve the purity of the Church and the morals of its members. During the subsequent struggles between the Arians and Athanasians, the Spaniards, under their most famous bishop, Hosius, remained firm adherents of the Athanasian teaching.

However, even in Spain degeneration appeared only too rapidly. The Church certainly provided an intellectual and spiritual means of escape from the intolerable conditions of social life; but those conditions were in no way altered, and a great impulse was given to the unhealthy growth of monasticism. In the cloister alone could that equality which was an essential element in early Christianity be realised, and retirement from the social life was inculcated as a duty. The result was that the bishops were obliged to make stringent regulations against the excessive growth of monasticism.

Cloistered Christianity in Favour

That element of fanaticism in the Iberian races which in later times was to work such dreadful effects showed itself even thus early. In opposition to the orthodox churches of the country, which were founded upon dogma, communities of mystics had been formed in Spain, just as under a variety of titles Christians in faith divided themselves from Christians in name, seeking blessedness after their own fashion. The best characteristic of this kind of sectarianism is generally its harmlessness; and the Gnostic communities in Spain, at the head of which, at the beginning of the fifth century, was Priscillianus, were no exception to this rule. Certain orthodox bishops considered it of the highest importance to break up these harmless and right-living dissenting communities; they denounced them to the emperors and the Bishop of Rome, and when Maximus, a Spaniard, was elected emperor they persuaded him to order the execution of the heads of this party, and of Priscillianus in particular. They even urged the creation of a formal court of inquisition, a project that was only with difficulty frustrated. These Gnostic societies arose not only because the creeds of the Church failed to satisfy their members, but also as a protest against the prevalent immorality and corruption, which resulted from the unhappy conditions of social life, and with which the Church was powerless to cope. The Gnostics themselves had no other remedy for this evil except that of renunciation and retirement; they could not invigorate decaying society. Thus, when the northern barbarians passed the threshold of the Pyrenees they found the country sunk in spiritless resignation. No one seemed to think it worth while to strike a blow in defence of the old institutions, now hollow and corrupt; the landed proprietors attempted to taste the pleasures of life in wild orgies before the pageant reached its close, and the mass of the people seemed entirely indifferent to their fate. Thus, the Roman period of Spanish history came to an end in an inglorious torpor.

The Rise of Gnostic Societies

Thanks to its position, the Iberian peninsula was long spared the attacks of the German migratory tribes. As a matter of fact, the country was almost impregnable as long as the passes on the north were protected by a small force. When, in the year 407, the British legion chose Constantine as emperor in opposition to Honorius, some distinguished Spaniards raised an armed force from the slaves and labourers on their estates, and successfully held the passes of the Pyrenees until Spain recognised the usurper in the following year. This last effort of the Spaniards had important consequences for them. Constans, the son of Constantine, deprived them of the right of guarding the passes, and entrusted this duty to the Honorians, a body of untrustworthy troops, picked up from several nationalities. The leaders of the Vandals, the Suevi and the Alani, who were then roving about in Southern

Forfeited Rights of the Spaniards

Gaul, had no difficulty in coming to an understanding with those redoubtable defenders. In the year 409 the dreaded barbarians broke into the unhappy country, and the inhabitants submitted to fate almost without a struggle.

Famine and Plague in Spain

The result was an extraordinary decrease in the population. As there was little or no serious fighting, the number of the slain could not have been great; but the utter devastation of the country produced a withering famine, and the plague broke out with great violence among the starved population. When the conquerors themselves began to suffer, they were obliged, whether willingly or not, to restore some form of order which should, at least, permit the cultivation of the soil. They divided the peninsula among themselves by lot: the Suevi and part of the Vandals took the North-west, the remaining Vandals took Bætica—that is, the South; the Alans took Lusitania and the southern portion of Tarraconia, while the rest of this province was left to the Roman viceroy, Gerontius, who had assisted the German invaders out of hatred for Constantine. As before, the races in the mountains on the north seem to have preserved their independence. Gerontius was killed soon after in the struggle with the Gauls, and the Alans took possession of the territory assigned to him.

Meanwhile, the Roman capital had been pressed to the uttermost extreme by the Western Goths, and had sought to save itself by inviting the Goths to undertake the reconquest of Gaul and Spain, in the hope that the barbarians would either destroy or keep one another in check. In the year 414 the first bands of Goths, under Athaulf, appeared in the modern Catalonia (Gotalonia). A year later, under Wallia, they had overrun the entire peninsula, and were prevented only by chance from carrying the war into Africa itself. The German races already settled in Spain were driven into the wild North-west, and Roman governors were reinstated in the provinces, while the Goths themselves retained the possessions in Aquitania and Catalonia which had been assigned to them by the emperor. And it is a strange and significant fact that when the hated barbarians were driven into the Galician mountains, numbers of the natives joined their ranks, preferring to share danger and freedom with the wild sons of the North rather than bow their necks again under the yoke of the Roman military bureaucracy. Here we have the clearest possible proof that the world-wide empire of Rome was on the point of collapse.

Barbarians Driven to the Mountains

The Germans in Galicia, who, for want of better occupation, had been carrying on incessant war among themselves, now made a second irruption into the country. The Roman governor, Castinus, was abandoned by his German auxiliaries at the moment of greatest need, and overthrown in Bætica by the Vandals in 422; the richest province of Spain, which then, apparently, gained its name Andalusia (Vandalitia), fell into the hands of the conquerors. Shortly afterwards a Vandal fleet made a descent upon the Balearic Islands, whither the riches of the Spaniards had been conveyed, and carried off these carefully guarded treasures.

The Goths in Possession of Spain

Some remnants of the love of freedom were manifested in the Spanish towns: Carthagena and Seville attempted to shake off the barbarian yoke, but paid very dearly for the effort. Carthagena was destroyed entirely, and Seville was sacked. The Vandals then crossed into Africa, and Andalusia again fell into Roman hands. But after a few years the Suevi replaced the departed Vandals, and left nothing to the Roman governors, save the province of Tarraconia. At last the Western Goths took the field, and, under their king, Theoderic II., finally reduced the whole of Spain. The Suevi were restricted to a portion of Galicia, were obliged to submit to the Goths, and continued for some time, like the native mountain tribes in the north, half independent and ever ready to create disturbance among the valleys of their mountain district. The king of the Western Goths, Eurich (466-484), was recognised by the court at Rome as the lawful possessor of Spain and Southern Gaul.

The period of West Gothic supremacy falls naturally into two unequal portions, the dividing point being marked by the conversion of Recared from Arianism to the orthodox belief. It was an unfortunate circumstance that most of the German migratory races had adopted the Arian form of Christianity, and clung firmly to that belief, while the subjugated

peoples of the Roman Empire, in particular the Spaniards, were fanatical adherents of the orthodox teaching.

We may assert that Arianism was the ruin of the Vandals in Africa. During the centuries of Roman rule national differences had disappeared, and, consequently, the fair-haired barbarians began to adopt the civilisation which they had conquered, and found their origin no bar to their progress. But these national divergencies had been replaced by the sharper line of demarcation of religious belief; the more insignificant the points of difference were, the more passionately did men cling to their own creeds. The Goths were too keen not to recognise that the maintenance of their power depended, in the long run, upon the closeness of their union with the native inhabitants. The Eastern Goth, Theudes, the guardian of Amalarich, broke through the prevailing customs about 560, married a noble Spanish lady, and formed a bodyguard of Spanish troops. There are many instances of similar attempts to promote mutual friendship between the races.

King Agila Persecutor of the Christians

The far-seeing among the Goths must have been all the more pained by the religious opposition between the conquerors and the natives, because the spirit of hostility, which with time grew less marked, was continually reanimated by the narrow bigotry of the Gothic princes. Thus, King Agila (549-554) instituted and organised the persecution of the orthodox Christians. A considerable amount of trouble abroad was also brought about by the Arianism of the Goths. There was much friction with the Franks, for Frankish princesses who had married Goths found themselves beset by proselytising Arians.

The Emperor Justinian, the conqueror of the heretical Vandals, made serious preparations, in conjunction with the orthodox in Spain, for reconquering the lost province. He actually succeeded in getting possession of some towns on the south-east coast in the year 552. From that time war with the Byzantines was one of the permanent duties of the Gothic rulers; but even the warlike Leovigild, who everywhere firmly established the Gothic power, could not entirely drive the Byzantines from the country.

Under the government of Leovigild (568–586), however, who was a vigorous supporter of Arianism, a revolution had already begun. The eldest son of the king, Hermenegild, who was afterwards canonised, was converted to the Athanasian belief, chiefly through the efforts of his Frankish wife, Ingund; the mere fact of this conversion was enough to excite the inhabitants of several towns of Andalusia, where the prince had made some stay, to a revolt against the king, with the object of putting Hermenegild in his place. The revolt was suppressed, and a second, which was supported by the Byzantines and Suevi, met with no success; Hermenegild was taken prisoner and put to death by the king's orders.

The Prince Hermenegild Put to Death

However, this unsuccessful rising was only the prelude to a general change in Gothic belief, a change which political expediency demanded. Recared, the successor of Leovigild (586–601), adopted the Athanasian belief in the tenth month of his reign, and was supported by his people with but little dissent. The Arian writings were collected and burned on a certain day by the king's orders. The strained relations which had existed between conquerors and conquered were removed; the clergy, who had clung most closely to the Roman civilisation, and had most zealously stimulated opposition to the barbarians, saw that the time of its triumph had come, and prepared to enjoy the splendour of the Church, triumphant after the days of sacrifice and persecution. In a short time the proud Gothic princes had learned to scan anxiously the faces of the prelates of their realm, when important decisions were hanging in the balance, and exchanged profound communications with learned bishops upon doubtful points of Christian dogma.

Social conditions in Spain had in no way deteriorated under Gothic rule. The victors, indeed, claimed two-thirds of the country for themselves; but the serfs who had to till the land for them found their masters just and kind at heart, if rough in manners, and their rule greatly preferable to the scourge of the corrupt Roman landowners. Moreover, a third of the arable land was left to the Spaniards, who were, thus far, in free and undisputed possession, and were by degrees admitted to share the privileges and responsibilities of the Goths. After the schism in the Church had been healed, property began steadily to pass into the hands of the

Social Conditions in Spain

clergy, to the ultimate benefit of the vastly preponderating native population. In some exceptional cases taxation seems to have been excessively high; but, as a general rule, the kings were satisfied with the gifts of their free subjects and with the income accruing from the royal domains. It is reasonable to suppose that this improvement in social conditions brought about an improvement in the morals of the rising Spanish generations. The example of the Gothic peoples also exercised a great influence. The testimony even of their opponents ascribes to them from the outset all the virtues of the Germanic national character—faithfulness, uprightness, and social purity; the strong contrast which they formed to the Roman corruption may be deduced from the fact that in the mouth of the Goths the word "Roman," by which they denoted all native Spaniards, was a synonym for liar and cheat. The simple morality of the Goths was also manifested in their legal code, the "lex visigotarum," issued to Goths and Spaniards under Chindasvinth (641-649) and Reccesvinth (649-672); this was founded upon the Roman civil law, but was free from hair-splitting and quibbles.

High Moral Standard of the Goths

Only a small fraction of the Spanish population resisted the Gothic rule—namely, those highlanders in the north who had not been properly subjugated even under the Romans, and who continued to make occasional incursions from the Asturian and Biscayan mountains. The Goths never subdued them completely, though Christianity gradually took root among them. In the struggle between Christianity and Islam they still had an important part to play in history.

Though the native population gradually adjusted itself to existing conditions, there was another people who refused to be assimilated, and remained as a foreign and deleterious body in the organism of Gothic Spain. As we have already observed, the Jews who were expelled from Italy under Domitian came, for the most part, to Spain, and there, as elsewhere, speedily enriched themselves through financial affairs. The Goths found them settled in every town, and ready, even under the new government, to continue a business that contributed but little to the social prosperity. It seems that the Arian Goths, who were at first looked upon with suspicion by the Christian Spaniards, made friendly advances to the Jews, who were in a position similar to their own. Many Gothic princes were not ashamed, when they were pressed for money, to turn to Jewish usurers; the Arian kings also raised no obstacles to the suspicious operations of the chosen people, and contented themselves with the imposition of a tax on Jews, which formed a considerable part of the royal revenue.

How the Jews Grew Rich

As usual in such cases, the Jews, from a financial, became a political, power. As long as the Jews were allowed only to accumulate hoards of coin there was a natural limit to the activities even of the most grinding usurer; but when they were allowed to possess real property, and to make slaves of free men, then the unprofitable and ruinous methods of Jewish capitalism gained unbounded scope. Especially disgraceful was the trade in slaves and castrated children which Jewish speculators carried on with the Arab settlements. Under King Egiza (687-701) the situation had become unbearable, and led to a catastrophe. The king attempted to bring over the Jewish capitalists to the Christian Church by the promise of nobility and immunity from taxation, while the refractory were expelled from the country. But it was discovered that the new converts were plotting a revolt with those who had emigrated to Mauretania, a movement which the numbers and wealth of the Jews made extremely dangerous; recourse was then had to measures of the greatest severity. There is no possible doubt that the Jews, as a result of these events, had an important share in the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

Political Power of the Jews

It is, perhaps, idle to inquire how a country and a nation would have developed if an irruption from without had not given a different direction to all its striving after progress; but we may, at least, conclude that, had it escaped the Saracen invasion, Spain, like the rest of Western Europe, would have fallen under the feudal system. Signs already betokened an unavoidable breach between the royal house and the nobility. The nobles attempted to limit the ancient right of the people freely to elect their king, so as to increase the influence of

the upper classes. The clergy strengthened their temporal power, and the stronger among the kings endeavoured to make their position hereditary. Under the corrupting influence of the Roman element in the population even the high morality of the Gothic people gradually degenerated. Before our gaze is unfolded a long series of wars unscrupulously waged, treaties disgracefully concluded.

In France absolute monarchy had finally won the day, while in Germany and Italy total disruption and confusion were the result. Spain, too, it seems, would here have had a worthy task to accomplish in the recreation of European civilisation. But fate willed that it should exert an influence, extraordinary, though transitory, of quite another nature on the history of human civilisation. The fact that the greater part of Spain was conquered by the followers of Islam, and that the old population was not thereby destroyed, produced a brilliant complexity of Roman and Oriental civilisation at the period when feudal chivalry was at the height of its development in the rest of Europe.

Beginning of Arab Invasion

The Gothic kingdom was torn by internal dissensions when the first Arab bands cast longing glances across the strait towards smiling Andalusia, which promised a prize far surpassing any that the wild mountains of Mauretania had to offer. The Arabic general, Musa ben Noseir, had begun the subjection of the district of Mauretania in the year 697, and had, in the main, completed his task after several years of warfare. But his greatest success consisted in the fact that he had inspired a portion of the warlike Berber tribe with enthusiasm for Islam, and had enlisted them under his standard. He had thus created a reserve force, which was to be of the greatest importance in every further undertaking, for upon it Spanish Islam depended for a century, the position of Islam in Spain being untenable without Mauretania.

The rulers of the Gothic kingdom, who possessed some settlements on the African side of the strait, do not seem to have recognised the danger which thus threatened them, although Musa had pushed forward a strong force under his lieutenant, Tarik, as far as Tangier, and had wrested this town from their grasp. It is clear that certain Gothic nobles first aroused in Musa the idea of an invasion of Spain. It would, however, have been quite possible for the Goths, if they had forgotten their internal differences, to have prevented the landing of the Arabs. The town of Ceuta, perhaps the last remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Africa, repelled all Musa's attacks, and an Arab fleet was utterly defeated by the Gothic navy under Theodomir in 709.

The Gothic Empire in Confusion

Unfortunately, the approach of danger found the Gothic Empire in confusion. The king, Witiza, who had reigned since the year 701, was by no means equal to his responsibilities, and in his efforts to restrain the threatening advance of feudalism, had rushed into the extremes of cruelty to which weak rulers are prone. Among other crimes, he caused the duke Theodefred of Cordova to be blinded, and thereby created an implacable enemy in his son Roderick, who apparently took refuge with the mountaineers in the north. Roderick succeeded in collecting a body of Spanish and Gothic adherents and in overthrowing Witiza in 710. But a breach in the Gothic nation was thus brought about which could never be repaired.

The downfall of Witiza was not merely the removal of a man unworthy of rule; a number of important families who had been his supporters lost their power at the same time. Many ambitious nobles considered the new occupant of the throne a usurper, and thought they had an equal right to the crown. In their blind rage they grasped at the first hand which offered help. Emissaries of the defeated faction, among them Witiza's brother, Oppas, the Archbishop of Seville, betook themselves to Musa's camp, and invited him to fight against Roderick. The Arab chroniclers narrate romantic occurrences, such as are born of the popular imagination, which is ever ready to surround the fall of a mighty kingdom with the glamour of legend and fable: the fact is, that the feudal system, with its insatiable lust for power and dominion, a spirit that was destined to flourish so long in the rest of Europe, was in this country the ultimate cause of these events. Musa at once sent a small force under Tarik across the strait by way of trial. Tarik found the representations of the Gothic conspirators true, the country rich and but weakly defended. After his return Musa placed under his command

Goths in League With Arabs

an army of 12,000 men, which was afterwards increased to 17,000. He took no part in the campaign himself, and apparently desired Tarik to do nothing more than gain a firm footing in Andalusia, whereupon he proposed to follow with the main army and to conclude the struggle. In pursuance of this plan, most of the Arabs remained in Africa, and the Berbers formed the majority of Tarik's troops. When he landed, in the year 711, at that rock fortress which since then has borne the name of Tarik's rock (Gibraltar), he met with only slight resistance, as King Roderick had made practically no preparations for defence. With the help of his Gothic allies, Tarik was able to lay waste Southern Andalusia at his leisure.

Arab Victories in Andalusia

At length, the Gothic levies and their Spanish subjects were assembled. In numbers Roderick's army was considerably superior to that of Tarik; and when the armies met in a bloody battle at Xeres de la Frontera, the mailed cavalry of the Goths might have won the victory had not the treachery of Witiza's adherents thrown their ranks into confusion. Thus the fate of the kingdom was decided in one great battle in July 19-26th, 711. The Goths fled in utter rout; their king disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again. The victorious Arabs had no intention of handing over the crown to Witiza's faction, but took possession of Spain in the caliph's name. Musa, whose jealousy was excited by Tarik's brilliant victory, came over immediately, and completed the subjugation of the country.

The history of Islam in Spain appears to be one wild confusion when considered in detail; but when regarded from a sufficiently comprehensive point of view, it resolves itself without difficulty into certain periods and stages, which follow naturally upon one another. After the conquest of the country and the failure of the invaders' attempts to push northward into France, Spain became a member of the Saracen Empire; but its most remote member, and one destined by its position and geographical characteristics to be independent. In fact, the country speedily severed its connection with the central power, and became an independent and miniature caliphate, its organisation being based on the lines of the caliph's empire. The second period coincides with the greatest prosperity of this Spanish caliphate.

Spain part of Saracen Empire

The feudal tendencies peculiar to kingdoms founded on conquest soon manifested themselves. The component parts of the Spanish kingdom kept struggling for greater independence, and, at length, the caliphate became but the shadow of its earlier greatness, while on the north Christian provinces increased in strength, and threatened the small and helpless provinces of Islam with total destruction. Then we see how closely Islam bound Southern Spain to Africa. Twice was the Mohammedan power saved from destruction by the rulers of Morocco, who, seemingly at least, restored the unity of the Saracen possessions. When this help was at last withdrawn, a Moorish kingdom held out for centuries in the mountains of Granada, and succumbed at last to the united attacks of the Christian rulers. The last and saddest period begins with the fall of Granada; it comprises the vain attempts to convert the Moors to Christianity and the despairing revolt of the Moriscos, and it ends with the complete expulsion of the Moors from Spain. Parallel with the progress thus outwardly manifested, there runs a course of development below the surface. From the original mixture of populations there is formed the Moorish people, who finally appear as an ethnological unity, although, in the course of history, they are continually receiving accessions of fresh blood. As we rarely have an opportunity in historical times for observing so closely the formation of new people, the rise of the Moors demands our closest attention. Especially do we see how a common spiritual belief — in this case Islam—can serve as a temporary bond of union until separate groups have coalesced, and differences of language and physique have been modified or have disappeared. The work of unification was finally accomplished by the Arab language.

Making of the Moors

The native Spaniards who remained in the country formed the main stock of the population; they themselves were a product of the blending of Iberians, Kelts and Romans. Many Goths also remained, and if converted to Islam, continued to enjoy a portion of their property and influence; for example, the feudal lords of Murcia sprang from an ancient Gothic family; and upon the fall of the

caliphate, an independent Moorish state arose in Aragon, with Saragossa as its capital, the rulers of which could also boast of Gothic descent. Elsewhere the Arabs simply took the place of the Gothic lords, and were careful not to disturb the tributary native population. Similarly, in the towns, the Spanish inhabitants were, for the most part, allowed to remain.

The Arabs formed the new Spanish nobility. They were the real exponents of the beliefs of Islam and of the policy of conquest connected therewith; but they were not, in any sense, a united body, fighting on behalf of one faith. No matter how far they pushed their brilliant campaigns, to their new homes they brought their racial feuds and family quarrels, and they drew swords upon their own brethren almost more cheerfully than upon the enemies of their faith, being ever ready to avenge old blood-feuds or recent insults. Especially noticeable is the hostility which appears under many names between the pure-blooded Bedouins of Upper Arabia, who generally appear as the Kaisite, or Mahadit, party, and the party of the Jemenites, or Kelbites, which comprised the peasants and town population. Spain saw many a murderous battle of this kind, such as the famous struggle at Secunda in 741, when the Kelbites were defeated. It was chiefly owing to these battles that the Arab element, which had at first preponderated, gradually began to lose ground, not altogether to the advantage of civilisation in Moorish Spain.

The Famous Battle of Secunda

The Arabs had no means of replacing the men they lost; but exactly the opposite was the case with the other race, the Berbers, whose rude power had really brought about the conquest of Spain and who settled side by side with the Arabs in the newly won territory. Repeatedly Spanish Islam became indebted to this people for its salvation, and such assistance invariably coincided with the immigration of a large body of Berbers into Spain. The higher civilisation derived no advantage from them. Intellectual development suffered, in fact, irremediably through the growing influence of the bigoted, fanatical Berbers.

The close connection with Africa, whence came this strong infusion of Berber blood, with its unfavourable results, also occasioned the immigration of a considerable number of negroes, who entered the country as the slaves or bodyguard of the princes, and were gradually absorbed into the new population as it was being formed. They certainly enter into the composition of that motley and brilliant picture of the Moorish period in Spain which imagination so easily depicts; but their influence upon the morals of the nation cannot be described as favourable. The main body of the Moorish population lived in the south of Spain, a region where the overflowing abundance of Nature's gifts tends to enervate even the most vigorous race.

Nature too Kind to the Moors

In Carthaginian and Roman times the inhabitants of Andalusia were the most unwarlike and the most easily conquered of all the peoples in the peninsula; during the period of Islam they retained this unenviable reputation. The rulers of the country could not rely upon the inhabitants, and were, therefore, obliged to organise their armies round a strong nucleus of foreign troops; similarly, at an earlier period the Turdetani had enlisted Celtiberian warriors in their service. These soldiers, who were of most diverse origin, contributed an additional element to the mixture of nationalities. During the period of the caliphate we find numerous "Slavs" in the service of the monarchs. Although all troops enlisted from the north of Europe were known generally by this name, yet we are apparently here concerned with those Slavonic prisoners of war who were taken in large numbers during the conquest and colonisation of Eastern Germany, and were transferred south by the Jews in course of trade. The Jewish traffic in slaves is mentioned by Germanic authorities of the period. Many of these northern soldiers made their permanent homes in Spain under the Moors, and intermingled with the rest of the population. Finally, the Jews, whose lucrative activity has been mentioned above, intermarried but little or not at all with the Moors of Islam; but their numbers and character made them important in another way. They had come in a body into Spain from Morocco in the wake of the Arabs. Those native Jews who had survived the earlier persecutions welcomed the conquerors with open arms. They had every reason for doing so: the

Jews in the Wake of Arabs

era of the Moors in Spain was destined to be for the Jew a period of prosperity, both in the good and bad sense of the word.

In the first period of Islam rule the different streams of population flowed in parallel or transverse directions almost without intermingling. The conquest of the country was quickly accomplished after Musa reinforced Tarik's Berber force with the main strength of the Arab army. Generally speaking, the victors behaved with great moderation, thanks to the commands of the caliph and also to the presence of Gothic deserters in their ranks. Musa and Tarik were guilty of acts of aggression, and were speedily recalled. Subsequently the governors, who set up their residence in Cordova, were changed constantly.

The Caliph's Viceroys Recalled

The Arabs, who had had the least share in the fighting, succeeded in gaining for themselves the lion's share of the booty. They divided the rich province of Andalusia among themselves, and established themselves as the dominant landed class. Very few of them settled in the towns, where Christian and Mohammedan Spaniards lived side by side with the Jews in peace. The Berbers, who had borne the main brunt of the war, received the barren portions of the country, the high tablelands of the interior, the northern frontier — whence they were speedily obliged to beat a partial retreat—and the bare mountains in the south. The Arabs were, for the moment, fairly well satisfied: Musa's army had been largely composed of Jemenites and the old "Defenders," the ancient companions in arms of Mahomet, who had fallen into disrepute at the caliph's court, and now found a refuge in Spain. But this was altered when a fresh wave of Arab immigrants swept into the peninsula.

A terrible revolt of the Berber population in Africa, in the year 741, obliged the caliph Hischam to despatch Arabian troops, under the general Kolthum, against the rebels; he also sent Kaisite Arabs from Syria, whose racial hatred of Jemenites and Defenders had often been displayed with portentous result, and after the bloody Battle of the Meadow had risen to fiercer heat. The African Arabs, who were also Jemenites for the most part, received the army of relief with deep mistrust; many towns closed their gates against the force, and the contingents of indigenous Arabs joined the army much against their will. Kolthum then attacked the Berber army, and was defeated and slain.

Revolt of the Berber Population

His nephew, Baldsch, flung himself into Ceuta with 7,000 Syrian cavalry in the hope of escaping to Spain. He had failed to take into account the racial hatred of the Spanish Arabs. Abdalmelik, who was then governor of Spain, was a fanatical "Defender," and coolly allowed the Arabs to be reduced to the extremities of starvation by the Berbers who besieged them. An unexpected occurrence gave the hard-pressed men breathing space. The news of the revolt of the African Berbers had gone abroad in Spain, and the Berbers of that country, who were disregarded or despised by the Arabs, were stirred to a state of restlessness, which was further encouraged by sectarian fanatics. At length the outbreak came. The entire north of Spain took up arms. At this terrible crisis Abdalmelik resolved to call in the help of Baldsch and his Syrians. A promise was extorted from that half-starved army that they would leave Spain when they had conquered the enemy: they were brought across, fed and clothed, and after several bloody battles the Berbers were completely crushed. Then, however, the inevitable dissensions among the Arabs broke out. A quarrel took place on the subject of the return to Africa. Baldsch seized Abdalmelik, and had him put to death in a shameful manner. Thereupon the Spanish Arabs took up arms, and made common cause with the Berbers. Baldsch gained a victory over them, but died of his wounds in 742. The war continued until the arrival of a new governor put an end to hostilities.

Arab Wars and Dissensions

The new immigrants obtained lands in Murcia, Granada, Malaga, Seville and Jaen. Henceforward, the old animosity between Syrians and Jemenites constantly broke out. Bloody battles were fought, and for a long period these internal dissensions were the predominant feature in the internal history of Mohammedan Spain. By degrees, however, the spirit of party died away under the influence of a new environment, and nothing remained to fight for. The work of reconciliation was completed by the closer fusion of the races.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



RISE OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEST

MISSIONARY ZEAL OF GREGORY THE GREAT

THE roaring waves of the great migrations beat upon a twofold wall; the Roman Empire collapsed before their onslaught, but the Christian Church, though severely damaged, was able to survive the catastrophe. Even while the Teutonic nations in the vigour of their youth were dividing the empire as the spoil of victory, the Teutons were learning to bow the knee in reverence before the Church. It was no longer the Church of a few, a small community of simple-hearted men and women, but was already a widespread organisation. Moreover, it had received into itself the heathen masses, and these had in many places retained much of the spirit of heathenism. Creeds, too, had been formulated, and the early ties of brotherhood had become canonical obedience to the authority of the Church.

The Teutons Accept Christianity

But by reason of its very modifications, Christianity was probably more capable of appeal to these rough nations, as it was less in contradiction with their modes of thought and their natural sympathies. The strength of that antagonism in which every heathen stood to Christianity was further broken in the case of these Teutonic nations by the fact that the migration had torn them from their native soil. The figures of their own gods grew pale when they found themselves surrounded by other mountains, streams and groves than those in which their native gods had hitherto lived. There was a third fact that facilitated the reception of Christianity by the Teutons, notwithstanding their entire hostility to the Roman Empire. When they came into contact with the Christian Church in larger numbers, there existed two absolutely opposed forms of Christianity, the Catholic and the Arian creeds. In the imperial church orthodoxy won the day, and the Arians were regarded as enemies. Hence it was possible for the Teutonic nationalities to accept Christianity and yet to retain their hostility to the Roman Empire; it was thus Arian Christianity which they accepted.

So early as the third century Christianity had been preached even among the Goths, who dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, by Christian prisoners. A Gothic bishop was present at the Council of Nicæa in 325. About thirty-five years later the Gothic bishop, Ulfilas, who had been consecrated in Constantinople, reduced the language of his people to writing and gave them a translation of the Bible. He worked among them for decades, continuously spreading the Arian form of Christianity. When they began their devastating eastern march under Alaric, they plundered and ravaged the remnants of heathenism, but spared and reverenced the Christian sanctuaries. The three days plunder of Rome in 410 was concluded by a solemn procession in honour of the sacred vessels of the Church, which the victors had discovered in a hiding-place. From the Visigoths Christianity passed in its Arian form to the Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi and Langobards.

Three Days' Plunder of Rome

The first of these wandering nationalities to receive the Catholic faith in its pure form was that of the Franks. Chlodwig, or Clovis, had extended the Frankish dominion from the north to the Loire. The heathen conquerors felt that the Christianity and the civilisation of the Romans whom they had conquered had given them an intellectual superiority. The king chose a Catholic Christian as his wife, and she was allowed to have her children baptised; eventually she succeeded herself in converting her husband "to the Catholic law." At the Christmas festival of 496 he received baptism at Rheims, together with several thousands of his people, in great solemnity. It must be remembered that this was the nation which was to take a leading part in the mediæval world. The Bishop of Vienne

Clovis Becomes a Christian

was correct in his prophecy, when, in his congratulations to the king on his baptism, he spoke of Clovis's action as ensuring the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, and of Catholicism over Arianism. The fierce life and death struggle through which the Christianity of the Græco-Roman world had passed would be avoided in this instance, as Christianity had begun by conquering the Teutonic world.

The question, however, remained whether Christianity would not excite struggles of another nature, whether these facile converts would bow to the law of the Church; and the Church could demand no less, now that it had become a legalised educational force. Above all, would the rulers, who had opened Christianity to the masses by their own conversion and their appreciation of the Church, consider that this action had given them rights superior to the Church? It was these rulers who erected sacred buildings and provided revenues for the officiating clergy. Would they not be inclined to consider, upon Teutonic principles, such churches as their own property, and the bestowal of ecclesiastical offices on the clergy as their right? And would the Church admit these claims if they were advanced? Would the Church extend her powers beyond her true limits, and claim supremacy in the political sphere in order to make the interference of laymen in ecclesiastical affairs an impossibility?

For the moment the Church was so entirely occupied by the task of inducing these tumultuous and warlike nations to adopt a friendly attitude towards Christianity that these high objects were left out of sight. If we attempt to gain an idea of the ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in the west at the moment when the migratory peoples came to a halt, some light is thrown upon the situation by the life and work of the most important Roman bishop of that century. Gregory I belonged to a senatorial family and had been prætor in Rome. He was, however, persuaded that the honour and the emoluments of his position turned his heart to wordly things, and he therefore decided to renounce the world. He



BAPTISING THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN CONVERTS IN BRITAIN

It is believed that even before the arrival of St. Augustine in this country with the message of the Gospel there were missionaries of the Christian faith in Britain, and some historians even assert that the preaching of Christianity began as far back as A.D. 60, while Nero was on the Roman throne. At that period the Druids held sway, and most of the inhabitants of these islands were slaves to their barbarous worship. Human victims were frequently laid upon the altars. The Druids strongly resented the introduction of Christianity, and the early missionaries were exposed to great danger.

From the picture by J. R. Herbert, R.A.

expended the large property which he had inherited from his father in the adornment of monasteries, and entered one that he had founded in his own house. By his zealous self-mortification he shattered his health, but this was a matter beyond his consideration.

This was the side of Christianity of those ages which filled with reverential awe the wild nations, who were dominated by sensual passions. When, however, the Roman bishop of the time summoned Gregory from his monastery and sent him to Constantinople as his agent, Gregory obeyed, though with an aching heart. Even at that stage of Christianity simple obedience to the orders of ecclesiastical superiors was regarded as the highest virtue. When he was nominated Pope, Gregory did his best to decline this high dignity. The life of contemplation seemed to him the only life worth living, and he shrank from the gigantic tasks which awaited him as the occupant of Peter's chair.



POPE GREGORY THE GREAT

Gregory I. did not willingly seat himself in the papal chair, for he shrank from the great tasks associated with the high office, and would have preferred a life of contemplation. But he obeyed the call of duty, and did magnificent service in advancing Christianity and establishing it in England.

At that time the political position of a Roman bishop was extremely difficult. Rome was subject to the rule of the distant Greek emperor, who was, however, too weak to protect the city from the menaces of the wild Lombards. These barbarians appeared before the walls of Rome in 592, and the exarch of Ravenna could send no help. To protect the town from destruction Gregory found himself obliged to conclude peace with the enemy. The emperor abused him for his simplicity, and the exarch broke the peace. Once again the enemy appeared before the city. From the treasures of the Church Gregory paid a heavy ransom to avert the sack of Rome. It was his business to see that the troops received their pay, and that the fortifications of the town remained efficient; he ransomed prisoners of war and fed the poor. His resources were provided by the rich estates which the Roman church possessed, not only throughout the whole of Italy, but also in Dalmatia, Gaul, and Northern Africa. These were presents to St. Peter, the "patrimonium Petri," which had enormously increased in the course of centuries, and were largely provided by the last representatives of the Roman nobility, who were anxious to know that their names would be recorded at least in heaven, when they were near extinction upon earth. Gregory husbanded this rich source of income with the greatest care. Hence it naturally followed that the Popes could not confine their efforts to purely spiritual activity; they also became politicians, and were honoured as territorial princes in Central Italy; this was the beginning of the "temporal power."

Gregory had formed a noble conception of his spiritual supremacy; he called himself the servant of God's servants. The words of Christ, "Who among you will be the greatest, let him be the servant of all," were understood by him to mean that the spiritual office was employed in the service of others. He did not, however, conclude from this text that every bishop should serve others, and that the wanderer must follow the man who showed him the right path; he made it his duty to serve all bishops, and he then made it their duty to obey himself. He thus retained the old theory that the Bishop of Rome was master, though master in service, of all other bishops.

Hence, too, his zealous efforts to bring the quarrels of the universal Church before his tribunal for decision. For this reason he was greatly angered by the action of

the Bishop of Constantinople in styling himself an "œcumenical" bishop. In Gregory's opinion, only the Bishop of Rome could have "œcumenical" importance in the Church. When Gregory used every leverage to abolish that title, he considered himself the champion of a great principle and of an ordinance of Christ that was necessary for the maintenance of the Church.

Equally difficult were his relations with the Gallic Church; as the Franks had become Christians without a struggle, they saw no advantage in struggling to remain Christians. Their reckless selfishness, their aggressive nature, which drew the sword on every occasion, their want of control, and their sexual immorality were faults which neither prince nor subject, neither clergy nor laity, attempted to limit. Strong and persevering indeed must be the work that could deepen the religious life of this nation and transform its morality. The task was, however, infinitely more difficult for the reason that, in Frankish opinion, the Church of the country was subject to the secular rulers of the country, rulers whose morality was nothing less than scandalous. Often enough they appointed bishops at their own will and pleasure, and sold ecclesiastical offices as they pleased, in many cases to laymen. The Bishop of Rome was honoured as a successor of the Prince of the Apostles and as the guardian of the unity of the faith; but he was not generally regarded as the ruling head of all Churches, the Gallic Church included.



ST. AUGUSTINE BEFORE KING ETHELBERT

St. Augustine, the great missionary of Christianity, is here represented explaining the doctrines of the Christian religion to Ethelbert, king of Kent, whom he found seated in the open air for fear of magical arts. Later on, Ethelbert became a convert to Christianity, and was baptised.

At the same time this nation was not beyond all hope of reformation; the Franks clearly showed a consciousness of their religious deficiencies. Hence the obvious policy for the Pope was to bear with what could not be altered, to cherish and to extend the organisation of the Church, in order that a comprehensive influence might be exerted upon the whole nation. It was in this way that Gregory attempted to influence the Gallican Church.

He opened correspondence with the rulers of the Frankish state and with individual bishops, but he did not speak as lord of the Church. He was well aware that he could gain advantage here only by representations and advice. Many have been unable to understand how he could send such flattering letters to the "Frankish fury" Brunhilde, praising her "Christian life" and her "love of divine service"; but this Frankish woman gave him many things of which the Frankish Church was in need. She built churches and endowed monasteries, begging the Pope to send her relics and privileges for the latter; she was "full of reverence for the servants of the Church" and "overwhelmed them with honour." With this Gregory remained satisfied when he could secure no more, when he was unable to put an end to simony and to the appointment of laymen as bishops, or, when he could not secure the convocation of synods, to stop abuses. It was first necessary to build the houses in which this rough nation was to be educated, and not until then could the process of education begin.

The greatest and most fruitful work which Gregory undertook was the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Wherever these Teutonic invaders had secured the mastery in England, they had destroyed Roman civilisation and almost every trace of the old British Christianity. In 596, Gregory sent the Abbot Augustine to England with forty Benedictine monks.



ST. AUGUSTINE IN ENGLAND, PREACHING THE NEW FAITH OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE SAXONS AND THEIR RULERS

The missionary enterprise of St. Augustine and his forty monks, who landed in Britain in 597, was crowned with much success, and in a comparatively short time he was able to report to his master, Pope Gregory, the conversion to the Christian faith of over 10,000 of the population. In the illustration St. Augustine is seen preaching to the Saxons, who were worshippers of Woden, regarded by them as chief of the gods. In the work to which St. Augustine had set his hand it was fortunate for him that he had the support of both Ethelbert and his queen, Bertha, the former granting him permission to remain as long as he pleased and to make as many converts as he could. Augustine was the first Archbishop of Canterbury; with his band of monks, apparelled in robes of silk and gold, he entered the city in a solemn procession, a picture of Christ being carried aloft and a silver crucifix borne before him.

Reproduced from the painting by Stephen B. Catlin

In the following year some ten thousand Anglo-Saxons were baptised, and King Ethelbert of Kent a few years later. The Pope directed this mission upon comprehensive principles, with a sure hand and a set purpose; here again he followed out his principle of leaving to the future all that could not be secured in the present.

Anglo-Saxon Church Established

He contented himself for the moment with the actual foundation of the Church. He ordered his evangelists not to outrage the feelings of the heathen by destroying their temples, but to facilitate the conversion of the people by changing the temples into Christian churches, to place relics where the images of the gods had stood, and to transform heathen sacrifices into Christian festivals for the honour of God and his saints.

In his care for the monastic system, Gregory was also looking to the future. The monasteries had suffered severely in the storms of the great migrations. Benedict of Nursia had founded the monastery of Monte Casino in Campania, and had given the monks the famous rule known by his name, which was framed by a wise process of selection from several of the existing monastic rules. In the year 580 the monastery was destroyed by the Lombards and the monks fled to Rome; Gregory then recognised that their rule was more likely than any other to meet with general approval. He therefore placed them in the monasteries which he himself had founded, and his powerful protection secured them victory in every case. It was clear to him that monks and nuns could devote themselves to the life of contemplation in peace only if the monasteries were secured against all molestation by secular and ecclesiastical lords. Formerly, efforts had been made to subjugate the monks to the bishops, that they might not lead unspiritual lives; but this apprehension had passed away, and Gregory therefore sought to make them independent of the episcopal power. Of great future importance were the changes in divine worship, and especially in church singing, which have hitherto been ascribed to Gregory. The mode of singing long customary at divine worship was popularised and subjected to strict rules by Bishop Ambrosius of Milan, who died in 397. Unfortunately we know too little of the nature of this music to understand the reasons which made later change appear desirable. Probably the supposition is correct that the earlier style of singing was, on the one hand, too difficult for the uneducated clergy of that age, and was, moreover, little calculated to impress the barbarous masses and to become an educative force. In consequence, the number of tones was diminished and melodies were simplified, effeminate modulations and changes of time being excluded. In this way ecclesiastical singing acquired a powerful solemnity and a deeply mysterious character. The "Gregorian chant" proved triumphant over all other styles in the West and has survived to the present day. Even in Milan, where the old Ambrosian liturgy is still retained, the style of singing has gradually conformed to the Roman use in course of time. It must be said that modern investigations have at last made it doubtful whether, or how far, these new regulations are justly attributable to Gregory.

What Gregory Did for Divine Worship

Gregory's writings also exercised a great influence. His "Pastoral Rule," which attempted to make the clergy the educators of the people, was so highly prized by posterity that every Frankish bishop on his consecration bound himself to observe the principles of this book. His "Dialogues" were, if possible, more popular; but these were glorifications of the monastic heroes of Italy, and impressed the masses who had been converted to the Church by their numerous stories of miracles, dreams, and apparitions, which would influence only uncultured and superstitious minds. All his writings, indeed, were composed with reference to such minds. For this reason, no other father of the Western world has been so zealously studied.

The Popular Writings of Gregory

Gregory laid the foundation of ecclesiastical teaching in the Middle Ages. He was a pupil of the great Augustine, and in his attempts to popularise his teaching he breathed the whole spirit of his system. To his example was chiefly due the importance attached to the intercession of saints in the mediæval Church, to the penances necessary to avert punishment for sin, and to the sacrifice of the Mass, which was also offered for souls in purgatory. To his influence we may ascribe the fact that the lower motive of fear is so strongly seen in mediæval Christianity, and is but slightly modified by hope and

cheerfulness, that Christian repentance becomes fear of punishment, and is exerted only to escape punishment. Gregory provided a bridge of transition from the old period to the new, from Græco-Roman to Romano-Teutonic Christianity. He handed on, however, only that modified form of Christianity which was in vogue before his time; the deeper principles, though they survived in his own heart, were not emphasised in the new period. Christianity was adapted that it might be the more easily effectual among nations in a low stage of civilisation, and the possibility of its elevation to its former height remained an open question.

Boniface has been called the apostle of the Germans. This title gives him too much credit, and also fails to express his full importance. Others before his time had planted Christianity in Germany, and it is not only Germany that stands indebted to him. When the Anglo-Saxon Church, which Gregory had founded, extended northwards, it came into contact with the Keltic Church, which regarded as its founder St. Patrick, a saint who had left Roman Britain for Ireland about 432. This Irish Church had remained in complete isolation, and had retained certain characteristics of the earlier period; in particular, it lacked that hierarchical organisation which had been developed among the newer churches. It was entirely overpowered by the northward advance of the Anglo-Saxon Church. But before this date it rendered great services to the Continent; it sent the first preachers of Christianity to Germany. In Germany the Christian Church had already made a beginning; remnants of the Christianity of the Roman period had been preserved in the former province of Noricum, while Arian influence had extended to Bavaria and Thuringia. Catholic Christianity might have been introduced here and there by Frankish immigrants; but of missionaries proper the Irish-Scots were the first. We cannot indeed write a history of their work, for but few are known to us by name out of the large numbers who laboured on this difficult soil; and what we hear of them is rather legend than history. Moreover, their achievements were somewhat scanty. The preaching of the gospel was indeed their primary object; they were anxious to secure the respect of the wild heathen for the humility and self-renunciation of the ascetic lives which they led in their miserable cells or in the forbidding monasteries which they had founded, and to induce the surrounding people to make a similar renunciation of the world. They suffered, too, from a defect for which neither their fervent belief nor their moral seriousness could compensate; they knew nothing of organisation. Individual converts they certainly gained, but they were unable to found a church which could survive and extend its influence by organised activity.

The First Missionary in Germany

Enthusiasm of the Great Boniface

The qualities which they lacked were possessed in the fullest measure by the Anglo-Saxon Church, which had been founded directly from Rome. From this church Winfrid, who had been named Boniface by the Pope, started in 715 for Friesland, whither the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord had set out twenty-five years previously. When Boniface met with no success in this difficult country, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and secured the right of missionary work from the Pope. From this point we trace a remarkable distraction of aims in his career. He had no doubt that his foundations could exist only in close connection with the Roman papacy, but in his holy enthusiasm his real object was to lead as many heathen as possible to the living God, and his chief desire was to gain a martyr's death in his work.

The Pope, on the other hand, considered it of supreme importance that there should be no Christians who did not recognise his own supremacy. Hence he attempted to quench the fiery zeal of the bold missionary and to make him a pioneer of papal supremacy. After Boniface had preached Christianity in Hesse with great success, and had destroyed all that was not purely Roman in Thuringia, he returned to Rome, to be sent out by the Pope to the heathen Saxons. The Pope, however, desired first to see the Bavarian and Alamannic Churches subject to the Roman chair. Boniface reluctantly obeyed. In Bavaria he organised four bishoprics, carried out the delimitation of their dioceses and founded monasteries, visited the clergy and purged the ranks of unworthy members. The same organised power was exerted in Thuringia and Hesse until the German Church was firmly

Boniface as the Founder of Monasteries

incorporated with that hierarchical system which centred in Rome. Boniface, who by this time was sixty-five years of age, hoped now to begin his missionary work among the wild Saxons, and again was forced to delay.

Frankish Church in Difficulties

The Frankish Church was on the point of dissolution. Owing to the economic development of the Frankish state, the bishops had become territorial magnates, while their higher education had secured for them an important part in political life. Hence they were involved in constant struggles with the nobles for the supremacy, and in the course of these each party attempted to secure the largest number of episcopal sees for itself. The secular authorities presented or sold ecclesiastical positions to their friends, who naturally cared nothing for the spiritual welfare of their people. In this way the property of the Church was expended, and ecclesiastical organisation trodden under foot ; the clergy were scattered, the monasteries were homes of immorality, and the people were relapsing into heathendom. At that moment in 741, Charles Martel died. He had employed with the utmost ruthlessness the property of the Church, and the presentation of bishoprics as a means to found his supremacy.

His successor, Carloman, immediately resolved "to restore the piety of the Church, which had ceased to exist for some seventy years." For this gigantic task he summoned Boniface, and invited him to hold a reforming synod, the "first Teutonic council" in 742. So averse were the Frankish clergy to a reformation that only six bishops appeared. This, however, was a benefit rather than otherwise. It was now possible, unhindered by opposition, to adopt the most sweeping canons, which were issued by Carloman as his own decrees, and immediately received legal force. The fact that Boniface devoted all his strength to this work of reform is evidence of his great self-renunciation. The work, however, was not carried out as he would have wished, for Carloman was by no means inclined to abandon any of his rights of supremacy over the Church. It was he, indeed, who convoked the synods. The synods, however, were not to issue resolutions, but to offer advice. He then determined the questions at issue, and it was he who appointed bishops, including the Archbishop Boniface.

Carloman and the Church

With even greater independence did Pippin begin his work, when he in his turn resolved upon the reformation of his church. Here Boniface was employed merely as an adviser. He was able, however, to inspire the clergy with a spirit that allowed him confidently to expect that which was unattainable in the present. This was clear at the last synod which he held, in 747. It was attended by many priests, deacons, and suffragan bishops, and by thirteen bishops. They agreed that the archbishop or metropolitan should have disciplinary power over the bishops, and should occupy a position intermediary between themselves and the Pope. All signed this declaration: "We have resolved to maintain our subjection to the Roman Church to the end of our lives, and in every way to follow the commands of Peter, that we may be numbered among the sheep entrusted to his care."

These resolutions were, however, far from becoming the constitutional basis of the Frankish Church, for in practice the princes were still its heads. The future, however, was decided, not by legal texts, but by the prevailing spirit of brotherly community. When Winfrid had first united them with Rome, these same clergy desired anything rather than subjection to the papacy, and the fact that they now showed a real enthusiasm for the papal supremacy was a splendid result of his labours. The wide extent to which the veneration of the papal chair had become operative was manifested by the fact that Pippin could not assume the crown without the Pope's consent. A closer connection between Rome and the Frankish Empire was also secured by the fact that Pope Stephen II. visited Frankland in 752, asked for Pippin's help against the Lombards, solemnly anointed Pippin and his two sons, and received the assistance he required. This success must have repaid the aged Boniface for the many disappointments which he had suffered.

Boniface Killed by the Heathen

He longed only for one thing more, that he might be allowed to conclude his valuable life as a missionary and a martyr. In the spring of 754 he again set out for Friesland, and in June of the following year he was killed by the heathen. The work begun by Pippin and Boniface was completed independently by Charles



THE CROWNING OF PIPPIN AS KING BY ST. BONIFACE

the Great. It seemed as if this superhuman character, Charlemagne, had ascended the throne with a programme ready in his hand, of which one point after another was realised, with no weakness or hesitation.

The Frankish state had now entered into a new relationship with Rome and the papacy. Pippin had become the protector of the districts which he had transferred to the Pope, and questions might arise as to the rights and duties which this position involved. Charles made his way without difficulty. The Lombard kingdom, against the aggrandisement of which the Pope had sought Frankish help, became part of Charles' kingdom, and Rome a city within it. The Pope became his subject, and, as a secular prince, was merely a Frankish vassal. He was obliged to learn a language of which he had previously been ignorant. The King "ordered," and the Pope "fulfilled the royal will."

What, then, were the results of this incorporation of the old imperial city of Rome with the Frankish state? The final act of the new system was the imperial coronation of 800, which had been hanging in the balance since 797. Charles would no doubt have preferred to assume the imperial crown himself rather than



ST. BONIFACE FELLING THE GREAT OAK OF GEISMAR

St. Boniface, the monastic name of Winfrid, the great "Apostle of Germany," was a native of Crediton, Devonshire, and was trained in Benedictine monasteries at Exeter and Nursling. When he went to Rome in 718 he was commissioned by Gregory II. to the heathen nations of Germany, and he laboured as missionary for thirty years. At Hesse, in 724, in his great zeal for the cause of religion, he destroyed many objects of heathen worship, among them, as shown in the illustration, the great oak of Geismar, sacred to Thor, and an idol named Stuffo, on a summit of the Harz, still called Stuffenberg. He founded many churches and convents, and called to his aid priests, monks and nuns from England.

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to receive it from the Pope, and from one guilty of such grievous offences as Leo III. But he wished to be emperor at any cost. Only now in the eyes of contemporaries was Western Europe united under his person. It was a unity far removed from the later theory which regarded empire and papacy as separate forces. Charles was, in his own opinion, master of God's empire, the supreme unity of Church and State.

On the death of Pippin there were some who regarded the Frankish Church as a member of the universal Church, and were willing to place it under the Pope's supremacy. Others wished to maintain it as an independent national Church, subject to the Frankish king, and to reverence the Pope merely as the head of all Christians. Charles extended the Frankish Church under his supremacy that it might be the imperial Church, the empire of God upon earth, in which it was the Pope's part to teach, and his to govern. Thus the unity which Boniface had desired was attained, though by other methods than he had proposed; the whole of the Western Church reverenced the same emperor as their ruler and the same bishop as their teacher. It was a magnificent idea; that it was not impossibly magnificent was proved by the events of the age. Far from sighing under this theocratic supremacy, the Church rejoiced; far from suffering loss, she enjoyed brilliant prosperity.

The succeeding age was to show whether such a kingdom, uniting the secular and the spiritual powers, could succeed under other conditions, or whether it was possible only under Charles the Great, who cared alike for Church and State, and was fully conscious of the needs of both, who pursued his high purposes, whether secular or religious, with indefatigable activity and invincible persistence, and never aroused opposition by misuse of his power or by weak concession, but was inspired by the lofty conviction that his supremacy was derived from God, and that he must wield it in God's service.

Thus the Popes were thrown into the background, and Charles interfered directly in the domestic ecclesiastical affairs of the papal patrimony. There was,



A TYPICAL MONASTIC SCHOOL OF THE CHARLEMAGNE PERIOD

During the reign of Charlemagne a great impetus was given to education. The great ruler, believing that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," did everything possible to encourage a spread of knowledge, and brought teachers from Rome to teach in the public schools. His ultimate object seemed to be national education.



CHARLEMAGNE INTRODUCING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE CONQUERED SAXONS

Inspired by high and noble purposes, the great Charlemagne endeavoured to make the Church a mighty power throughout his dominions, and he aimed at the conversion of the Saxons. This purpose he ultimately accomplished, for after thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church. Charlemagne died in 814.

however, no pettifogging rivalry in his interference, and he considerably raised the prestige of Rome in the Frankish Church. He regarded the Roman Church as the guardian of apostolic tradition, and its bishop as the supreme pastor of Christianity, for which reason the regulations of Rome were to be obeyed throughout the churches of the empire. He, however, was the man who secured this obedience. He appointed bishops or confirmed their nomination, and his laws appeared in the collections of canon law side by side with papal laws and the canons of councils. He it was who convoked church synods, and confirmed or extended their conclusions as he considered wise. Ritual disputes he settled himself after consultation with his imperial assemblies, deciding even against the Pope in cases of necessity, for if this teacher of Christianity inflicted injury upon God's kingdom, then it was the business of God's regent, the emperor, to protect his kingdom.

Such was the case in the quarrel concerning the veneration of images. At the council of Nicæa, in 787, Pope Hadrian II. and the Byzantine Empress Irene had again legalised the veneration of images. Charles decided against them. He argued that the iconoclasm, which had formerly been popular in the East, and the veneration of images, which was now commanded, were alike boundless folly. Images might be permitted to remind worshippers of the Scripture story or for decorative purposes, but there was no necessity for them, and their veneration might inflict no small harm upon spiritual progress. Charles therefore instructed the Pope to reverse this decision. At the Synod of Frankfort, in 794, in the presence of two papal legates, it was resolved "by all the bishops and priests, in virtue of their apostolic authority, and at the command of our pious master, the Emperor Charles, and in the presence of our gracious master himself," to prohibit the veneration or worship of images, and to condemn all who should agree with the conclusions of the Greek synod. The Pope did not venture to protest

The reform begun by Boniface within the Church was continued by Charles with brilliant success, but here again the objects and methods of the two men were divergent. Boniface was anxious to edu ate

the people, but only so long as they lived within the Church and were subject to it. Hence he was particularly anxious to create a powerful hierarchy. Charles desired to educate mankind as a whole, for all its tasks, for membership of the kingdom of God. The ideal before his eyes seems to have been the formation of independent character. Naturally the education of the clergy was of first importance. But as the advanced schools of which he was the founder provided a learned education both for his own children and for many youths of the first families of the empire, so also the laity were to have their share of consideration in other schools. Indeed, his ultimate object must have been national education; for the children, at any rate, an attempt was made to introduce a general system of school attendance, and it was arranged that the children of the poor should be supported by small contributions during their school lives.

Charlemagne's Ideal of Education

Divine service also was not merely to be the outward expression of religious usage, but was to do something for the individual. Hence Charles made preaching in the vernacular the central point of the service, and ordered that a sermon should be preached in every parish church on every Sunday and saint's day. That part of the service which was said by memory was not to be used mechanically, but with understanding. So much is shown by the German commentaries upon the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which still remain to us.

An attempt was made to form a German Bible. Some fragments still survive of the German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel made at that time, which show a real power of penetrating the meaning of the Scriptures. Charles earnestly urged upon his clergy their duty of caring for souls, and, above all, of hearing confessions. It then seemed that the old ecclesiastical system of penance, which had disappeared in the storms of the last century, could no longer be revived. The penalty for open offences consisted in exclusion from the communion of the Church, while readmission was to be secured only by humble atonement, all of which presupposed the fact that communion with the Church should be regarded as a valuable privilege by the individual. At the present moment the clergy were dealing with masses who had not yet acquired love or appreciation for the Church. As they attached little or no importance to church membership, it would be impossible to force them to buy this privilege at the expense of a heavy penance. The Irish saint, Columba, who had attempted from about 584 to reform the degenerate Frankish Church, had endeavoured to influence individual souls by introducing the practice of private confession to the priest. He had drawn up a penitential, which was to instruct the clergy in this very difficult task. This institution was now revived. It is, however, a sign of his deep appreciation of religious conditions that Charles, who demanded a knowledge of the Christian verities from every one of his subjects, did not make confession compulsory. In his eyes it was valuable only when performed voluntarily. Theologians of that age, however, were the more vigorous in insisting upon the great blessings of confession. They taught that every sin could be forgiven if the sinner made the sacrifice of confession to the priest. Whatever opposition was to be expressed later to the institution of confession, it was one which, at any rate, exerted an educative influence upon the people, which aroused a consciousness of the individual's responsibility to God, and of the necessity for forgiveness. Finally, Charles completed the projects of Boniface for the conversion of the heathen, but once again by wholly different methods.

The Place of Confession in the Church

Conversion of the Saxons

The conversion of the Saxons was secured at the price of such appalling struggles that Charles would certainly have been obliged to confine his efforts to defending his own dominions against these threatening neighbours had he not been inspired by the idea of the theocratic king who should make his master's enemies the footstool of his feet. After thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church.

When he ended his energetic life, on January 28th, 814, the Gospels were placed upon his knees, a fragment of the true Cross was laid upon his head, and his sword was girded about his loins. The unity he had attempted to create was soon to be divided, for there is no symbol which can combine the sword and the Gospel.

WILHELM WALTHER



THE LAND OF THE NORTHMEN

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF SCANDINAVIA

THE northern part of Europe, or Scandinavia, consists of Denmark and the so-called Scandinavian peninsula—Norway and Sweden—to which we may add, in a physical sense, the peninsulas of Kola and Finland. The island of Iceland, which has been peopled by the Norwegians, may also be considered as belonging to these northern lands. Scandinavia forms the most north-westerly portion of the European continent; but, thanks to the sea which washes its shores on almost every side, and the influence of the warm Atlantic currents, it has a mild climate in comparison with its high latitude. It is owing to this fact that Scandinavia, although partly an arctic land, is the most productive region in so northerly a situation. Nevertheless, the climate is not alike in all these northern regions; it varies according to the altitude and distance from the sea. Denmark and Western Norway enjoy a climate of insular character, while Eastern Norway and Sweden are continental in their variations of temperature. Denmark, physically a portion of the mid-European plain, is much more cut up by the sea, and consists of two natural main divisions—the peninsula of Jutland and a group of islands. Western and Central Jutland have been little favoured by Nature; on the whole, the soils are unfertile, and the west coast, which is sheltered from the North Sea by the dunes, is without a single harbour, and on that account dreaded by seafarers. East Jutland and the islands are, on the contrary, very fertile, and well watered by small lakes and streamlets; the fiords and bays, which are formed by the sea along the whole coast-line, make, in addition, good harbours. Denmark was formerly covered with rich forests, but is now almost bare of wood; the land lends itself to agriculture and cattle-breeding, and the sea, which surrounds the country on every side, has always been a source of wealth to the country, and has developed the Danes into skilful seamen.

Features of Northern Europe

The Scandinavian peninsula is a continuous range of mountains. In the west, where they reach their highest point—Galdhöppigen, 8,400 feet—they rise almost precipitously from the Atlantic Ocean, and then decrease gradually in height towards the Skager Rack, the Kattegat, and the Baltic Sea, until they sink into lowlands, and further south emerge gradually as the Danish isles. We thus see that Norway, which forms the western portion of the peninsula, is a much more mountainous country than Sweden. The northern range consists almost entirely of primary rocks, and of the oldest and hardest slates, which are not easily disintegrated by the weather, and are therefore covered with only a thin layer of feebly productive soil. The south of Sweden is less barren, owing to the greater disintegration of the rocks.

Norway and Sweden in Contrast

The higher regions of the mountainous areas are fairly level, forming extensive plateaux at different elevations, embossed with prominent peaks and heights, and separated from one another by gorges and deep valleys. These formations are most wonderful on the western side, where the sea has forced its way into some of the deep gorges, thereby changing them into long, narrow fiords, hemmed in by steep rocky walls. From these rocks, at one time well wooded, but now showing only here and there a single tree, gush forth streams, forming magnificent cascades, which are partly fed by the large glaciers covering the mountain heights. The extent of land adapted to agricultural purposes is small, but the grazing and rearing of cattle and sheep form important industries. It is, however, the sea to which the inhabitants now look, as in earlier times, for their livelihood. Ships form the most natural and easy

A Land of Cascades and Glaciers

means of communication between fiord and fiord, and the numerous islands of different size which stretch along the coast afford good harbours and safe navigation.

Further inland, where the mountains fall softly away, the deep valleys broaden out, and plains are gradually formed. The valleys are still well wooded, and watered by streams abounding in fish. There are also many lakes; in Norway, and the northern parts of Sweden these conform to the long, narrow shape of the valleys, while in the central regions, and in the south of Sweden they become larger and broader. Cattle-rearing, agriculture, and trade in timber formed, even in the earliest days, the chief means of subsistence in these parts. Mining is also of importance, as the peninsula is rich in useful minerals and metals; and in the forests there are different kinds of game, which will repay the sportsman for his pains.

Industries of the Scandinavians

Finland, the south-eastern continuation of the northern range of mountains, is a low plateau covered with forests, innumerable lakes and marshes, called by the Finns for this reason "Suomi," that is, Fenland. The coasts, in the west low and flat, and in the south hilly, are backed by cliffs and ridges; the Aland islands in the south-west form a natural link in the direction of Sweden. The wealth of Finland consists in its forests; agriculture and cattle-rearing are also of some importance. There is a scarcity of metals.

The island of Iceland, situated in the North Atlantic Ocean between Norway and America, is a mountainous mass of volcanic origin. Bare peaks tower over wastes of ashes and lava; large glaciers and streams of lava cover wide areas of the interior, and make them quite uninhabitable. Even now volcanic eruptions occasionally take place, and there are numerous hot springs scattered about the island. The north and west coasts are broken up by numerous fiords into peninsulas and islands. The climate is in winter comparatively mild, but in summer rough and stormy; on this account the grain harvest seldom ripens, and there are no forests. There is, however, fine meadow-land, and sheep-breeding is, together with the fisheries, the chief means of livelihood. We do not know to which race the people who first inhabited the northern regions of Scandinavia belonged. From the traces they have left behind, we see that they stood on a low level of civilisation. They were without knowledge of metals, and their weapons and utensils were made of stone, bone, horn, or wood. The country was covered with immense forests in the Stone Age, and the people, who supported themselves by the chase and fishing, lived on the banks of rivers, the shores of lakes, or on the coast, where they obtained means of subsistence.

Iceland. Bleak and Bare

By degrees they began to clear the primeval forests, to engage in cattle-rearing, and to cultivate the land; they also built ships [see page 2368], and came into communication with their southern neighbours, from whom they learned the art of working in metal. The metal which they first learned to use was copper, or, rather, bronze, a mixture of copper and tin, which was exchanged for amber. We learn from weapons and pieces of ornamental work that the civilisation of this Bronze Age reached an advanced stage of development. The rudely executed pictures and drawings which are found cut on rocks and stones also belong to this age, and furnish us with important information regarding the life of that period. Written records of this time are just as rare as those of the Stone Age; and as the language of the inhabitants is unknown, we cannot well determine their racial affinities. Archæologists are nevertheless of the opinion that, since the Stone Age, one and the same race has inhabited these northern regions.

Civilisation of the Stone Age

In the last centuries before the Christian era this northern race first became acquainted with iron, and about that time the old writers—Pliny, Tacitus, who calls the Swedes "Suiones," and others—inform us that the northern peoples of the Iron Age were Teutons. Scandinavia derives its name from the "island" of "Scandia" or Scandinavia (more correctly Scadinavia), which was known to the Romans. From the oldest literary records which the Northmen have left us we learn also that even 500 years after Christ one and the same language, the oldest Scandinavian, was spoken throughout the north, and that this was closely allied to Gothic and German. The runic letters used by the Northmen were borrowed with modifications from the Greek and Latin alphabets, which they had learned through contact with the southern Germans.



THE RIDE OF THE VALKYRIES: A STRIKING SCENE FROM SCANDINAVIAN MYTHOLOGY

According to Scandinavian mythology, the Valkyries are supernatural maidens of great beauty, who, mounted on swift horses, choose the slain in battle for transportation to Valhalla where Odin, greatest of the gods, holds court, and where those who have thus been transported meet together in joyous feasting, Odin's maidens pouring out the mead for them.

From the painting by J. C. Dollman, with the artist's permission

We may therefore conclude that the northern lands, at least since the last centuries before the Christian era, were inhabited by a Germanic race, which probably had gradually worked its way from south to north. Jutland and the Danish isles were the first to become inhabited. After this the Northmen reached Southern Sweden and Norway, and then penetrated further and further, until they gradually came to the Polar seas, where they came into contact with the Ugrian peoples, the Lapps, who even at that time had wandered so far north.

Northmen's History in Legends

It is only after the ninth century A.D. that we have any definite knowledge of the social and political conditions of the north; and that comes to us through the Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish chroniclers. The Northmen themselves begin only about the twelfth century to keep any kind of historical records; their memories of earlier periods were transmitted in the form of oral legends. The social conditions of the north were at that time essentially the same as those of the southern Germanic races during the migration period. The people were divided into freemen and bondsmen. There was really only one class among the freemen, that of the peasants, and they all had equal privileges and duties. There were a few, however, who had gained position and influence, perhaps through illustrious ancestors, personal bravery, or great wealth; indeed, even before this time, more especially in Norway, a nobility had arisen.

The land was as yet little cultivated, and although much importance was attached to agriculture, still, cattle-rearing, the chase, fishing and commerce remained the more important means of livelihood. The peasants in Denmark and Sweden lived chiefly in villages; in Norway, on the contrary, where the natural condition of the country prevented this, in scattered homesteads, as is still the case. Property descended regularly to one of the sons; the others were therefore obliged to seek a maintenance by clearing uncultivated land. The majority, however, preferred to seek their fortune on the sea, and often became sea-robbers, or Vikings, as they were called, because they usually lay in wait in bays (*Vik*) and sounds for the ships of merchants; for the sea was at that time, when natural conditions made travelling by land so much more difficult, the principal high-road of commerce, and thus from early times the Northmen were trained to a seafaring life. They became capable shipbuilders and bold seamen; and thus even at an early period an active intercourse arose between these northern lands and other countries.

Vikings and Their Victims

The Northmen possessed a strong feeling of independence; the highest aim of a freeman was to be his own master. Intelligence and prudence stood high in their estimation, but they did not despise the exercise of cunning; they possessed quick perceptions, made ready and appropriate answers, and for poetry they had a decided aptitude. Strength, courage, and endurance, were valued most of all, and battle was their highest aim. They fought often for fighting's sake, and their desire for battle rose sometimes into real fury, the "Berserker rage." Their customs were wild and rude; when they became enraged they showed a cruel, revengeful, and implacable spirit, and in their passions they were insatiable. On the other hand, their behaviour towards enemies was, as a rule, open and honourable, and they possessed in the highest degree the knightly virtues of good faith and honour. Their institution of "battle brotherhood" is well known; all the members of the brotherhood mixed their blood, and swore to share good and bad fortune with one another for ever. They had a feeling for family life, and in the home the wife was the counsellor of the husband. Indeed, women enjoyed the greatest respect, and occupied in general an independent position, even taking part in public assemblies and the banquets of the men.

Family Life Among the Northmen

Northern mythology is in its origin common to all Germanic races, but it was on northern soil, where it came under the influence of Nature and the characteristic life of the people, that it received its independent development. Our knowledge of this mythology is obtained from the old Norwegian poetry and sagas – from the earlier and later Eddas—folk songs which were collected and written down in Iceland only in the thirteenth century. Thus we are unacquainted with them in their original form. Some of the later investigators are of opinion that the myths contained in these Eddas originated first during the Norman period, under the influence of a baptised people, the Anglo-Saxons and



IDUN'S APPLES: THE SECRET OF ETERNAL YOUTH

This beautiful illustration represents a highly-cherished feature of Norse mythology. Idun, the goddess personifying the reviving year, was the keeper of the golden apples which brought eternal youth to the gods. The story goes that Idun was carried off by Thiassi—winter—and imprisoned, but when spring came, she made her escape in the form of a bird.

Reproduced from the painting by J. Doyle Penrose with the artist's permission

Irish, and do not represent the religious aspects of an older period and a peaceful people, but the ideas of the Vikings, whose ideal was a life passed exclusively in warfare.

The Gods of the Northmen

According to the Eddas, the gods, "the Ases," dwell in Asgard, in the centre of the world. From this dwelling-place a bridge, "Bifrost" (the rainbow), leads to Midgard, where mortals live; towards the north lies the cold Jotunheim, the home of the giants, or Jotnen, the enemies of the gods. The highest of all the gods is Odin. His dwelling-place is "Gladsheim," with its hall Valhalla, where he holds his court, and where those who have fallen in battle meet together in joyous feasting, the Valkyries, Odin's maidens, pouring out the mead for them. Tyr is the god of war; Thor, the god of thunder; Balder, the god of all goodness and wisdom, of purity and innocence; Brage, the god of poetry; Heimdal, the guardian of the Ases; Njord and Frey, gods of fertility and peaceful occupations. Among the goddesses may be mentioned Frigga, Odin's wife and the goddess of marriage; Freya, the goddess of love; and Idun, whose apples brought eternal youth to the gods. The gods are always at war with the giants. Through the malice of Loki, the holy Balder loses his life. The time has come when violence and evil penetrate to the world, its end draws near, and will finally take place at Ragnarok, at the last battle between the gods and the giants. A new and beautiful world will afterwards arise, in which Good shall rule. The gods were worshipped by sacrifices, which were offered under the open sky, in sacred groves and by holy springs, or in temples. The principal places of offering in the oldest times were Leire, in the neighbourhood of Roskilde in Zealand, Upsala in Sweden, Maren and Skiringssal in Norway. There was no distinct priestly class; every man offered sacrifices for himself and his family. The king or chief, who, in his capacity of sacrificial priest, was called "Gode," offered sacrifices for the whole nation.



A FAMOUS WOODEN CHURCH IN NORWAY
This wooden church of Borgund, pagoda-like in its style, situated in the mountainous Norwegian district of Sogne, forms one of the most remarkable and characteristic monuments of mediæval Norwegian architecture.

The Northmen were divided into several main tribes: Denmark and Scania were inhabited by the Danes; Southern Sweden and the coasts of the large lakes Wener and Wetter by the Goths (Götar), who were separated by great forests from the Svear, who lived in Central Sweden; Norway was inhabited by the Norwegians. These tribes were subdivided into "folks," each of which had its own political organisation. The district belonging to a "folk" was called "land" or "landschaft" by the Danes and Goths, "folkland" by the Svear, and "fylke" by the Norwegians. The "landschaft" consisted of several "harden" (herred, hundred), comprising the estates of those families who had formed the original basis of society in that district. At the head of the harde stood the "herse," who was president of the herreds-ting, in which the peasants drew up their laws, passed resolutions, and decided lawsuits. The landschaft also had its assembly (fylkes-ting) where affairs which concerned the whole landschaft were settled; in this assembly one of the chiefs—in Sweden the "lagman"—was president. If war was declared, the peasants chose a leader, and from this institution the kingship gradually developed. The king, or *konungr*, was originally the leader of a band of five warriors, who had sworn fidelity to him. With this band of followers he undertook military expeditions in order to win renown and wealth. If he

How the Kingship Developed



CHARACTERISTIC SCENES OF NORWAY'S MOUNTAINS AND FIORDS

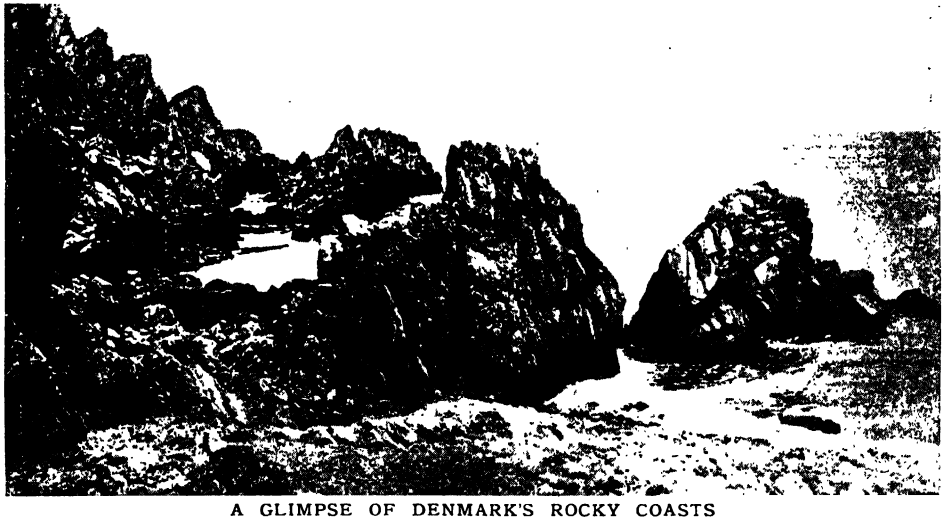
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was successful in this he rose in the estimation both of his followers and of his countrymen; he became the leader of the national host. His influence increased also in the assembly; he became king of the landschaft. As a rule, his office was inherited by his sons, and in this way royal families had their origin. The kingship was at first very limited with respect to locality. Ambitious kings, however, were not contented with a landschaft, but contrived to extend their domain by violence or by other means. Yet local autonomy continued in force. The power of the king was virtually limited to leading the army in time of war, defending the country, superintending law and justice, and offering sacrifices to the gods of the people.

Limits of the King's Power

We do not know when the Danish and Swedish kingdoms were founded. According to legend the Danish kingdom, which had its royal residence at Leire, was founded by Skjold, the son of Odin, and on this account the old Danish kings were called Skjoldunger. The Swedish kingdom is said to have been founded by the god Yngve-Frey, the founder of the race of Ynglinger. Norway remained divided up into small kingdoms longer than the other northern countries. There the "fylkes" were not united into one state until the end of the ninth century. Before the ninth century A.D. little or nothing was known in the south and west of Europe concerning the northern peoples. But about the year 800 the Northmen, who were too cramped in their own land, began to visit the countries in the west of Europe. Soon every sea was covered with their fleets, and scarcely any European coast was free from their plunderings.

The chief cause which drove out the Northmen from their native country was poverty. The Viking expeditions were therefore originally nothing more than pirate raids undertaken for the purpose of earning a livelihood. In accordance with the Norse view of life and religion, it was more honourable to earn a livelihood by the sword than by the plough. The Viking life was to them a lawful and glorious profession of arms, which was practised by their noblest men and even by their kings. The exploits of the Vikings were admired by the people and glorified by their poets; only he who had fallen in war was received by Odin into Valhalla.

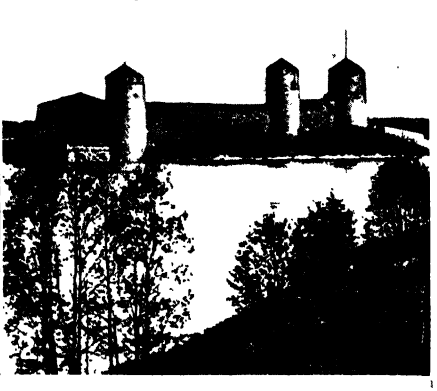


A GLIMPSE OF DENMARK'S ROCKY COASTS

The political situation in the north was another cause of the emigrations. In Denmark in the ninth century two royal families were struggling for the supremacy; victory fell now to one, now to the other, and the conquered claimants, who were compelled to leave the country, tried to establish new empires in foreign lands, or at least to win for themselves wealth and glory. About the same time Norway became united under one king and many princes left their homes to preserve their freedom, since they would not tolerate the authority of a superior.

The Glorified Vikings













'THE LAND OF A THOUSAND LAKES": TYPICAL VIEWS OF FINLAND

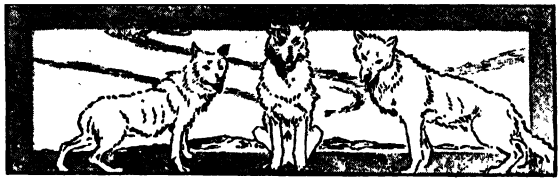
1, Rantaseutu Lake; 2, Nyslott Castle, Olofsborg; 3, The breaking away of an immense ice-floe in the Gulf of Finland; 4, Taipale on the Saima Canal; 5, Hameenlinna Lake, Tavastehus; 6, The Imatra waterfall



A KING'S DISGUISE: ALFRED IN THE CAMP OF GUTHRUM, THE DANISH CHIEF

This famous picture depicts Alfred, the heroic king, in the midst of his dreaded enemies. Long before Alfred's time the Danish plunderers had landed in England and completely held in their hands the north-eastern portion. Alfred had only part of the country under his governance, but his wise and good rule had so roused the patriotism of his people that they offered a stubborn resistance to the invading army. Disguising himself as a minstrel, in 878, and accompanied by only one servant, it is said that Alfred made his way to the camp of the powerful Danish chief, Guthrum, and delighted the Danes by his skill in singing and playing the songs of his native land. On returning to his own people he at once assembled all his available forces, and fell upon the Danes with such good effect that they had to sue for peace

From the design by Herbert A. Bone, executed in tapestry, by permission of Mr. Antony Gibbs



GREAT DAYS OF THE NORTHMEN

THE RAIDS & CONQUESTS OF THE VIKINGS

THE Northmen were far superior in strength, courage, deeds of arms, and seamanship to the peoples whom they attacked. Moreover, England, Ireland, and the Frankish Empire were at this time weakened by internal strife. It was this fact which ensured the great success of the pirates. At first they appeared only in small bands, landed on the coasts, which they laid waste with fire, and then departed with their booty. When they saw that they encountered little or no resistance, they became bolder. Large armies were formed, which had their own laws and were generally commanded by several chieftains who were equal in power. They carried on their warfare according to a settled plan, and were no longer satisfied with plundering the coasts. They spent the winters in the estuaries or on islands lying off the coasts. In summer they sailed up the rivers far into the interior, which they devastated, plundering chiefly churches and monasteries, where they knew they would find the richest booty. At last they made it the object of their conquests to provide a new home for themselves; they accordingly settled in the land they had conquered and founded new states. Then the raids ceased; the fierce pirates accepted baptism; savage warfare gave place to peaceful activities, agriculture, commerce, and navigation. As Normans, they blended with the native races, to whom they imparted new strength and whom they influenced in many ways.

Pirates Baptised and Civilised

All three of the northern peoples—the Swedes, the Danes, and the Norwegians—took part in the expeditions of the Northmen. The districts which they infested were the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the countries adjoining the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea.

After the Swedes had for some time been visiting as pirates and merchants the countries of the Baltic Sea, which were inhabited by Slavonic and Finnish races, they settled shortly after the middle of the ninth century on the coasts of the large Russian lakes, where they founded an empire called "Gardarike," with its capital "Holmgard" (Novgorod). According to the Russian chronicler, Nestor, the circumstances were as follow: The Warjager, or Waräger, Swedes from the country on the other side of the Baltic Sea were accustomed to go to the races, living on the large lakes, and levy taxes. But in 861 these races refused to pay, and drove out the Waräger; they wished to rule themselves, but soon became disunited. Family arose against family, and war broke out everywhere. Then they summoned the Waräger again into the country in 862 to make peace. The three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truwor, from the Warägian tribe Rus, or Ruotsi, advanced with a troop of Warägers across the sea and settled in Novgorod, Belosersk, and Isborsk. As Sineus and Truwor died shortly afterwards, Rurik became sole ruler in the kingdom, which had received the name "Russia" from his tribe. Some of Rurik's warriors advanced further south, marched down the Dnieper, and founded a kingdom in Kiev, which was conquered in 882 by Rurik's successor, Oleg.

The Swedes Found an Empire

Soon the Warägers extended their raids as far as the Black Sea. At the beginning of the tenth century they had even sailed past the Crimea to the Sea of Azov and down the river Don; they then dragged their ships overland to the Volga, sailed down this river to the Caspian Sea, the coast of which they laid waste, and then returned laden with booty. The Russian kingdom stood for a long time in friendly relations with the northern countries and their princes, and the Russian princes often employed Northmen in their services. These friendly relations did not

Northmen in the Service of Russians

cease until the Swedish element had gradually succumbed to the Slavonic, and the kingdom at the end of the eleventh century had become purely Slav.

It is true that the Swedes have not left any perceptible traces in modern Russia. Still, their immigration was of great importance; for through them the Finnish and Slavonic races, which had been at variance, were united for the first time in one empire, and by the communication which was opened up between Russia and the west of Europe the commerce, wealth, and power of Novgorod in particular were advanced. It was also through the Russian kingdom that the Northmen came into contact with the Byzantines. Many Northmen entered the services of East Roman emperors as auxiliaries; after the middle of the eleventh century they were admitted to the imperial bodyguard. At Byzantium they were called Varangers. "The axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay in the Byzantine Empire they have left the runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens. It is probable that these inscriptions of the Swedish Varangers in the second half of the eleventh century were carved in honour of a northern chieftain who had fallen in Greek waters. As early as the end of the eighth century the Norwegians came

Norwegians in Scotland

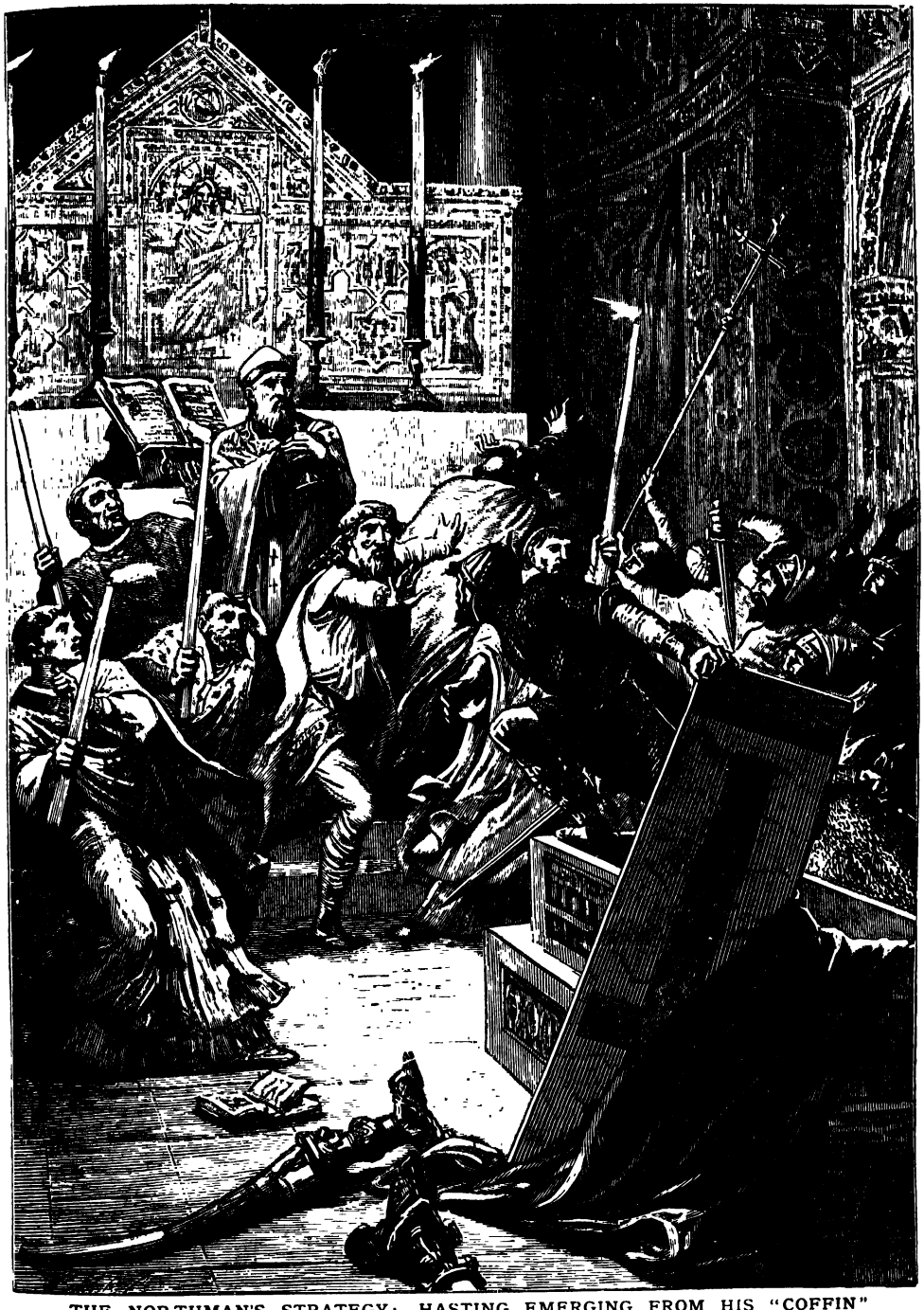
to the islands lying off the north and west coasts of Scotland—the Faröe, Shetland and Orkney Islands, and the Hebrides. These islands, however, were then barren and unattractive, and served at first in reality only as starting-points for more extensive expeditions. The Norwegians sailed along the rough and desolate western shores of Scotland, founded several settlements, and then crossed over into Ireland. This island was at that time divided into several small kingdoms, the rulers of which were constantly at strife. The Ardrigh, or High King, had not enough power to control the restless people and the strife-loving chieftains. These divisions facilitated the advance of the Northmen, inasmuch as the Irish were too deficient in ships and seamanship to prevent their landing. In the first half of the ninth century the Norwegians, who were called by the Irish Lochlannoch (the men from the country of lakes), Fingalls (the white strangers), or Ostmen, settled on the east coast; in 838 they conquered Dublin, which they fortified strongly. The whole country was devastated, monasteries and churches were burnt, and Thorgisl, the leader of the Norwegians, became ruler of almost the whole island. After a few years, however, he was murdered. The Irish rose and drove out the foreigners. But these soon came back, and in 852 the Norwegian chieftain, Olav Hvite, founded a kingdom in Dublin; at the same time Norwegian kingdoms were established in Waterford and Limerick. The Norwegians built strong fortresses everywhere in order to secure their rule. For several years the kings of Dublin had to resist the attacks of the Irish, who, although their efforts were sometimes favoured by fortune, tried in vain to drive out the foreigners. About the middle of the tenth century the conquerors threatened to destroy the independence of the island. "They set up," narrates an old chronicler, "in every province a king, in every district a chieftain, in every church an abbot, in every town a bailiff, in every house a soldier, so that the men of Erin are no longer masters of their property. No one dares to show generosity or

Dublin Conquered by Northmen



THE FAMOUS LION OF THE PIRÆUS

In the eleventh century "the axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" entered the Byzantine Empire, where they were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay they left the runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens.



THE NORTHMAN'S STRATEGY: HASTING EMERGING FROM HIS "COFFIN"

The most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century, Hasting plundered France for several years, and then undertook a journey to Italy with the intention of conquering Rome and securing the wealth which it contained. Driven ashore by a storm near Sarzana on the Magra, he took the town by stratagem, thinking it to be Rome. Pretending to be on a peaceful mission, he was admitted into the town and baptised at the hands of the bishop. During the following night loud lamentations were heard proceeding from the ship of the chieftain, and it was reported that Hasting was dead. He was taken ashore for burial, and the bishop was just about to conduct the funeral service when Hasting sprang from the bier, and, with the assistance of his armed followers, first slew the bishop and the governor, and then attacked the town, capturing it after terrible slaughter of the inhabitants.

tenderness to father or mother, to bishop, to lord temporal or spiritual, neither to the sick nor miserable, not even to a new-born child. If an Irishman has only one cow, he must give the milk to the soldier, so that he gets no milk for himself."

Ireland's King Falls in Battle

The struggle continued. The Irish succeeded in gaining some victories over the hated foreigners, but they were not able to rid the land of the intruders. The most celebrated of those victories is that of Clontarf, fought in the neighbourhood of Dublin on April 23rd, 1014, which the Irish remember with pride to this day. Brian Borumha, High King of Ireland, had collected a large army and advanced towards Dublin, while the Norwegians in the town had obtained auxiliary troops from their countrymen dwelling in the Scottish islands. It was a desperate struggle, and both armies fought with great bravery. The old king Brian fell on the battlefield, but his army was victorious and the Norwegians sustained heavy losses; no fewer than 6,000 perished in the battle.

This victory did not alter the situation in the island; internal strife did not cease. It is true that the Norwegians abandoned the hope of subduing the Irish, but they remained in the country. Occasionally, when it was to their advantage, they did homage to the Irish kings. Thus matters continued till the twelfth century, when Henry II. of England, who for some time had been turning his attention to Ireland, interfered in the disputes of the two nations. On being asked by an Irish king for help, he permitted Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) to cross to Ireland, and the latter conquered Dublin in 1170. The last Norwegian king was forced to flee, and when he attempted in the following year to regain his kingdom, he was taken prisoner and killed. Shortly after this, King Henry himself crossed and entered Dublin. Thus ended the rule of the Ostmen in Ireland. They had not, however, entirely disappeared from the island, but remained living principally in those towns where, as peaceful citizens, they busied themselves with commerce and navigation. For a long time they preserved their nationality, since they formed separate and organised communities. At the present day we find a trace of them in the name of part of the town of Dublin—Oxmanstown = Ostmantown; that is, the town of the Eastmen.

Norwegian Dominion at an End

The Irish and Norwegians were too dissimilar in character, manners, and mode of life to blend quickly. Moreover, they lived for the most part separated from each other—the Norwegians in their fortified towns, the Irish in the country; in addition, the hatred of the Irish for the foreigner kept both nations estranged. In spite of this, they influenced each other in various ways. The influence of the Irish on the Norwegians has, perhaps, been exaggerated. But it is indisputable that in the provinces of fiction and art the Norwegians learned much from the Irish, and attempts have even been made in modern times to prove that many of the northern sagas of the gods and of heroes had their origin in the tales which the Northmen heard from the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons.

The Norwegian form of the temple, the "Hov," is, it is believed, a copy of the Irish churches. On the other hand, the Irish are indebted to the Ostmen for the advancement of their municipal life. It might almost be asserted that the Norwegians were really the founders of the Irish towns; it was first owing to the Norwegians, who were not only capable soldiers but also enterprising merchants and navigators, that commerce and navigation, along with agriculture and farming, became important branches of industry for the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle.

Founders of the Irish Towns

The Norwegian rule lasted longer in the Scottish islands and in the Faröe Islands than in Ireland. As has been mentioned, the Norwegians had settled on these islands about the year 800. In the tenth century they founded a kingdom of the Hebrides, in which they ruled over a Keltic population, and another in the Isle of Man; this was ruled by the king of Norway after 1100, and was not surrendered to Scotland till 1266. Tynwald Hill, near St. John's, on the west coast of the Isle of Man, was the Tinghill, which was the seat of legislation and justice for the few islanders who still hold a unique position under the British crown. To the present time the spot recalls the independence of the island when it formed a part of the Norwegian kingdom.

The Orkney and Shetland islands, where a few Kelts still remained, had for a long time been favourite retreats of the Vikings. The number of the invaders steadily



BAPTISM OF ROLLO THE PIRATE CHIEF

As head of the pirates who ravaged the Seine, Rollo, known also as Rolf, was much feared. In order to secure peace for himself and his people, Charles the Simple determined to surrender to the Northmen the country on the Lower Seine and a treaty was concluded between the two men at St. Clair sur Epte in 911. Receiving as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, Rollo swore an oath of fidelity to the king, was baptised and received the name of Robert.

increased, especially after Harald Fairhair had become sole ruler of Norway in 872; in this way the islands gradually became populated by Norwegians. As these emigrants began to pillage the coasts of Norway King Harald crossed over to the islands and made them subject to him. Later the islands were ruled by a Jarl (the "Orkney-Jarl") appointed by the Norwegian king.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they came into closer contact with Scotland. The Jarls had fiefs in Scotland. Scots settled on the islands, and the Scottish language came into use alongside of the Norwegian. The Norwegian supremacy was, however, still acknowledged, and a constant intercourse with Norway was maintained. In 1469 the islands were mortgaged as dowry of Margaret to James III. of Scotland, and remained ever after in the possession of the Scottish crown. The inhabitants no longer have their own laws and privileges. The Norse language has disappeared, and only the place-names recall the former rulers. In the eighth century Irish settlers had emigrated to the Faröe Islands. They departed, however, after the arrival of the Northmen, who took possession of the islands and called them the Faröe—that is, sheep-



PARIS BESIEGED BY THE NORTHMEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY

This representation of the siege of Paris by the Northmen illustrates in a striking manner the original form of the famous capital of France. That portion of the town known as the Ile de la Cité, a small island in the middle of the Seine, on which the cathedral Notre Dame stands, was originally the entire city. It is still the core of Paris, but, of course, represents only a tiny portion of the immense city which now spreads in every direction from the banks of the river, and is connected with the ancient island by numerous bridges. On the south side of the river, now known as the Latin Quarter, were the headquarters of Roman Paris (Lutetia), the residence of the governor, still partially preserved in the Cluny Museum, being there situated.



A SCENE FROM THE GREAT SIEGE OF PARIS BY THE NORTHMEN IN 885

Islands, from the numerous sheep that had been left behind by the emigrants. Various chieftains ruled over the islands. More important affairs were decided at the people's assembly, or ting, at Thorshavn.

The islands remained in constant intercourse with Norway, and several distinguished inhabitants served Norwegian kings, who tried to bring the islands under their rule. They succeeded in doing this in 1035, and the Faröe Islands belonged to Norway till 1814, when Norway was separated from Denmark; the islands remained with Denmark and were incorporated with this kingdom in 1849. After the loss of their freedom the prosperity of the islands declined. Intercourse with the outer world gradually ceased. Voyages, especially for trading purposes, became less frequent, and the commerce upon which the welfare of the islanders to a great measure depended passed into the hands of foreigners and was not regained until 1856. From that time a new and happier time began for the islanders.

The language, which was old Norwegian, has survived in several dialects which in their grammar bear most resemblance to Icelandic, in pronunciation and vocabulary to modern Norwegian dialects. The inhabitants of the Faröe Islands have not preserved in writing their sagas and songs, like the Icelanders. They have no old literature in the real sense of the word; yet the islanders possess a rich treasury of folk-songs, which have been orally transmitted and have been published in modern times. These songs for the most part tell of old Icelandic myths of the gods and heroes, and are derived from other Icelandic sagas and Norwegian folk-songs.

It was Naddodd, a colonist from the Faröe Islands, who discovered Iceland, in 867. On a voyage from Norway he was driven by storms far towards the north-west, and came to the shores of a large and mountainous country. He landed and climbed a high hill, from which he looked round in vain for traces of a dwelling-house. As he was leaving the land it was snowing, and on this account he called it Snowland. Not long afterwards the land was discovered to be an island, and received the

name Iceland from Floke Vilgerdsön, who spent a winter there in 870. From 874 onwards Norwegian emigrants began to settle on the island, where they found a safe retreat.

From Iceland the Norwegians went to Greenland and America. The discoverer of Greenland was Erik Röde, who was compelled to leave Norway owing to a charge of manslaughter and sailed to Iceland. On being outlawed there he attempted to reach a country which had been seen to the west of Iceland. He discovered it about the year 985 and called it Greenland, in order to entice others there by the name. Several settlers arrived on the south-west coast, where they lived by fishing and cattle-breeding. About the year 1000 they were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians, and a century later received a bishop of their own, whose diocese was in Gardar, in the Igalikofjord, near Julianehaab; two monasteries were also founded there. The colony preserved its independence for a long time, but submitted in the thirteenth century to the king of Norway. For some time intercourse between the two countries was maintained, but after the devastation caused by the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century communication gradually ceased. The colonists, left to themselves, lacked everything; at the same time they were exposed to the incessant attacks of the Esquimaux, who were pressing towards the south, and to whose attacks the colonists finally succumbed. When the Danes resumed intercourse with Greenland, in the eighteenth century, they found that there were no longer any Norwegians there; a few ruined buildings are the only traces of the Norwegian colony.

How Greenland was Discovered

Erik Röde had a son called Leiv, who sailed from Greenland to Norway, where he spent the winter of 999–1000. Early in the year he wished to return to Greenland, but, losing his course on the return voyage, he wandered for a long time on the sea until at last he discovered a land which he had never seen before. This land was beautiful to look at: there were rich meadows, vines and wheat grew wild, and there was a quantity of salmon in the water, but he did not see any human beings. Leiv arrived safely at Greenland in the autumn, and described the country which he had discovered and which he called Vinland on account of the vines which he found there. It was decided to examine the country more thoroughly. In the following year Leiv's father and brother sailed from Greenland but their voyage was unsuccessful, for the wind was contrary; they were driven first towards the north-east, then towards the south-east, and were forced to return to Greenland without having accomplished anything.

Lost Voyager Finds a New Land

Two years afterwards—in 1003—a new expedition was organised for the purpose of colonising the land. A hundred and forty colonists, among whom were some women, sailed on these ships under the leadership of an Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsevne, who had come in the preceding year to Greenland and had married there. On the voyage Karlsevne discovered two countries, which he named Helleland, that is, Stoneland, and Markland, that is, Woodland, and finally he arrived at Vinland. There the colonists settled, but they were not destined to remain long. They encountered natives and began to barter with them. Soon, however, they quarrelled with the Indians, or "Skraelings"—that is, weaklings—as they called them; moreover, they were at variance among themselves. After three years this attempt at colonisation was abandoned, and in 1006 the Northmen returned to Greenland. The countries which they discovered were, according to the most recent investigation, Labrador (Helleland), Newfoundland (Markland), Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia (Vinland). With this expedition attempts at colonisation in Nova Scotia were abandoned. Soon the course to the new country was forgotten. We do not know why the Northmen so soon gave up their new discoveries; perhaps the difficult voyage disheartened them, or else the produce which they could have brought home from there was not worth the trouble and the danger.

Discoveries of the Northmen

While the Norwegians were colonising new countries on the North Atlantic, battling more with the raging of the weather and the boisterous elements than with human opponents, the richer south was infested chiefly by the Danes. As early as the reign of Charles the Great the Northmen appeared on the shore of the Frankish Empire. Charles, who was



ROGER GUISCARD, CONQUEROR OF THE ARABS, LANDING IN SICILY

The youngest brother of the great Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Roger made many friends by his attractive looks and elegant manners. On his first arrival in Italy he was compelled, through lack of means, to support himself by the acts of a common robber. Roger overthrew the Arab hordes in a war that lasted from 1061 till 1090, and wrested from them the island of Sicily; he obtained the title of Count of Sicily, with undisputed possession of the island.

fighting against the Danish king Gottfried, took various precautionary measures for the defence of the coasts, but these were not rigidly maintained. Not long after his death the coasts of Friesland and Flanders were exposed to the attacks of the Northmen; several towns were plundered by them, among others the wealthy commercial town of Duurstede, or Dorestad, on the Rhine. Later they made use of the quarrels between the sons of Louis the Pious to establish themselves by force in Friesland and Flanders. Already at that time they were laying waste the coasts of France. They penetrated up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne to the centre of the country, plundered towns and monasteries, carried away men and women of noble birth into captivity, and then returned to the river mouths. Everywhere they spread terror and panic, in the churches men offered the prayer, "Libera nos a furore Nortmannorum, O Domine!" or, in English, "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord, deliver us." But scarcely anywhere were vigorous precautions taken to drive out the dreaded foe.

From the coasts of France the Northmen crossed to Spain about the middle of the ninth century; they attacked Galicia, and then turned upon the Moors in the south, besieged Lisbon, sailed up the Guadalquiver, conquered



THE DREADED DANES: A SUDDEN DESCENT ON THE COAST OF NORTHUMBERLAND Under the command of their powerful sea-kings, the Danes, at uncertain intervals, harassed England for several centuries, and as the country was unprovided with proper defences, the entire coast was subject to their inroads, and the people were kept in a constant state of unrest and alarm. The illustration represents a sudden descent of these dreaded plunderers off the coast of Northumberland about 787. The boats from the Danish ships, filled with wild figures that leap into the surf, are already running ashore, while the terrified inhabitants are hurriedly erecting fortifications.
From the fresco by William Bell Scott



THE DANISH INVASION OF ENGLAND: A SCENE OF A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

In the spring of 877 the Danes embarked in 120 vessels at Wareham, and proceeded in a westerly direction to the aid of their beleagured countrymen in Exeter. The elements, however, were against them. For a month the frail ships were tossed about on the stormy sea, unable to find a landing spot anywhere, and when King Alfred's warships appeared on the scene the opposing fleet was not able to defend itself. Striking on the rocks off Swanage, the greater number of the vessels were broken to pieces. The Danes who escaped the waves fell victims to the Saxon warriors.

From the picture by Herbert A. Bone

the suburbs of Seville, where they gained rich spoil, and laid waste the Balearic Islands, and even the north coasts of Africa. Later they renewed their attacks on Moorish Spain, but had not the same success against the Moors as against their other opponents. The Arabs were bold and capable sailors, and successfully engaged both on sea and land with the Northmen, whose ships were at that time fitted up for transport, and being overloaded with warriors and goods were little suited for naval warfare.

Hasting is the most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century. After plundering France for several years, he is said to have taken a journey to Italy for the purpose of conquering Rome, of whose greatness and wealth he had heard. He was driven by storm to Luna—now a ruin, near Sarzana on the Magra, in the neighbourhood of Carrara —and by a stratagem took possession of this town, which he thought was Rome. He sent a messenger to the bishop and governor of the town to say that he had been driven there by storm on his homeward journey, that his intentions were peaceful, and that in addition he was lying seriously ill and humbly begged to be baptised. The bishop and governor, rejoicing at the news, assured him of peace and of their friendship. The gates of the town were opened to him and to his people; he himself was carried into the church and baptised, and afterwards borne back to his ship. In the following night loud lamentations were heard among the strangers. It was reported that Hasting was dead, and it was now the duty of the church to bury him. A funeral procession was actually formed in which Hasting was carried like a corpse on a bier. The bishop was just about to perform the office for the dead when Hasting sprang from the bier, threw off the grave-clothes, and appeared in full armour. His followers in like manner let fall their

mantles which concealed their armour. Hasting slew the bishop and the governor; his followers began a terrible slaughter and took the town, which they then discovered was not Rome. As they had no prospect of further conquests, they determined to return to France. In the meantime other Northmen continued their attacks on France, and nearly reduced the people to despair. It is said that "France had never seen greater tribulation; no one dared to leave the fortified towns; no man slept soundly at night on his couch." The Northmen burst like a storm where they were least expected, killed the priests, dressed themselves in the vestments which they had robbed from the altars, dragged away young and old, outraged women and girls, drove away the cattle, and burned everything that they could not carry away. Only a few dared to offer resistance, among them the brave count, Robert the Strong, the progenitor of the Capets, who was extolled by the chroniclers as the Maccabæus of France, and who met with a glorious death while fighting against the Northmen in 867. A few of the invaders were destroyed, but this availed little, for they were always replaced by others.

France in Great Tribulation

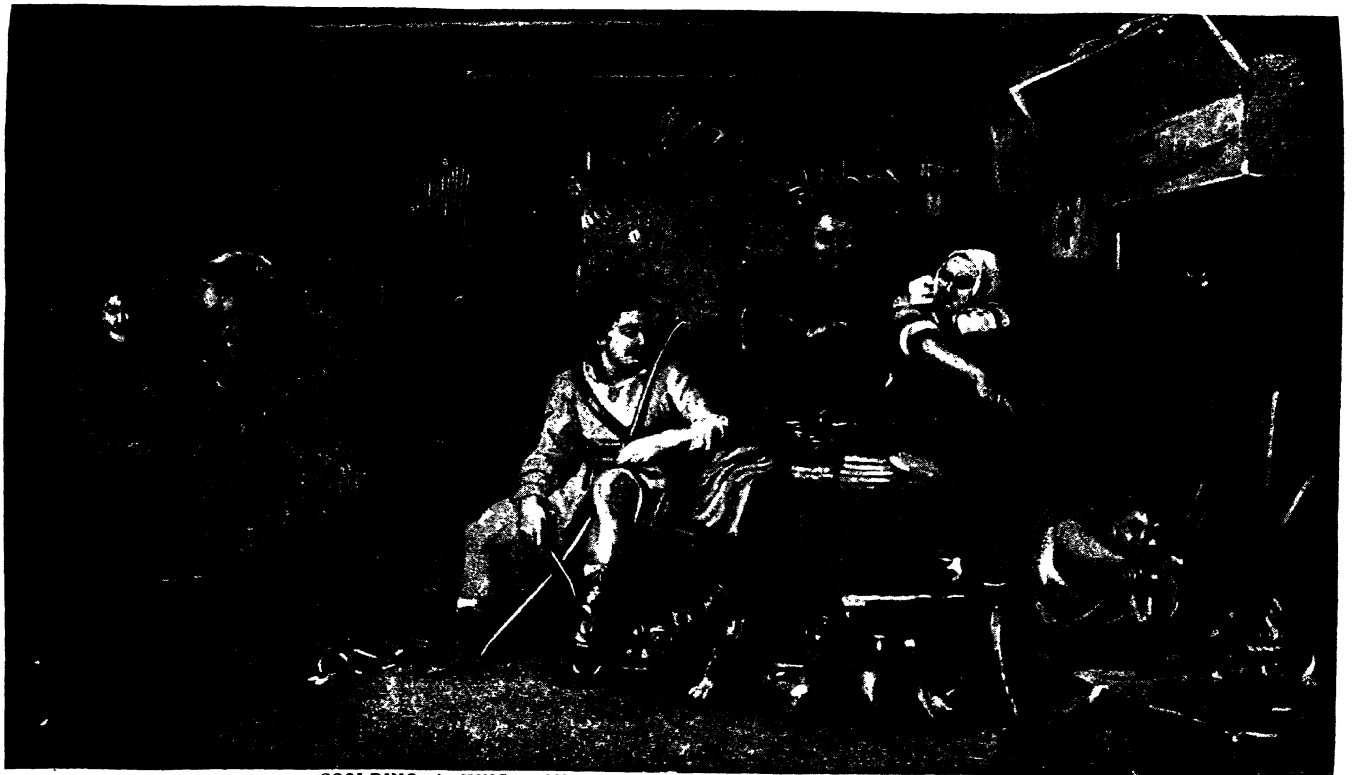
The Frankish princes and great lords were, as a rule, too weak to offer strenuous resistance to the Northmen. Besides, the morals of the nobles were so corrupt that many received money from the Northmen in return for not disturbing them in their robberies. At the end of 885 Paris was compelled to endure a severe siege. A large Danish fleet—reported to consist of 700 ships with 30,000 to 40,000 men—had been collected at Rouen. They sailed up the Seine to Paris, where the leaders demanded free passage, promising, if this was granted, to spare the town. As the demand was refused, they besieged the town, which was bravely defended by the inhabitants. The latter hoped to obtain speedy assistance from the emperor; but Charles the Fat, with his army, did not come to their relief till the following year. By this time Paris was ravaged with famine and pestilence, but Charles, instead of engaging in battle with the Northmen, concluded a disgraceful peace with them. He promised to pay them 700 pounds of silver by the following March, and gave them permission in the meantime to spend the winter in Burgundy. Since the Parisians would on no account be privy to this dishonourable treaty, and still refused to let the Northmen pass through, the latter dragged their ships a distance of 2,000 feet overland past Paris, took them down to the river again beyond the town, and sailed towards Burgundy; after they had devastated that province they returned back the same way.

The Great Siege of Paris

Some years afterwards, Arnulf, king of the East Franks, succeeded, by means of a great victory over the Northmen at Löwen in 891, in procuring peace for his kingdom. In France, also, where Count Odo, who had defended Paris so bravely against the Northmen, had succeeded the weak emperor, Charles the Fat, they suffered some defeats. But to annihilate them was found impossible both by Odo and by his successor, Charles the Simple. The privations of the people became daily greater; there was a scarcity of everything, of victuals, of cattle, and even of grain for sowing. Of the chieftains of that period the most feared was Rollo, or Rolf, the head of the pirates of the Seine. He had previously been in France, and had fought in Friesland and in England, but had returned to France at the beginning of the tenth century. He established himself in Rouen, and his warriors ravaged the banks of the Seine. Charles the Simple, therefore, determined to surrender the country on the Lower Seine to the Normans, in order to procure peace for himself and his people. Charles and Rollo met at St. Clair sur Epte in 911 and concluded a treaty. Rollo received as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, and swore an oath of fidelity to the king. Next year he was baptised and received the name of Robert. He divided the land among his followers and by strict laws restored peace and order. It is related that on one occasion he forgot a bracelet which he had left hanging on a tree, and after three years he found it on the identical spot.

Emperor's Surrender to Pirate Chief

Normandy flourished under Rollo and his successors, the dukes of Normandy, and became the best cultivated and best organised province in the whole of France. The Normans gradually blended with the French, whose language, manners, and habits they adopted. Soon they surpassed



SCOLDING A KING: AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF KING ALFRED

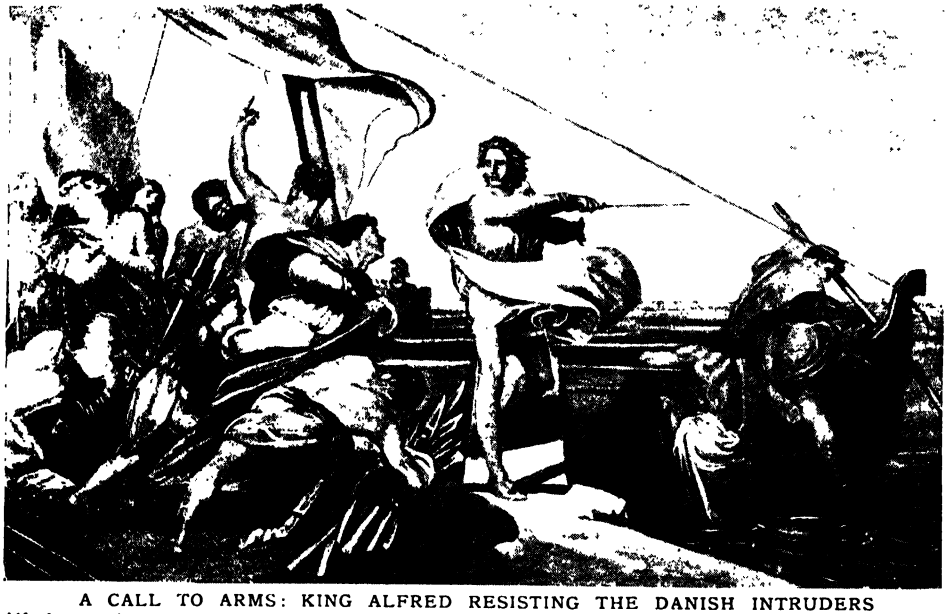
After his defeat by the Danes at Chippenham, in 878, King Alfred sought shelter in a lonely spot among the marshy lands of Somersetshire. In the house of a cowherd, one day, where he had found a temporary asylum, the good wife entrusted to the kingly stranger, of whose identity she was ignorant, the task of firing the bread she had been baking. Other things were at the time occupying the thoughts of the troubled king, and he forgot all about the bread, which, later, the woman found burned and spoiled. She thereupon roundly scolded Alfred, telling him that though he was lazy in watching the bread, he would be ready enough to take his share of it at meal-time.

From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A.

the men of their new country in religious zeal, without in the meantime having lost their love of fighting and adventure. They also devoted their attention with conspicuous success to literature and art. In Normandy at an early age men devoted their time to writing history; there originated the vaudeville and also, it is believed, the Gothic style of architecture. Thus the settling of the Normans in Normandy was a gain for the whole of France. Notwithstanding the fact that the Normans blended with the French, their descendants still preserved many traces of their northern origin. At the present day the inhabitants of Normandy differ from the rest of the French in appearance, character and disposition. In particular, they have always shown a keen interest in commerce and navigation. Normandy has always been the home of navigators and discoverers.

There are numerous proofs that the French Normans did not lose the love of their forefathers for adventures and conquests. In the middle of the eleventh century new kingdoms were founded in England and Italy by the Normans, who also took an active part in the Crusades. It was a descendant of Rollo, William, Duke of Normandy, who subjugated England after the victory of Senlac, near Hastings, in 1066. The Normans came into the country with him; they became the rulers of the Anglo-Saxons, and their language, which had already been adopted by the English court, supplanted Anglo-Saxon. Gradually the Normans blended with the Anglo-Saxons; from this union originated the English people and the English language.

As early as the first half of the eleventh century the Normans had settled in the South of Italy, where at that time the Germans of the empire were quarrelling with the Greeks, and the Lombard princes with the Arabs. Norman pilgrims, who stopped occasionally at Salerno on their return from the Holy Land, had helped Prince Waimar the Great in a successful battle against the Saracens in 1017. He would have willingly taken them into his service, but they longed for their native country, where, they told him, there were just as many brave men. Thereupon Waimar sent messengers to Normandy; immediately numerous knights were induced by the costly and rare



A CALL TO ARMS: KING ALFRED RESISTING THE DANISH INTRUDERS

Alfred was only twenty-two years of age when he was crowned at Winchester in 871. Within a month of his coronation he was called upon to take the field against the dreaded Danes, and his brilliant qualities as a leader soon restored the confidence of his Saxon followers. After many battles, Alfred succeeded in overcoming his enemies and receiving submission from them, and England was freed from the danger and ruin that had so long threatened her.

From the picture by G. F. Watts, R.A., in the Palace of Westminster



THE DANISH CHIEF GUTHRUM SUBMITTING TO KING ALFRED

England's deliverance from the supremacy of the Danes found expression in the Peace of Wedmore, which followed upon the submission of Guthrum and his followers. Reduced to despair by hunger, cold and misery, the Danes yielded to Alfred, and Guthrum indicated his desire to embrace the Christian faith. Both circumstances gave intense pleasure to Alfred, the latter no less than the former, for England's king had fought not only for the restoration of his kingdom but also for the establishment of the Christian religion. Accompanied by thirty of his followers, Guthrum appeared in Alfred's camp at Wedmore, in Somersetshire ; there he was bound by a solemn "peace," and there also he was baptised.

From the design by Herbert A. Bone, executed in tapestry, by permission of Mr. Antony Gibbs

presents which he sent to accept his proposal and enter his service. However, they soon left him and helped Sergius IV., Duke of Naples, who made them in return a grant of land in 1129; there the Normans founded the town of Aversa (la Normanna) in 1030 and fortified it strongly. In order to increase their influence they summoned their countrymen; troops of Normans, eager for war and plunder, streamed to the South of Italy, where they served as mercenaries now one now another of the rival factions. In this way for some time the Normans helped the Greeks and fought on the side of the Varangers; in the end, however, the Normans under the leadership of the sons of a Norman knight, Tancred of Hauteville, directed their arms against the Greeks and took from them one piece of land after another. At last Robert Guiscard, the mightiest of Tancred's sons, by the conquest of Bari, ended the Greek domination in South Italy in 1071. As early as 1059 he had been created Duke of Apulia by the Pope, whom he acknowledged as his feudal lord; in 1076 he conquered Salerno and the other small South Italian principalities, crossed over to Greece, defeated the imperial troops both by land and sea, and plundered the country. Soon afterwards, in 1085, he died, and East Rome breathed again. Robert's youngest brother, Roger, wrested the island of Sicily from the Arabs (1061–1090), and his son Roger II., who united Sicily and Apulia, received in the autumn of 1130 the title of King of Sicily from the Pope, and was crowned with pomp in Palermo.

Great Race of Norman Conquerors

In England the Normans, or Danes as they are more generally called in this connection, appeared for the first time in 787, and some years afterwards they repeated their visits. Then four decades elapsed during which England had rest from the terrible sea-warriors. But in 832 they renewed their attacks, and from that time every year they devastated the South of England; several times they were repulsed, but they always came back with increased numbers and began to winter in the country. From the coasts they penetrated to the interior, plundering everything as they went. They utilised the mutual enmity of the Kelts and Anglo-Saxons and concluded a treaty with the Welsh. The disputes of the Anglo-Saxons also furthered the enterprises of the invaders. After the middle of the ninth century they settled in the East of England. In the year 866 a large fleet landed on the coasts of East Anglia. The most distinguished of the chieftains commanding this fleet were the sons of Lodbrok, Ingvar and Ubbe; they spent the winter in East Anglia and concluded peace with the inhabitants. In the following spring they advanced over the river Humber to Northumbria, where two kings, Osbrith and Ella, were striving for the supremacy, and conquered York in 867.

The Terrible Danes in England

The Northumbrian kings abandoned their strife and with combined forces advanced to York to drive away the Danes, but suffered a crushing defeat in which they both perished. By this victory the Danes secured for themselves the possession of York; and they soon subjugated the whole of Northumbria, which they gradually transformed into a colony of Northmen. From Northumbria they made incursions to the south, where the kingdom of Wessex was still unconquered, and were victorious there also. The King of Wessex, Alfred the Great, was compelled to wander about the country in disguise, and, in 878, after a war of twelve years duration, the Danes were masters of the whole country. But they could not keep their possessions for any length of time on account of the smallness of their numbers, in spite of the reinforcements which were constantly being sent over from their own country.

Alfred the Great Fights the Danes

Alfred, who had never given up hope, declared war against them a few months after they had conquered Wessex, and succeeded in gaining a victory at Ethandune in 878. In the same year a treaty was concluded between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish leader, under which the Danes were established in the northern and eastern half of the island—known as the Danelagh, and there they erected strongholds, the chief of which were the "Five Boroughs," Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. They devoted themselves to peaceful occupations; many were baptised, and soon they began to blend with the Anglo-Saxons. For a long time, however, they preserved their speech, manners, and laws, and the appearance and language of the northern English, as also numerous place-names, still testify to their Scandinavian origin. The rest of England was also influenced by



KING ALFRED AS LAW-MAKER BEFORE THE WITAN

The Witan, or Assembly of the Wise, consisted of the leading thanes and clergy, meeting three times a year. In its constitution it resembled the present House of Lords, and it enjoyed supreme power, there being no appeal from its decisions. King Alfred is represented in the illustration submitting his laws to that assembly, an event described by Alfred himself in the following terms: "I, Alfred, King of the West Saxons, showed them to all my witan, and they said that they approved of them all, and would observe them."

From the cartoon by John Bridges

the Danes in many ways. Indisputable traces of Norse influence are still found in the government and jurisprudence of the country.

The attacks of the Danes, however, did not cease with their settlement in the Danelagh; but they were not so successful as formerly, since Alfred defended the coasts well and built a fleet, by means of which he was able to keep the enemy away from the coasts. In addition, the Danes were now turning their attention to France. The independence of the Danelagh did not last long. Alfred's son Edward compelled the Danes to acknowledge his supremacy. It is true they soon revolted, but they met with a crushing defeat at Brunanburgh in 937, and later attempts to secure independence came to nothing. Gradually the relations of the two races became more friendly; many Danes entered the service of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

English and Danes at Peace

England enjoyed peace until the end of the century, when, after the accession of Ethelred the Unready in 979, the land was torn with fresh struggles. Attacks from Denmark were renewed, and, as before, nothing escaped the ravages of fire and sword. On St. Brice's Day—November 13th, 1002—a terrible massacre of the Danes took place. But the English did not succeed in destroying all the Northmen in that portion of the country which was under their own rule, and there is no doubt that those in the Danelagh escaped the slaughter.

In the year 1013 Sven Tveskjæg—Swegen, or Sweyn Forkbeard—who on several previous occasions had plundered England, collected a large army to accomplish the conquest. He landed in Northumbria, and soon took possession of the Danelagh, where the inhabitants attached themselves to him. He then turned his attacks to the South of England, where his efforts were everywhere attended with success, and soon the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons was crushed. In the same year London opened its gates to the Danish king; Ethelred was compelled to flee and Sweyn became king. However, he did not enjoy his victory long, for he died suddenly at the beginning of the following year. Shortly before his death he appointed as his successor in England his son, Knut (Canute), who had accompanied him on his expedition; but when the Anglo-Saxon Witan heard of the king's death they recalled Ethelred and promised never again to submit to a Danish king.

Danish King in London

Ethelred returned; an Anglo-Saxon army was quickly summoned, and Canute left England to bring reinforcements from his own country, as his forces were too small. He equipped a great fleet, which was manned by veteran warriors from the north, and in the year 1015 he again appeared in England, where the magnates spiritual and temporal soon paid homage to him. Shortly afterwards, in 1016, the unfortunate Ethelred died. But Canute found a worthy opponent in his son, the brave Edmund Ironside, who was proclaimed king by the citizens of London. Canute won a great victory by treachery at Assandun in 1016, upon which a treaty was concluded, dividing the kingdom between the two kings. However, as Edmund died in 1017, Canute remained from that time sole ruler of England. In 1018 he became king of Denmark, and in 1028 king of Norway. It is thought that he wished to establish a great northern empire dependent on England. But his death, in 1035, did not allow him to realise his hopes. As his sons died after a short reign, the Danish dynasty in England ceased in 1042.

Influences of the Northmen's Expeditions

It was through these expeditions that the Northmen first came into contact with Western and Central Europe—a contact which proved of great importance for the Northmen themselves as well as for the nations whom they infested. The most important effect of these expeditions was the fact that the Northmen by their settlements imparted new strength to the enfeebled and degenerate nations, and opened up for them new spheres of usefulness. While the west gained in strength, the north itself was weakened by the great emigration. At the same time, however, the north was freed from a number of restless, proud, and obstinate chieftains and therefore the kings were more easily enabled to unite many "lands" in greater kingdoms and to strengthen the kingship. Through these voyages, also, the Northmen became acquainted with the higher civilisation of the west. Christianity, which at first had made only slow progress, gradually won the victory over paganism.

DENMARK AND ITS SISTER STATES

TO THE TIME OF SWEDEN'S SECESSION

DENMARK had been united in one kingdom before 800 A.D., and consisted of three chief parts: (1) the peninsula of Jutland, to the Eider; (2) the islands, of which Zealand, with the royal residence Leire, was the most important; and (3) Scania, with Halland and Bleking. Each of these divisions had its own *Ting*, or assembly, where the people—that is, the peasants—came together in order to choose a king, to make laws, and to sit in judgment—the Jutlanders in Viborg, the Zealanders in Ringsted, and the Scanians in Lund.

The king was the bond of union between the countries. He was chosen from the royal family; he acted as high-priest, and it was his duty to preserve peace and to summon the troops in war. Next in rank to the king were the jarls, who governed large tracts of country in the king's name. The king had his "hauskerle," or "hird," who, in conjunction with the chieftains, the most powerful of the peasants, were his helpers in war and peace. The earliest reliable accounts are contained in the Frankish annals of the time of Charlemagne. During the Saxon wars Widukind took refuge with the Danish king, Siegfried, in 777, and when Charles had defeated the Saxons he came into friendly intercourse with the Danes. Their king at that time, Gottfried, or Götrik, secured his south boundaries by a rampart, and was just arming himself for an attack on the Frankish Empire when he was murdered in 810. His successor concluded a peace with the emperor, and the Eider remained the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire. Shortly after this, disputes, which lasted for a long time, broke out in the Danish royal house concerning the crown; these disputes opened up the way for Christianity, with which some Danes had already become familiar, partly through missionaries such as Willibrord, partly through travels on the Continent.

Danish King Murdered

King Harald was driven out by Gottfried's sons; he fled to Germany, and was baptised in 826, in order to gain the assistance of Louis the Pious. Afterwards, when he returned to Denmark, the devout Ansgar, a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Corvey, followed him as missionary. Ansgar was filled with enthusiasm for his vocation; he immediately began his missionary work, and founded a school for the training of teachers at Hedeby in Jutland. He had still many difficulties to overcome, and conversion to Christianity was slow. It became still harder for him when his protector, Harald, was driven out a second time. Ansgar was also compelled to leave the country. He crossed over to Sweden, where he was well received and won many converts to Christianity. Meanwhile an archbishopric for the north was established in Hamburg and Ansgar was called to the see, which was removed to Bremen after the demolition of Hamburg by the Danes. Ansgar succeeded in gaining the friendship of the King of Denmark, and was now able, as "apostle of the north," to take up his work again with renewed energy, a work which he continued with unwearied zeal till his death in 865. For a long time after his death Christianity made no progress, and at the same time the land was divided by internal struggles. At the beginning of the tenth century Olaf, a Swedish chieftain, took possession of at least a portion of the country. His son Gnupa was defeated by the German king, Henry I., in 934, and was forced to receive baptism. However, the Swedish rule did not last long. Gnupa submitted to a descendant of the Danish royal house, Gorm the Old, whose wife, Tyra Danmarksbod, is said to have built the boundary wall known as the "Dane-

Missionary School in Jutland

Denmark's Royal House

virke" (Danework). Gorm's son, Harald Blaatand (Bluetooth), who ruled not only over all Denmark but for some time also over Norway, was baptised in 940, and from that time was a zealous promoter of Christianity in his kingdom. He declares on the runic stone at Jellinge, which he set up to the memory of his parents, that he won over the whole of Denmark and Norway and baptised the Danes. Some of the Danes, however, were not pleased with his religious zeal. The discontented attached themselves to his son Sweyn (Forkbeard) in 985. Harald fell in battle in 986 or 987. Sweyn became king, and, as has already been mentioned, conquered England in 1013. He was baptised, but exercised toleration in religious matters.

Danish King who Conquered England

It was not until the reign of his second son, Knut—better known to us as Canute—the Mighty (1018–1035), that Christianity triumphed in Denmark. Canute greatly extended his dominion; he ruled over Denmark, England and Norway. He was acknowledged as emperor of Bretland, or Britain, by the Emperor Conrad II., who ceded to him the Mark of Schleswig, and his aim, as mentioned above, was the foundation of a great northern empire. But he did nothing to unite the countries permanently under his power. He lived mostly in England, which he considered the most important of his dominions, and this country, under his powerful government, advanced in every respect. He also turned his attention to Denmark, which by the union with England, a country which had attained to a higher standard of civilisation, came into closer contact with the higher culture of Central Europe. A fresh impetus was given to Christianity; Anglo-Saxon bishops and priests worked in the country, churches were built, and the first monasteries were established. Canute was very generous to the Church; the clergy received great rewards, and their influence increased. As by this means Canute laid the foundations of a Danish hierarchy, he also formed the beginning of a secular nobility by his law which he gave to his Hird, the "Tingamannalid," by which the members of the Hird received various privileges.

The Great Work of Canute

With the death of Canute's son, Hardicanute, the old royal family became extinct. According to a former treaty, the Norwegian king, Magnus Olavssön, was a ruler in Denmark. But in 1047 the Da chose as their king Sven Estridssön, t son of Ulfdarl and Estrid, a sister Canute. Norway was ultimately co pelled to acknowledge him as king. Sven's accession the house of Est ascended the Danish throne, which th occupied for three centuries. The Estri raised Denmark to the height of its pow but it was also under their rule that t country experienced its deepest humil tion. Sven (1047–1076) was a cultured a affable man, very popular with the Dan Like Canute, he took a keen interest in t affairs of the Church; he regulat bishopries, and attempted to make t Danish church independent of Brem His work was continued after 1080 by h sons Knut IV. and Erik Eiegod. Kn was hated by the people on account of h cruelty, and was ultimately killed by th in 1086. After 1101, however, he w honoured as Denmark's national savio He was the first to define the Churc special jurisdiction, and to assure her t possession of a revenue by introduci tithes. In 1104 Erik (100 1103) received permission fr the Pope to establish archbishopric in Lund, which all the northern churches w made subordinate.

Denmark's Crown in Dispute

For a long time after the death of Eri Denmark was torn by the struggl for the throne among the descenda of Sven Estridssön, until finally a gran son of Erik, Waldemar the Great (115 1182), triumphed over his opponen Then quiet was restored in Denma During the strife for the crown Denma was constantly ravaged by the Wen who lived on the Baltic Sea and were st pagan. The country was unprotecte the peasants fled, and the Wends m with hardly any resistance. But wh Waldemar became king the situation w altered; he began a vigorous campai against the pirates. Supported by h friend, the warlike Bishop Absalom, a in league with the Saxon Duke Henry t Lion, he attacked the Wends in their ow country and subdued the island of Rüge The prince of the island became his vass Absalom remained true to Waldema son, Knut VI., and victory always follow his banner. The princes of Pomerania a Mecklenburg were reduced to submissio while Knut's brother Waldemar, wh

he had appointed duke of South Jutland, took prisoner the Count of Holstein and subdued his lands.

When Waldemar II. Seir (the Victorious) succeeded his brother as king, 1202, he ruled over all the countries west of the Baltic. He now wished to extend his power to the east, and in 1219 undertook a crusade against the Esthonians. It is supposed that the king intended to establish a bishopric in Esthonia, and to make it independent of Riga. The Esthonians were defeated in a battle with which there is associated the legend about the standard which fell from heaven, the Danebrog; they were forced to receive baptism, and the town Reval was founded.

Waldemar's power, however, did not last long. After he was taken prisoner by his vassal Henry, count of Schwerin, the dependent countries regained their freedom. It is true that Waldemar was released in 1225 and attempted to restore his former dominion, but he was totally defeated at Bornhöved in 1227. This battle decided the fate of North Germany. Waldemar was obliged to conclude peace with his numerous enemies, and scarcely any of his conquests remained except Esthonia and Rügen. From that time he gave up war and directed his energies to the internal welfare of the country, principally to the improvement of the laws. The law of Jutland, which he probably intended to make the code for the whole of his empire, was enacted shortly before his death in 1241.

Waldemar Gives up War

From these laws we can see the changes that took place in the social conditions, through the influence of the continent, during the reigns of the two Waldemars. The peasants, who had formerly been the only class in the country, were now subordinate to the nobility and clergy; second to these, a burgher class was being formed. Serfdom had disappeared, and the serfs had become cottagers. Agriculture was making rapid progress; the ground which the peasants cultivated in common was gradually being turned into arable land, and the number of villages was increasing. As in former times, the peasants assembled at the "Harden-Ting" and the "Landschafts-Ting," but the political importance of these assemblies was decreasing. The more important matters were generally decided by the king in the assembly of the nobles. The peasants were also losing their former importance as soldiers. It is true that the old military organisation still existed: the country was divided up into districts of different size, which had to provide ships and fighting men; but the picked men of the army were the "Hauskerle" of the king, who served as horsemen. These, together with the royal officials, were exempt from taxes; in this way they were distinguished from the rest of the peasants and formed a nobility. Among the officials whom the king afterwards summoned as his first counsellors were the Marsk (marshal), the Drost (high bailiff), and the Kanzler (chancellor).

The King's First Counsellors

The clergy, under the influence of the continent, also severed themselves from the people, and strove to make themselves independent of temporal power. Although at that time the Church did not succeed in entirely realising her demand for immunity, still her power and influence steadily increased without the friendly relations being disturbed which existed between the Church and the Waldemars. Many of the clergy visited the continent, especially the University of Paris, in search of higher learning, and were thus the only Danes who possessed a higher culture and occupied themselves with literature. Archbishop Absalom in particular, who was distinguished as a clergyman, warrior, and statesman, rendered great services to literature. At his instigation, his secretary, Saxo Grammaticus, wrote in Latin, the language of the Church, a detailed history of Denmark, of which the Danes are justly proud. The laws of Waldemar, however, were published in Danish, and therefore possess great importance as monuments of the language, in addition to their value in the history of civilisation. The buildings of the Church increased in magnificence with her growing power; instead of the old wooden places of worship, stone buildings were now being erected according to the models supplied from the West of Germany and North of France. The towns, which sprang up from fishing villages, harbours, and market places or around the castles, were still small and few in number; they were improving at this time through commerce, navigation, fishing—especially herring fishing—and industry. The inhabitants of the towns

Growing Power of the Church

were gradually separating themselves from the country population and forming a distinct class. They received special privileges, and later, in addition, their own officials, from the king, whose protection they often sought. The burghers formed guilds or clubs, the members of which pledged themselves to mutual help, and in this way they increased in union, strength, and importance. The most influential towns were Schleswig and Ripen. Copenhagen owes its importance as a town to Absalom, who erected a castle near the old harbour "Hafn."

Denmark's Time of Misfortune

After the death of Waldemar II. (Seir) a time of misfortune began for Denmark; the kingdom quickly sank from its height of prosperity. Waldemar's successors were not equal to him in ability and might. The friendly relations between the king and the nobles ceased, the magnates temporal and spiritual rose against the king. At the imperial assembly (Danehof), which had then the greatest legislative and judicial power, the nobles constantly endeavoured to increase their power by means of laws which they extorted from the crown. Unfortunately for the empire, Waldemar had given large appanages to his younger sons. They and their descendants now wished to be independent, and were the cause of much trouble to the kings; especially dangerous were the dukes of South Jutland, because they were protected by the Count of Holstein. The whole land was torn with strife.

The kings, who were often in need of money, finally took refuge in the pernicious expedient of mortgaging parts of their dominions, and as they were not able to redeem them, they were lost to the kingdom. Disorganisation and confusion steadily spread and ruin threatened. During this time of turmoil and war the peasants were compelled to bear the charges of the general misrule; their only way of protection was to place themselves under a lord and become his "Vornede" (villeins). In this way the peasants gradually lost their freedom. The condition of the burghers was not much better. The members of the Hanseatic League made their way into the towns, received various rights, and wrested the traffic with the continent from the burghers. The vigorous shipping industry, which the Danes and Norwegians had carried on from the earliest times on the North Sea and the Baltic, now ceased.

How Liberty was Lost

The situation was worst during the reign of Christopher II. (1319–1332). In order to become king he had to grant an "election charter," which deprived him of almost all his power. The most important portions of the country were mortgaged, and his rule was limited to a few boroughs. The greatest mortgagee was Gerhard (III.) the Great, Count of Holstein, who possessed the whole of North Jutland. After Christopher's death, in 1332, Gerhard was the real ruler of the country. Christopher's son, Waldemar, remained in Germany. But Gerhard's arrogant behaviour drove the Jutes to take up arms against him. He was killed on April 1st, 1340, and Waldemar, who now returned to Denmark, was elected king.

Waldemar IV., surnamed Atterdag (1340–1375), was prudent, capable, and not over-scrupulous in his choice of the means to be employed in consolidating the kingdom and re-establishing the royal power. The distant Esthonia he sold in 1346 to the Teutonic Knights, to obtain funds for the redemption of more important provinces. He succeeded also, in 1361, in conquering the island of Gothland, together with the city of Wisby, but this brought him into conflict with the Hanseatic League. For a time victory favoured the Danish arms; but when the League, Mecklenburg and Sweden allied themselves against him, Waldemar's position became desperate. In spite of these odds, however, he was in the end able to conclude peace without ceding any of his territory. At home Waldemar's efforts were directed to the maintenance of the royal prestige. He won over the nobility by the charter of Kallundborg in 1360, and contrived both to add to the crown lands, thus increasing his own revenues, and to extend the judicial power of the throne. In suppressing lawlessness and restoring order, he acted with firmness and energy, but at the same time with such merciless severity that he enjoyed but little popularity among either the high or the low.

Waldemar's Success and Failure

With Waldemar's death, in 1375, the Estridian line was extinguished, but he left a daughter, Margaret, whose son, Olaf, was elected king in 1376. He was, however, still a child, and his mother, the wife of Haakon VI. (Magnussön) of

Norway, acted as regent. Four years later Olaf succeeded to the Norwegian throne, with the result that Denmark and Norway were united in 1380, a union which continued almost without interruption to 1814.

Olaf died in 1387, when Margaret became queen-regent of both kingdoms, to which she before long succeeded in adding Sweden also; for the Swedish lords, dissatisfied with the rule of their king, Albert, invited her intervention, the result being that Albert was defeated and taken prisoner in 1389. In the same year, and again in 1390, Margaret secured the election of her great-nephew, Eric of Pomerania, to the thrones of all three kingdoms, and in 1397 she summoned representatives of the nobility of the three countries to a meeting at Kalmar for the purpose of defining the character of the union.

Eric was duly crowned, and the text of an Act of Union was drawn up; but the act never became law, owing, presumably, to Margaret's disagreement with the conditions proposed. For while the terms of the act recognised the perfect equality of the three states, Margaret, following her father's policy, wished to establish the supremacy of Denmark. In addition to this, she was dissatisfied with the limitations to be imposed on the royal power, while at the same time the Norwegians were opposed to some of the conditions laid down. Thus it came about that no real union was concluded at Kalmar; but for a while the three kingdoms remained united in fact, and this actual union is known as the Union of Kalmar (1397–1523).

If the union-kings had been wise and capable, these three nations, with their common interests and characteristics, might have coalesced and been welded into a powerful Scandinavian state; but for the most part these kings looked upon themselves as Danish kings, for Denmark was the predominant partner, and the royal residence was fixed in Denmark. They showed little concern for the welfare of the other two kingdoms, visiting



THREE OF THE CHIEF DEITIES OF NORSE MYTHOLOGY

Burne-Jones has, in the above decorative paintings, given striking conceptions of three of the deities of Norse mythology. The first is Odin, the supreme god, the bestower of wisdom and valour; the second, Freyja, goddess of the spring and fertility; and the third is the son of Odin, Th the Thunderer, wielding his hammer "Mjolnir."

them but rarely, and seeking only to exploit them for their own purposes. Under such treatment these states felt, and rightly felt, themselves to be neglected; they became dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction led to continual revolts. Thus the period of the union became a time of discord and strife; instead of creating a strong and united Scandinavia, the union produced enmity and hatred between the northern peoples.

With her prudence and energy, Margaret, who kept the reins of government in her own hands until her death, had been able to maintain peace at home, but after her death, in 1412, discord broke loose. Eric of Pomerania aimed at continuing his foster-mother's policy, and endeavoured to deprive counts of Holstein of the dukedom of Sönderjylland, or Schleswig, which they had acquired on the extinction of its ducal line in 1375; but after a of twenty years' duration he was ob to give up the attempt. At the same time he was waging an unsuccessful war with the Hanseatic League. This was embittered by the manner in which he favoured the Dutch, and by his levying of tolls on vessels passing through the Sound. The taxes which he was compelled to impose for carrying on the war aroused much dissatisfaction, and complaints of bad government were made. Rebellions broke out in Norway and Sweden, while even in Denmark discontent was rife. At last he was deposed in 143 and his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria —Christopher III.—made king.

On the death of Christopher III., in 1448, the union was actually dissolved for the Swedes raised their former viceroy, Karl Knutsson, to their throne, while the Danes chose Count Christian of Oldenburg, who two years later became king of Norway also. Christian I., it is true, as well as his son John (1481–1513) and his grandson Christian II., strove to renew the union with Sweden, where there existed a Danish party. The two former, indeed, succeeded, in 1457 and 1497, in making themselves kings of Sweden, but not for long. Christian II., therefore, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden by the execution of a number of the nobility, clergy, and townsfolk in what is known as the Stockholm Blood-bath, November 8th, 1520; but the only result was a fresh rebellion, which ended in the final separation of Sweden from Denmark in 1523.



MARGARET, QUEEN-REGENT

On the death of Olaf, in 1387, Margaret became queen-regent of both Denmark and Norway, to which kingdoms before long she added Sweden. She held the reins of government till her death in 1412.



KINGS CHRISTOPHER III. AND CHRISTIAN II.

There were troublous times in Norway and Sweden, and even in Denmark, when Christopher III. mounted the throne in 1439, and when he died, in 1448, the Swedes receded from the union. Christian II., king of Denmark and Norway, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden, but the only result was a fresh rebellion.

Though they lost Sweden in the manner above described, the Oldenburgs extended their power in another direction. On the extinction of the Schauenburg line, Christian I. had been elected duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein on March 2nd, 1460, on condition that these states should remain for ever undivided. The attempt, however, to subjugate the independent people of Dithmarsh ended disastrously at Hemmingstedt

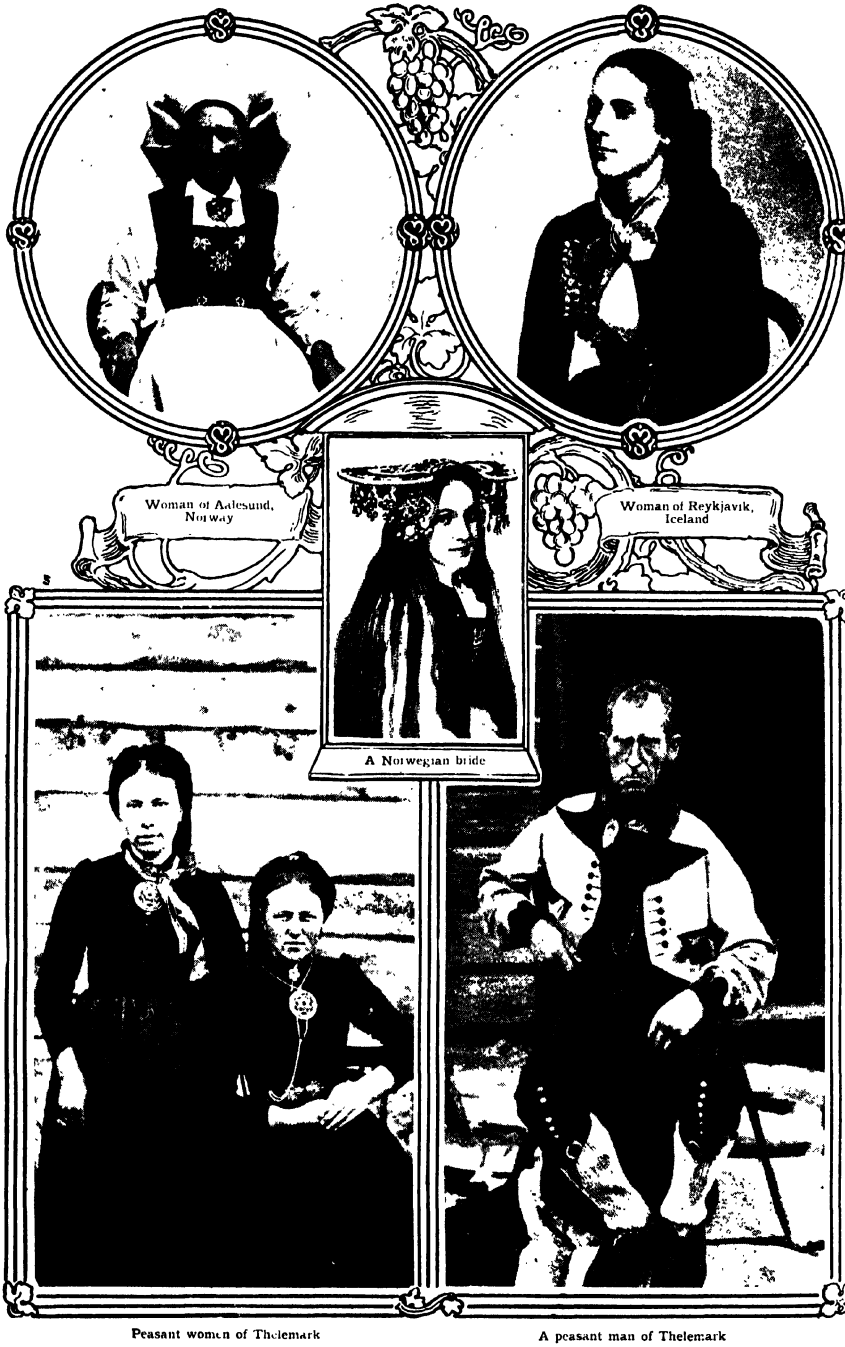
1 February 17th, 1500. During this period the royal power, which had been consolidated by Waldemar IV. and Margaret, grew weaker. The Danehof ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad, or council of state, an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad, which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost—later Lord High Steward—the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs (the administrative districts), the revenues from which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts—Zealand, Lolland, and Falster—tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues, such as fines on succession and land tax, and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supremacy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.



A TYPICAL WOMAN OF FANÖ, DENMARK

The last union king, Christian II., was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish. To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was loved by them, while the nobles, on the contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp.

Losing heart, Christian took ship for the Netherlands in April, 1523, to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25th, 1559.



FAMILIAR TYPES OF THE PEOPLE OF NORWAY AND ICELAND



NORWAY'S RISE AND FALL
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ICELAND

IN Norway, or Norge—originally Nordvegr, that is, the Northern Way—the primitive political conditions persisted longer than in Denmark and Sweden. Even as late as the ninth century the land was divided into many petty states. The kings of these districts had but little power. In the *herad*, or sub-district, and district assemblies (*ting*) the yeomen exercised their legislative and judicial power; in the latter it was the chieftains, in the former the heads of the temples, who had the greatest influence. The peasantry were partly allodial, partly tenant farmers, and dwelt on scattered farms; no towns existed, but there were market centres, which were frequently visited by foreign merchants.

The Norwegians themselves also visited foreign countries to barter their wares. In addition to agriculture, stock-raising, hunting, and fishing, commerce was an important means of livelihood, and the Norwegians enjoyed the reputation of being capable merchants. About the middle of the ninth century there lived in the district round the fiord of Christiania a royal race descended, according to tradition, from the Yngling kings of Upsala. To this race belonged Halfdan the Black, a great warrior who, at his death, was master of South-eastern Norway. His son Harald (about 860-930) conceived the idea of subjugating the whole country, and vowed never to cut his hair or beard until he had achieved his object. The petty kings who did not fall in battle were forced to flee, and after his victory in the Hafrsfjord, near Stavanger, in 872, he became the sole ruler, whereupon he had his hair and beard trimmed, and received the surname Haarfager (Fairhair).

Norway's Great Warriors

Harald declared himself owner of the soil, and the peasantry, who had until then been free from taxation, were compelled to pay him taxes. The kinsmen of the old chieftains he attempted to propitiate by choosing from among them his higher officials, or Jarls. But as their rank usually descended by inheritance to their sons, a nobility grew up which soon formed a party of opposition to the ambitions of the crown. Many of the old chiefs, however, were unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, and left their native soil, betaking themselves to the Scottish islands and avenging themselves on Harald by their raids on Norway. He therefore led an expedition against the islands, subjugated them, and compelled all who would not brook his sway to seek refuge still further away. Many of them migrated to the Faroe Islands and to Iceland, which had been discovered in 867, and now received its first population.

Norwegian Chiefs Settle in Scotland

As Harald had conferred kings' titles on all his sons, the unity of the kingdom was endangered when he died, and the Danish kings interfered in the hope of gaining the overlordship for themselves. Of Harald's sons, the youngest, Haakon the Good (935-961), deserves special credit for his legislation and organisation of the military forces. He had been educated and baptised in England, and on his accession made the first attempt to convert his people to Christianity. But the peasantry would have none of the new doctrine, and he was himself obliged to take part in their pagan sacrifices. His work was continued by Olaf I. Tryggvessön (995-1000), and completed by Olaf II. Haraldssön (1016-1030). Both in their youth had visited foreign lands as Vikings and accepted baptism. After their return and accession to the throne they worked zealously to convert their subjects, and dealt severely with all who were recalcitrant. The temples were destroyed and churches were built, while clergy were brought over from England, with the consequence that the Anglo-Saxon Church influenced the Norwegian in several

How Norway Became Christianised

respects. Thus the country was indeed Christianised; but it was long before the last remnants of paganism disappeared.

The organisation of the Church was also Olaf Haraldssön's work, and he promulgated the first ecclesiastical law. By exterminating the petty kings of Harald Fairhair's race he became the second unifier of the kingdom. But his strict rule and his attempts to increase the royal power at the expense of the self-willed nobility caused the latter to appeal to Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who readily followed their summons and was made king of Norway. Olaf was forced to flee the country in 1028, and betook himself to Gardarike, in Russia. After remaining there for two years he made an attempt to recover his kingdom, and invaded the northern portion of Norway with an army raised in Sweden; but he fell in the battle of Stiklestad on July 29th, 1030. Before long, however, the Norwegians regretted what had been done, and the nobles found their hopes disappointed. There spread rumours of miracles worked by the dead body of the fallen king, and as early as 1031 Olaf was canonised by the bishop. The nation rose against Danish rule, and in the year 1035 Olaf's son Magnus, who had been left in Russia, was proclaimed king of Norway.



THE SORCERESS, THE RAVEN AND THE KING

Born about 850, Harald Haarfager was the son of Halfdan the Black, king of Upland, a small district in Norway. He was only ten years of age when he became king. The illustration shows a Norse sorceress consulting her familiar in the form of a raven, a sacred bird among the Northmen, with regard to the career of Haarfager.

From the drawing by Frederick Sandys

With the reign of Magnus the Good (1035-1047), who, on the extinction of the Danish royal house, became king of Denmark also, there began for Norway a century of prosperity. A succession of kings who were skilled warriors as well as able rulers raised Norway in the estimation of other nations and increased the welfare of the people themselves. A more vigorous international intercourse of a friendly nature was established. The towns which had been founded by the kings, the most important of which were Nidaros — now Drontheim — Oslo, and Bergen, increased in number and greatness; churches and monasteries were built, and the dioceses of the bishops regulated. Foreign customs and habits were introduced, and in addition the European system of education.

This period of prosperity ceased in the twelfth century, when Norway was disorganised for a long time by disputes concerning the crown (1130-1240). It is true the crown had been hereditary in the family of Harald Fairhair. But every king's son, legitimate or illegitimate, had a right to it, and many who were not of royal birth declared that they were, and to prove the truth of their assertion underwent the ordeal by fire. In this period the power of the magnates increased, since the contending kings

were compelled to purchase their help by compliance; at this time the clergy also became more powerful. The Norwegian Church, which was at first subordinate to the Archbishop of Bremen, and later, in 1104, to the Archbishop of Lund, but the head of which had been the king, became independent in 1152, with the Archbishop of Nidaros as its head.

The archbishop made it his aim to free the Norwegian Church from the power of the laity, and to provide for it the same influence which other European churches possessed. In 1161 one of the most powerful chiefs, Erling Skakke, had succeeded in getting his son Magnus elected king, and wished him to be crowned by the archbishop to compensate for the fact that he was not of royal descent. Magnus was crowned, but was compelled to grant important concessions to the Church, the chief of which was that in future the archbishops and the bishops should decide which of the king's sons should rule. This made the archbishop the virtual head of the kingdom; Norway was all but an ecclesiastical fief.

The threatened independence of Norway was saved by Sverre Sigurdssön, who opposed Magnus as rival king in 1177. Sverre had been educated in the Faroe Islands and was destined to become a priest; but when he heard from his mother that he was the son of a king he crossed over into Norway. At first he met with little success. His followers were few in number, poor and miserable, and were nicknamed "Birchshanks," because for lack of shoes they bound their feet with birch-bark. They were, however, a brave, intrepid, and persevering band, who shrank from neither danger nor toil. After some years Sverre was victorious in 1184. By the death of many of the chiefs belonging to Magnus' party the power of the magnates had become weakened; their posts were given by Sverre to his "Birchshanks," who had remained faithful and obedient to him. However, the struggle began again when Sverre was about to restrict the power of the Church. Sverre was excommunicated by the Pope, and a clerical party, called the "Baglers" (*bagall*, that is, crosier), was formed, against whom he was compelled to contend till his death. In spite of that he had secured the independence of the country from the hands of the clergy, and at the same time strengthened the power of the king.

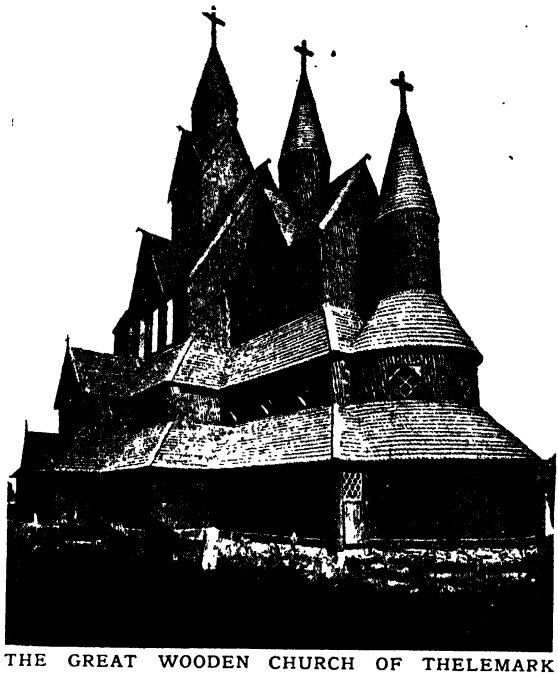


THE BATTLEFIELD OF STIKLESTAD, IN NORWAY

In an attempt to recover his kingdom, Olaf Haraldsson fell in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. As a Viking in his early youth, Olaf had visited foreign shores, but he accepted Christianity, and after his accession to the throne of Norway he laboured zealously to convert his subjects. The nobility rebelled against him, and appealed for assistance to Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who, readily responding, was made king of Norway. Olaf fled from the country in 1028, but returning two years later with an army raised in Sweden, met his death in the battle that ensued.

After Sverre's death, in 1202, his grandson, Haakon IV. (1217-1263), put an end to domestic strife by abolishing the ordeal by fire, and by making the right of succession more definite. Under the beneficent rule of Haakon the country attained to a degree of prosperity hitherto unequalled. Peace and quiet prevailed. Haakon contrived to keep on friendly relations with the

Church party without detracting from his own power. He improved the laws, founded towns and monasteries, built churches and castles. His name was familiar in other countries, and foreign princes sought his friendship. Pope Innocent IV., who was at open feud with the Emperor Frederic II., offered Haakon the imperial crown. Haakon, however, who was too wise to accept the gift, and, apart from that, was on friendly terms with Frederic, answered that he was always ready to fight against the enemies of the Church, but not against those of the Pope. In the north, however, he endeavoured to extend his dominions. He succeeded in bringing Iceland and Greenland under his control, and this marks the greatest expansion of the Norwegian kingdom.



THE GREAT WOODEN CHURCH OF THELEMARK

The Hitterdal's Kirke, at Thelemark, a picturesque district in Norway, shown in the illustration, is generally considered by experts to be the most remarkable wooden church in the world.

In the second half of the ninth century, as we have already seen, discontented Norwegians had settled on Iceland. The emigrants had taken with them their household goods and movable property and their cattle, and were doubtless settling down in their new country as they had lived in the old. The chief took possession of a piece of land, on which he built his house and a temple (Hov), and over which he presided. His followers settled round about; he was the spiritual and temporal head. Colonisation in this fashion continued for almost sixty years (874-930).

At first the chiefs had no political organisation in common; each ruled his province, or *godord*, independently of the others. However, as the island gradually became more thickly populated they felt the necessity of becoming more united in politics, and, accordingly, in 930, drew up laws by which the island became an aristocratic republic. Affairs which concerned the whole island were settled in the *Alting*, which was held every summer and in which every man had a voice. The president of the Alting was the lawman, who was elected for a period of three years; his duty was to recite the laws. The real legislature was the "Lögrétta," which consisted of the "*Goden*" and their assessors. Judicial business was carried on in the first instance by a tribunal elected in the Godarden by the Goden; the superior courts were the "Fjordungsdómar" and "Fimtardómar," which held their sittings in the Alting, and the members of which were also appointed by the Goden. There was no single executive power for the whole island.

About the year 1000 the islanders were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians. The Church now began to gain influence, especially after 1100, when two bishoprics were established on the island. The Goden still retained their power a Gode often included several Godords Then, however, the island was devastated with civil war. Finally, in 1261, the islanders submitted to the kings of Norway under the condition that they should retain their own laws and native officials That state of affairs, however, did not last long. The Alting lost the power of legislature, the office of "law-reader" was discontinued, and the island was governed by a royal official. The situation did not improve when Iceland, together with Norway, came under the control of Denmark. We may here make the

anticipatory note that it was not until the nineteenth century that conditions were bettered. Trade, which had for a long time been a monopoly of Danish merchants, became entirely free in 1854. Since 1874, the legislature is shared by an assembly of the people—the Alting—and the king, and in 1903 Iceland received a Minister of its own, who has his residence in Reykjavik, and is responsible to the Alting, not to the Danish Parliament.

The Icelanders have acquired great reputation by their literary activity. On this distant, lonely, and inhospitable island there flourished, during the period of liberty, a literature in the vernacular, by reason of which the Icelanders will always be given a place of honour in the history of men. They carefully treasured the sagas and poems which they had brought with them from their fatherland. They kept up by means of travel a constant intercourse with the outer world, especially with Norway, and at home they followed foreign affairs with a keen interest.

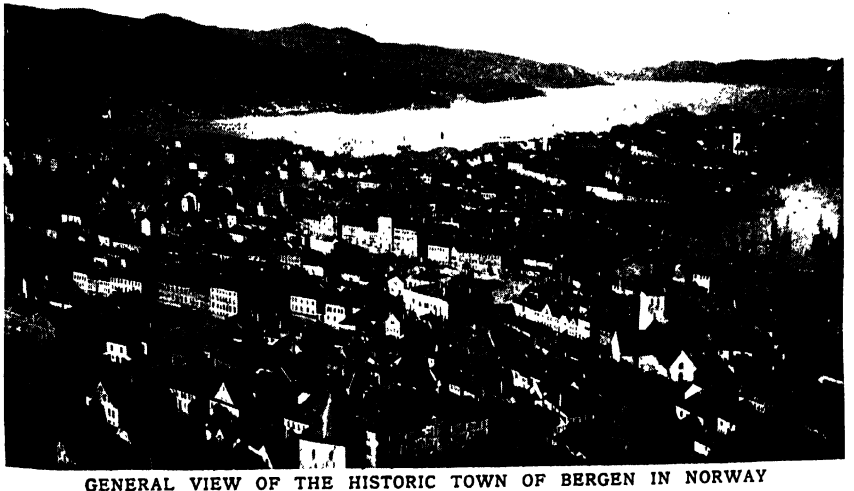
Culture of the Icelanders

For a long time the poems and sagas were transmitted orally. But in the twelfth century, when the Icelanders became familiar with the Latin alphabet, a written literature, both of poetry and prose, sprang up.

The most important of the poems are the Eddas, a collection of folk-songs, which date from heathen times, and in which are narrated stories of the gods and heroes. This school of national poetry came to an end in the tenth century, and was replaced by the artificial poetry of the skalds, which was influenced by Irish models. It was originally simple and unaffected, but gradually became more artificial and overloaded with figurative expressions, and therefore unintelligible. These poems were generally written for the glorification of the kings, and the skalds were in the most cases court poets, who were greatly honoured and richly rewarded by the crown. One of the most celebrated, Snorre Sturlesson, who died in 1241, edited a manual of poetry, the "Later Edda," but won greater renown as a historian. At the beginning of the twelfth century Are Frode, who died in 1148, wrote his "Islending-abok," a brief history of Iceland, in which he reduced the history of the Norwegian islands to a chronological system, and began, perhaps in addition, his "Landnamabok," a register of the most distinguished emigrants, their residence, their successors, and their fate: a work which was afterwards continued by others.

Iceland's Famous Poets and Historians

People now began also to write down the numerous sagas which hitherto had been handed down orally. Then there sprang up a rich saga literature, which rose to the highest perfection in the thirteenth century. The greatest of the saga writers is the above-mentioned Snorre, who, in



GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORIC TOWN OF BERGEN IN NORWAY

his saga "Heimskringla," has described the history of the Norwegian kings from earliest times until 1177. The Icelandic family sagas are also attractive, because they give an admirable picture of the life of the Icelanders during the period of liberty. The share which the Norwegians themselves have contributed to this literature is comparatively insignificant; the most important, with the exception of a few sagas, is the so-called "Konungskuggja," or king's mirror, which is of great significance in the history of civilisation, inasmuch as it depicts the life, occupations, and duties of the merchant, the courtier, and the king.

Literature and Liberty in Iceland

Notwithstanding the fact that the literary activity of Norway was not great, the Norwegian kings and chiefs did much to encourage "Norröne" (Norwegian-Icelandic) literature by taking Icelandic poets and narrators of sagas into their service, and otherwise patronising them. Sverre and his descendants were especially noted for this; they were themselves cultured men, who took an active interest in literature. The literary activity of Iceland declined with the loss of liberty. The old chieftain families, who had been its chief patrons, died out, and with them ceased the "skald" poetry and the composition of original sagas.

The Icelanders did not altogether abandon literary pursuits; they copied old works and re-wrote the old sagas in verse. The Norwegians, in the meantime began to cultivate foreign poetry, and after the middle of the thirteenth century their literary energies were mainly directed to translating French and German heroic poems. The most flourishing period of Norwegian literature was the reign of Haakon Haakonssön, which in other respects, as has been mentioned above, was a time of prosperity. Haakon's son and successor, Magnus (1263–1280), was not so powerful as his father. He rendered, however, valuable services to the kingdom as a legislator, on account of which he was given the title Lagaböter or improver of laws. His chief merit was that he was the first to bring Norway under one uniform code. By this means, it is true, the Lagtinge, where the peasants had up till that time passed their own laws, and in consequence the people themselves, lost their power of legislation. From this time the king became the legislator: at the same time he shared the right of jurisdiction with the people, for he appointed the presidents of the supreme courts. In order to promote trade, Magnus concluded a commercial treaty with England, and allowed certain privileges to the North German towns.

What King Magnus did for Norway

Haakon's successor was his grandson Magnus, an infant who had just succeeded also to the crown of Sweden; so that for a time the history of the two countries unites. At a later stage Haakon VI. lost the Swedish, but not the Norwegian crown; and through his wife, Margaret of Denmark, the Danish and Norwegian crowns were united when their son Olaf became king of both countries in 1380. From this time the country rapidly deteriorated; it could not maintain its independence in the union. This was preeminently the result of the political and social conditions. There was no powerful aristocracy or clergy, no well-to-do and liberal-minded middle class; in brief, there was nobody who had the power or the inclination to vindicate the independence of the kingdom. The populace consisted of peasants who, after being deprived of their political power, interested themselves only in their own affairs.

Danish and Norwegian Crowns Unite

The prosperity of the country was ruined by the Hanseatic League, which was steadily increasing in power; at the same time Norway was terribly devastated in the fourteenth century by several pestilences, in particular by the Black Death, which swept away almost one-third of the population. The retrogression of the material welfare of the country was accompanied by a decline in the literary life; after the middle of the fourteenth century almost all literary activity ceased. Decadence was manifest in every department of life; Norway followed involuntarily in the union and became more and more dependent on Denmark. The Danes made their way into the country and obtained civic rights by intermarriage. They brought with them the Danish language, which displaced old Norwegian as the literary language and strongly influenced the colloquial language of the towns. The separate history of Norway is merged in that of Denmark, and does not emerge again for some centuries.



SWEDEN AND FINLAND

FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE DANISH DOWNFALL

SWEDEN, or Sverige (that is, the kingdom of the Svears), consisted at one time of the two main divisions Zealand, or Svealand, and Gothland, or Gotoland, which received their names from the tribes Svear and Götar. Scania, Holland, and Blekingen belonged to Denmark; Bohuslen, Herjedalen, and Jemtland were Norwegian, and Norrland was inhabited by Ugrian races; only on the coasts of Norrland were there a few scattered Swedish settlements. Zealand and Gothland had no common political organisation; the cantons of which they were made up had each its own laws, its Ting and its own "Lagman" (Judge). The Lagman, who was elected by the peasants, was the president of the Ting; it was his duty to vindicate the rights of the peasantry against the king and his ministers and to notify the king of the wishes of the people. The most noted of the Landschafts was Upland, where the most sacred shrine, the temple of Upsala, was situated; there the king had his residence and there also was the seat of the Ting, which served for the whole country, the "Allshärjarting," where the king was wont to address the people from the Ting-hill near Upsala. The king, who was elected by the Upsvear, undertook a journey through the different cantons after his election, to receive homage. He formed the link of union between the cantons, which were ruled in his name by Jarls and other officials whom he appointed. The social organisation was the same as in Denmark and Norway.

The Sacred Shrine of Upsala

In mode of life, habits, and customs the Swedes did not differ from their southern and western neighbours. Their development, however, was slower because they were cut off by their geographical situation from all intercourse with the Finnish and Slavonic races dwelling on the other side of the Baltic; in addition, the rivalry between the Svear and Götar for a long time prevented a peaceful development.

The Ynglingl kings, who were descended from the gods, are said to have ruled over Sweden from time immemorial; the "Northern Saga" tells of their deeds. The first reliable accounts, which are, it is true, very scanty, are furnished by missionaries who visited Sweden at the beginning of the ninth century. Ansgar, who had been active in Denmark for some time, went to Sweden about the year 830. He was kindly received by the king, Björn, and remained for a year and a half in the neighbourhood of Mälaren, where he won a few souls for Christianity. He visited Sweden again at a later date—in 853—and worked hard to establish the new doctrine. But soon after his death the missionary work came to a standstill.

Missionary Historians in Sweden

It was not until the beginning of the eleventh century, under Olaf Skötkonung—probably so called on account of a tax, or scot, which he imposed upon the people—that Christianity obtained a strong foothold in the country. Olaf's father, Erik Segersäll, the victorious, had driven out Sweyn Forkbeard and subdued Denmark. After his death, however, about 904, Sweyn concluded a contract with Olaf Skötkonung, recovered Denmark, and married Erik's widow. Afterwards Sweyn and Olaf united against the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvessön, who had insulted both of them, conquered him at Svolder, in the neighbourhood of Rügen, and in 1000 divided Norway between them. Olaf Skötkonung received the northern portion, but lost it after a few years to Olaf Haraldssön, who freed Norway from a foreign yoke. His attempts to recover the country were fruitless; his own subjects compelled him to maintain peace with Norway. Olaf Skötkonung and his sons had received baptism in 1008 and Christianity made steady progress, especially in Gothland, but it was still a good while before it

Where Christianity Triumphed

completely won the mastery. The old royal line became extinct with the death of Olaf's sons about 1061. About this time a fierce struggle broke out between the Svear and the Götar, which lasted for almost two centuries. Up till then the Götar had given precedence to the Svear in the election of the king, for in their province lay the national sanctuary, and there also the king and his family resided; now, however, they claimed the same rights as the Svear, and equal power, and wished to choose a king from themselves. Since the Götar were for the most part converted, while the Svear still clung to paganism, the struggle was not only between the two races and their kings, but between heathenism and Christianity. In this struggle, in which the kings of the Svear and Götar alternately got the upper hand, Christianity was finally victorious, and thus the union of the people was greatly furthered.

The new doctrine was firmly established in Svealand chiefly by the gentle and just King Erik IX. who changed the temple at Upsala into a Christian church and founded a bishopric in Upsala. He was also solicitous about the conversion of the neighbouring heathen races and undertook a crusade against the Finlanders, with whom the Swedes had had intercourse since very early times, and on whose shores there were already Swedish settlements. The inhabitants of Finland, the Ugrian Finns, or, as they called themselves, Suomalaiset, had wandered, even before the ninth century, out of the districts east and south-east of the Gulf of Finland, where the neighbouring kindred tribes of the Esthonians, Livonians and other Ugrians dwelt, into Southern Finland and had then spread over towards the north. The Finns are divided into two groups as regards language and physique: the West Finns—the true Finns and the Tavastes—and the East Finns—the Carelians. As late as the twelfth century they had not founded any states, but were living in their original condition. They were rough and superstitious, but were distinguished for their bravery and love of freedom and clung to the faith of their fathers. Erik succeeded in conquering and converting the south-western tribes, and by this means he laid the foundation of the Swedish supremacy in Finland. Erik was killed by an enemy on May 18th, 1160, not long after his return from Finland. It is said that miracles happened on the spot where he died, and he was, therefore, canonised by the people; he was afterwards regarded as the patron saint of Sweden, as Erik the Holy, and the Swedish national ensign in the Middle Ages bore the name "St. Erik's Ensign." The influence and power of the Church in Sweden rapidly increased with the victory of Christianity. A national Church was formed in 1164 under the Archbishop of Upsala; the clergy received various privileges—for example, exemption from taxes. Monasteries were introduced. The first monks were Cistercians from France, who not only acted as spiritual teachers, but also instructed the peasants in agriculture and in industrial pursuits. They were joined later by mendicant monks.



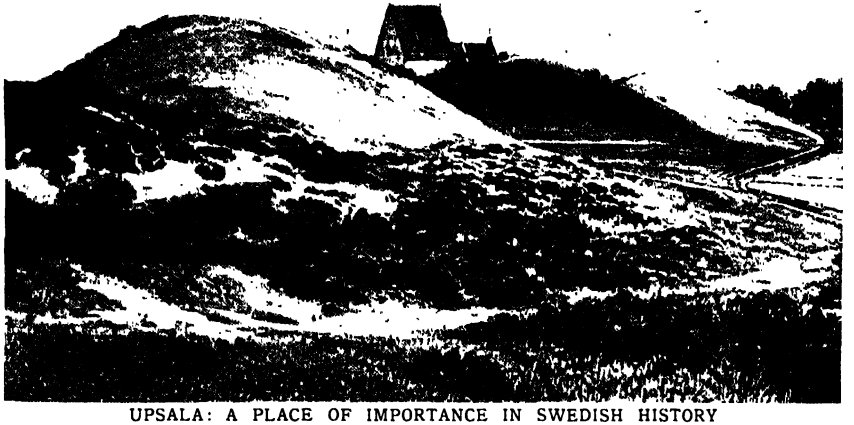
A WISE RULER

commemorates the rule of a wise and able man, Birger Jarl, whose son, Waldemar, became king. Birger died in 1256.

When the family to which Erik IX. belonged became extinct, in 1250, Birger Jarl, of the rich and respected Folkunger family, was the most powerful man in the country. He was energetic and well versed in state affairs and had proved himself a capable warrior in Finland where, in 1249, he had established and extended the supremacy of Sweden by the subjection of Tavastes. Although he had married a sister of the late king, he was not himself of royal blood and, therefore, not he, but his elder son, Waldemar, was elected king. As the latter was not yet of age, Birger, as his guardian, became actual ruler and governed till his death, on October 21st, 1256.

At home Birger restored peace and order and raised the kingdom to a high place among the northern nations, with whom he endeavoured to maintain peace and balance of power. In his legislation he made it his principal aim to adjust domestic rivalries, and he also

endeavoured to bring about an improvement in morals. In order to promote international commerce and trade he concluded a commercial treaty with Lübeck, for hitherto the Swedes had lacked enterprise. The inhabitants of Lübeck, however, used this treaty, as they did those concluded with the other northern countries, to get the trade gradually into their own hands. Still, the union with Germany was useful to the Swedes. Mining and other branches of industry were improved by Germans who had crossed over into the country; the towns were organised in German fashion; they received their own government and their prosperity increased.



UPSALA: A PLACE OF IMPORTANCE IN SWEDISH HISTORY

The illustration shows the three great royal barrows at Old Upsala, about three miles from Upsala, where the election of the old Swedish kings took place. After his election the king undertook a journey through the different cantons in order to receive the homage of his people. The cantons were ruled in the king's name by jarls.

Stockholm in particular developed enormously; it owes its importance as a town and a fortress to Birger Jarl. Other towns of importance were Wisby, Söderköping, Kalmar, and Lödöse. Wisby, which belonged to the Hanseatic League, was for a long time the wealthiest and most magnificent northern town, until the fourteenth century, when its power and prosperity were destroyed by Waldemar Atterdag. In 1266 King Waldemar himself took over the government, but soon showed that he was not equal to the task; he was weak, fond of pleasure, and profligate, and in 1275 was dethroned by his younger brother Magnus, who resembled his father in vigour and ability. Magnus (1275–1290) continued the work of Birger; he maintained peace and good order with a strong hand, and lived on good terms with his neighbours, who even asked his help as arbitrator in their disputes. By various laws he protected the peasants against the violence of the barons, on account of which he was given the honoured title of "Ladulas"—the castle of the barn. The peasants, however, were losing their political influence. Magnus desired to extend the king's power in every direction, and reserved for himself the right of giving laws together with his council and the highest men in the kingdom; in this way the work of legislation passed out of the hands of the people. The king was also acknowledged as supreme judge; the Lagmen, who had previously represented the peasants and their rights, were gradually attaching themselves to the lords and became considered as government officials.

The highest functionary in the kingdom had hitherto been the Jarl; this post, however, became extinct with Birger, and the chief men in the king's council were the Marsk, the Drost, and the chancellor. Magnus introduced foreign customs and institutions into Sweden, the most important of which was the Russtjenst, or mounted service. In Sweden, as in other northern countries, the obligation of warlike service had been confined to naval defence; the country was divided into circuits which in the event of war had to furnish a ship with the crew, and in times of peace paid a war tax. As warfare

on land became more common, Magnus wished to have an able-bodied cavalry, and decreed that whoever served him with horse and armour should be exempt from taxation. These troopers formed a distinct military body, and as shortly afterwards Russtjenst, and consequently exemption, became hereditary, the basis of a special nobility was established. In connection with the Russtjenst, knighthood was also introduced; the knights, who were appointed by the king and were called lords, formed the nucleus of the army. With the introduction, however, of Russtjenst there began a decline in the navy. Hence, the Swedes, like the Danes and Norwegians, were forced to resign their naval supremacy. This now passed into the hands of the Hanseatic League, which had control over the Baltic and the North Seas.

Decline of Swedish Navy

Magnus Ladulas left at his death, in 1290, three sons, Birger, Erik, and Waldemar, who were all minors. The eldest, Birger, became king; his guardian was the Marsk Tyrgils Knutsson. Tyrgils was brave and clever and discharged the duties of his office with earnestness and fidelity. He ruled with the same vigour and ability as Birger and Magnus; he continued the work of Erik the Pious and Birger in Finland and by subduing the savage Carelians completed the conquest and conversion of the country. It was a long time before there was a close union between Finland and Sweden. Swedish language, customs, and institutions made slow headway; and the Catholic Church alone, which had several able advocates, succeeded in gaining great power. It is true that Swedes settled in Finland, where strong castles were built, and that Swedish commanding officers, who took up their permanent residence in Finland, formed the basis of a Finnish nobility; but the country was not incorporated with the Swedish state, and remained fairly independent of the Swedish kings, until the sixteenth century. When Birger and his brothers grew up they soon disagreed. Erik and Waldemar were not satisfied with the fiefs which they had received, and revolted against Birger; but they were reduced to submission by Tyrgils, who remained faithful to the king. The dukes realised that it was necessary for their plans to depose the Marsk; they accordingly persuaded Birger that Tyrgils was to blame for the brothers' quarrel. Birger was sufficiently ungrateful and indiscreet to order his faithful minister to be beheaded in 1306. After Tyrgils' death Birger's good fortune ceased. He was taken prisoner by his brothers in the same year, and in order to regain his freedom, was forced to cede to them in 1308 and in 1310 two-thirds of the kingdom. Birger meditated revenge, but acted as if he had forgiven everything and disarmed their fears by feigned friendship. However, when they visited him at Christmas, 1317, at the Castle of Nyköping, he locked them into the tower, where they probably died of hunger.

The Basis of Finnish Nobility

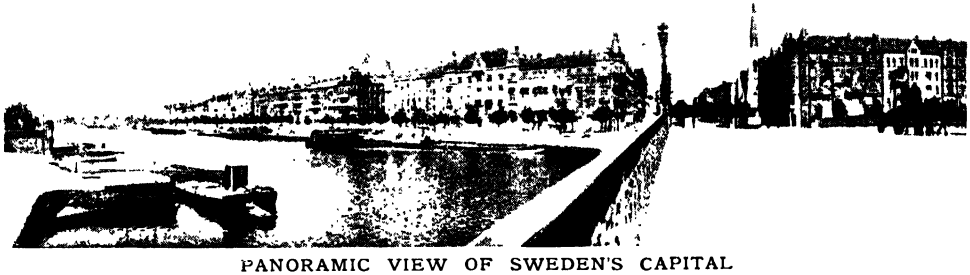
Birger profited little by this treachery. On hearing that the dukes had been taken prisoners, their retainers rose in rebellion; Birger was compelled to flee. Erik's three-year-old son, Magnus II., was proclaimed king, and a regency was appointed in 1319. In the same year the child inherited the kingdom of Norway from Haakon V. (Magnussön), his maternal grandfather. Thus Sweden and Norway were united for the first time. However, the union was not very close, because the two kingdoms had only the one king in common. During the minority of the king the power of the lords grew; their behaviour in the country was anything but seemly, and it did not improve after Magnus took the government into his own hands in 1332. He was a well-meaning but weak prince, who entirely lacked the strength necessary to control the arrogant lords. Still, slavery was at last abolished, the administration of justice improved, and national and municipal codes of law were issued.

Union of Sweden and Norway

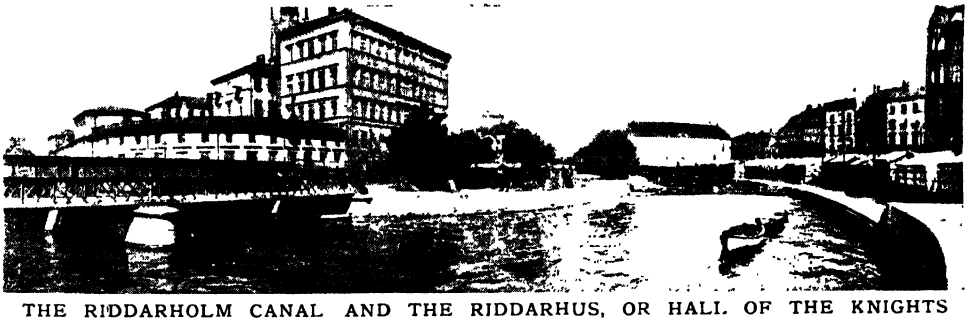
Magnus extended his dominion by annexing the Scanian cantons. It is true that he was unable to keep them for any length of time, owing to the attacks of Waldemar Atterdag, so that they were soon reunited with Denmark—1360. Of his other enterprises a war against the Russians was unsuccessful; they had been on hostile terms with the Swedes since the conquest of Finland. At the same time the country was devastated by the Black Death, which swept away at least a third of the population. The king was helpless to relieve the distress. In Sweden as well as in Norway the people had been discontented with him for a long time. The



THE ROYAL PALACE AT STOCKHOLM



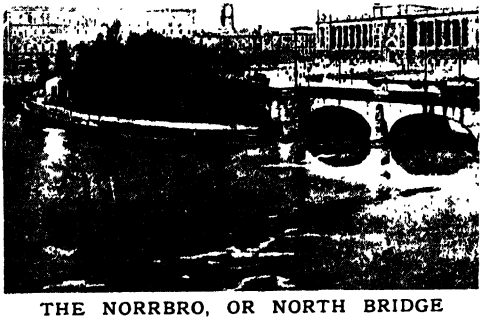
PANORAMIC VIEW OF SWEDEN'S CAPITAL



THE RIDDARHOLM CANAL AND THE RIDDARHUS, OR HALL OF THE KNIGHTS



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY



THE NORRBRO, OR NORTH BRIDGE

SCENES IN STOCKHOLM, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF SWEDEN

Norwegians complained that he was neglecting the country, and to satisfy them he had been forced to give them his son Haakon (VI.) as king in 1343. Haakon was also elected King of Sweden in 1362 by the Swedish lords, whose powers and liberties Magnus wished to restrict. However, he attached himself to his father; and, in order to be able to fight against the refractory lords with more success, the two kings united with their former enemy, Waldemar Atterdag, whose daughter, Margaret, Haakon married. By his marriage he severed himself completely from the Swedish lords. Both he and his father were deposed, and the son of Magnus' sister Euphemia, Albert the Younger of Mecklenburg, was proclaimed king on November 30th, 1363.

Swedish Kings Deposed

Haakon attempted to regain the crown by force of arms, but was defeated and compelled to content himself with Norway; there Magnus also passed his last years. In this way the first union between Sweden and Norway was dissolved.

A year before the death of Magnus in 1374, occurred that of his kinswoman, Saint Brigitta; she has become celebrated on account of her visions and revelations. She was born about the year 1302, and even in her childhood gave evidence of unusual talents, and lived in a world of devotion, in which the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints revealed themselves to her. She was filled with ideas of reform, preached repentance and renunciation, and denounced the universal immorality of the times. At the court, where she was for a time the governess of the queen, she roused indignation by her severe and earnest reprimands; but among the people she acquired great reputation as a saint and a prophetess. As the situation in Sweden was no longer congenial to her, she left her native country and went to Rome, where she died in 1373. She had received permission from the Pope to found a convent at Vadstena, on the east shore of Lake Wetter. In 1370 Urban V. confirmed the rule which she had drawn up for the convent of the Brigittine order, and in 1391 she was canonised. The "Revelations," which she herself recorded or dictated, were translated into Latin and circulated over the whole of Catholic Europe; they rank among the most important literary productions of Sweden at a time when there was hardly any literature in the real sense of the word.

Saint Brigitta's "Revelations"

Of the pagan sagas and poems only a few traces have survived. The oldest Swedish linguistic monuments of which we know are the numerous runic inscriptions. The laws of the several cantons, a few of which are very old, are also drawn up in Swedish. Everything else which has survived dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as do also the national code of law—about 1350—a few rhyming chronicles, the Euphemia songs, many folk-songs, which are apparently of foreign origin, and finally some prose translations of foreign narratives.

The domestic conditions of Sweden did not improve with Albert's accession. The king was weak and not respected; the nobles played the rôle of masters. Assaults, feuds, murder, and plunder were daily occurrences; from their castles and garrisoned estates, which extended over the whole country, the lords oppressed the peasants, whose original freedom in this way became seriously threatened. When, in 1386, Albert at last made an attempt to obtain more influence, the lords called Margaret of Denmark into the country. She sent an army into Sweden, and, on February 24th, 1389, in the battle of Asle near Falköping, won a victory over Albert, who was taken prisoner. Soon the whole of Sweden submitted. Stockholm alone, which was supported by the Mecklenburg princes and towns, upheld the cause of Albert for several years; however, as he could not pay his ransom, the town was eventually handed over to the queen. In the meantime, in 1396, the Swedes and Danes had chosen as their king Margaret's grand-nephew, Erik of Pomerania, who had become king of Norway in 1389; and on June 17th, 1397, he was crowned in Kalmar as king of the three nations (Union of Kalmar).

Erik, King of Three Nations

Peace and quiet had been restored under Margaret; she managed to bridle the unruly nobles and to make every one obedient to her. But with her death, in 1412, the peace came to an end. Erik XIII. did not possess the strength and ability of his foster mother; consequently, his reign was injurious to the union as well as to each kingdom individually. He irritated the lords temporal and spiritual by his despotic and indiscreet actions.



GIRLS OF RÄTTVIK, SWEDEN



A GRANDMOTHER OF LEKSAND, IN SWEDEN



A CHARACTERISTIC VIEW OF LAPLANDERS AND THEIR PRIMITIVE HOME



A TYPICAL WOMAN OF LAPLAND



A SWEDISH GIRL IN BRIDAL DRESS

TYPES OF PEOPLE IN SWEDEN AND LAPLAND

whilst he allowed his bailiffs and nobles to oppress the people; complaints were made about the bad administration and the heavy taxes, which were enacted with the utmost rigour. As all complaints were in vain the peasants of Dalarnen rose up in 1434 against the foreign yoke; they found a capable leader in Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, and the rest of the people joined them, including the nobles, who hoped to recover the power of which they had been deprived by Margaret. The foreigners were driven out and Engelbrekt was extolled as the liberator of his country in 1435. The nobles, however, feared the powerful leader of the people; they had attached themselves to the movement in order to obtain a diminution of the king's power, but they did not wish to share that power with the peasants and their leader. They were accordingly not displeased when Engelbrekt was murdered on April 27th, 1436, by a personal enemy, and the Council of State agreed with the Danish Council that the union should be maintained. Erik, with whom the Danes were also discontented, was deposed in September, 1439, and his sister's son, Christopher of Bavaria, who willingly agreed to all the conditions, was elected king in 1440.

Deposition of King Erik

This was a victory for the aristocracy; they had obtained a king after their own heart, and made use of their triumph to limit the privileges of the peasants. There were, however, a few even among the nobility who either from ambition or patriotism joined the popular party; thus there arose two parties, one national, the other attached to the union, which were strongly opposed until the beginning of the following century. After Christopher's death, in 1448, the national party triumphed and placed a Swede, Karl Knutsson Bonde, who had been vice-regent from 1438–1440, on the throne of Sweden, while the Danes chose Christian, Count of Oldenburg, as their king. The latter wished to maintain the union by force of arms. The war was carried on by both sides with great bitterness and cruelty; and it sowed the seeds of that national hatred which was the most tragic heritage of the union.

The Tragic Heritage of Union

Christian I. succeeded, in 1457, in gaining the crown of Sweden with the help of the union party, at the head of which was Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, Archbishop of Upsala; however, he could not keep it permanently. Eventually, in 1467, Karl was still king of Sweden, and continued ruling till his death, in 1470. He was succeeded by the Stures. Sven Sture the elder (1470–1503), his kinsman, Svante Nilsson (1503–1512), and Nilsson's son Sten Sture the younger (1512–1520), were successively, as regents, the leaders of the national party and the defenders of Sweden's liberty and independence; they were supported by the people, had several of the nobles on their side, and successfully opposed the attempts of the union kings to conquer Sweden.

The Stures, however, found their most dangerous opponents among their own countrymen—friends of the union who had entered into secret negotiations with the Danes. Sven Sture the younger quarrelled with the leader of the party, the malicious and vindictive Archbishop of Upsala, Gustav Trolle, who was convicted of high treason and by the orders of the regent dismissed from office and arrested. Thereupon Pope Leo X. excommunicated Sven Sture and his followers and commissioned Christian II. to execute the bull of excommunication by force. Christian gladly sent an army into Sweden in 1518. At the second attack, in 1520, Sture's troops were beaten, and he was mortally wounded. Christian received homage as hereditary king, and was crowned on November 4th by Gustav Trolle in Stockholm. Christian believed that he would secure his supremacy by severity; he wished to destroy the spirit of independence among the people and also the defiance of the nobles; and therefore some days after his coronation a number of nobles, clergy, and citizens were beheaded in the market-place at Stockholm, a tragedy known as the Stockholm Massacre or Bloodbath. The corpse of Sture was burnt at the stake; the estates of those who had been beheaded were confiscated.

Nobles Massacred at Stockholm

Christian however succeeded in accomplishing exactly the reverse of what he had hoped the massacre would effect, for, at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar, the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna, revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out, and, on June 6th, 1523, the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king.

HANS SCHJÖTH



GUSTAVUS VASA PROCLAIMED KING OF SWEDEN AT THE DIET OF STRENGNÄS IN THE YEAR 1523

From the painting by Louis Hersent, in the Palais Royal



AN ASSAULT AT ARMS BETWEEN THE MEN OF LOUIS AND HIS BROTHER CHARLES GRANDSONS OF CHARLEMAGNE



THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONS

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

AND THE REIGNS OF THE GERMAN KINGS

THE treaty of Verdun in 843, between Lothair and his brothers, the sons of Louis the Pious and grandsons of Charlemagne, arranged that Lothair should retain the empire and a formal supremacy, together with the Italian dominions and a piece of territory extending from the Aar and the Rhine on one side, the Rhone, Saone and Scheldt on the other, to the North Sea, and including Friesland to the right of the Rhine. Charles the Bald secured the district to the west of this boundary, and Louis, whose separate kingdom had originally consisted of Bavaria, gained the territory on the east. He therefore was in charge of the main body of the future German nationality.

There was here no question of any nationalist idea, even though at the confirmation of the Strasburg Oaths, on February 11th and 14th, 842, the troops of Charles spoke Romance and those of Louis German. A man who had been educated under the general lay instruction initiated by Charles, and who was still inspired with this spirit, the historian Nithard, acted in a nationalist spirit, and transcribed the oaths in the dialects of each people; but no such thoughts or ideas inspired the general policy of those affected. The compact of Verdun was a purely geographical division of territory. Louis' share was not intended to include "Germans," but the Bavarians, Alamanni, Franks, Thuringians and Saxons who happened to be in that district; other Alamanni—in Alsace—and other Franks—further away on the left bank of the Rhine—were, like the Frisians, assigned to the artificial Middle Kingdom. The word "Thiudisk," "German," was first intended to explain that a man spoke no Latin but only a vernacular dialect. For convenience of distinction, Louis is styled by students the "German." The rights of the royal family as recognised in the compact of Verdun made their influence felt, both in the realm of Louis and in the East Frankish portion, and also in the share of Lothair. The compact of Verdun began to be imitated at every individual point, and its effects were multiplied in correspondence with the justice of the claims of the victorious communities; it seemed that the empire of Charles would be broken up more quickly by his own family than by the existing forces of disruption. In the imperial districts of East Francia the Bavarians were assigned to the share belonging to Carloman, the Alamanni to Charles the Fat, and Central and Lower Germany to Louis the Younger. Of the foundation of the German Empire by their father, Louis the German, there can be no question.

Translations of the Strasburg Oaths

Foundation of German Empire

These events were largely conditioned by the fact that Lothair's family soon became extinct, and that the questions of imperial succession and title were therefore revived. As regards the latter, Louis the Pious and Lothair had given the

Pope the right of coronation at his desire; the former had been recrowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen, as he thought the first coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was inadequate, while Lothair had received the imperial crown at Rome itself. An understanding between Charles the Bald and the papacy secured to the former the imperial crown after the death of the Emperor Louis II., son of Lothair I., in 875, though it actually belonged by right of succession to Charles' elder brother Louis the German. The latter and his sons maintained their rights against Charles the Bald and his West Franks by energetic military and diplomatic measures. Hence they gained a considerable share in the plunder from the desolate and shattered central kingdom.

Struggle for Imperial Crown

After 870 the convention of Mersen advanced the boundary of the East Frankish Empire to a line running from Geneva along the Upper Moselle, the Ourthe, and the Maas, while in 879 the brilliant victory of Andernach extended their powers beyond the Upper Maas to the Scheldt. The East Frankish Empire thus included not only almost all the unmixed "German" tribes, but also a number of Romance subjects, and even now it was not regarded as natural that the boundaries of nationalities should coincide with those of states. Metz and its immediate neighbourhood formed at all times an isolated centre of Romance language and civilisation. There were, moreover, Romance peoples in the Eastern Empire, further to the west of the upper Lotharingian district in modern Belgium, from the Central Scheldt to the Maas; these were the Walloons, a Romance people, speaking a language of Keltic origin with many Frankish additions, and clearly distinguished from the later French. The Low Frankish Flemings, who were Germans, inhabited the coast beyond the Scheldt, in the West Frankish Empire, to Dunkirk. Eventually the imperial throne was recovered by the most successful son of Louis the German, Charles.

Charles the Fat on the Throne

In the East Frankish Empire the Carolingian family disappeared, through death and misfortune, as rapidly as in the two other lines. After 882 the Emperor Charles III., known as the Fat, found himself master of the whole kingdom. Even then, however, no uniform national German empire was developed. Before long, Charles merely became once again the chief of the whole Carolingian Empire, as in Western Francia German help was urgently required against the Northmen. The present incapacity of Charles made it impossible for this help to be rendered, and a final solution of the problem thus became inevitable. West Francia and the new kingdoms of Burgundia and Italy went their own way, while the leading tribes of East Francia combined to break away from the dishonourable government of Charles. It is through this somewhat negative enterprise and this military agreement that the German Empire and nationality was really founded. The German representatives united to elect a leader in place of the legitimate emperor, and chose from his family, as his nearest blood relation, Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Charles's deceased brother, Carloman, who had held a Bavarian office in Carinthia.

This change introduced the principle of royal election into German history—a principle which was better than the joint succession of the most nearly related families, though not so good as dynastic primogeniture. The elections were not conducted upon any revolutionary principle; it was not demanded that the succession should remain undetermined until the death of the existing king, or that all other considerations should be disregarded. The traditional feeling that the succession ought to be vested in the reigning family continued to exercise a hardly diminished influence, and remained preponderant until the interregnum, and indeed for some time subsequently. The innovation, however, that the successor was subjected to general recognition by a process of election which might take place even during the lifetime of the reigning monarch, modified the dynastic idea, and led to a connection of the two theories.

New Way of Electing an Emperor

In the case of Arnulf's son, Louis the Child, the anointing and coronation were carried out by the hand of the bishops for the first time in the history of the East Frankish kings; in West Francia this transference of the ceremonies usual at an imperial coronation to the coronation of an emperor had been employed to confer greater distinction upon Charles the Bald.

Arnulf (887–899) was distinguished for his brilliant victory of October 20th, 891, at Löwen on the Dyle. This prevented the Northmen from plundering or fortifying positions in Germany, which was then defenceless by sea. Henceforward North-west France and the British Isles remained the sole areas open to their enterprises and establishment. These raids, like the settlements of the Northmen in Russia, are to be regarded as a sequel of the general Teutonic migration, and point to a series of related causes and events in the same manner as the great migration proper. Arnulf's interference in Italy and his assumption of the imperial crown have but a temporary importance. Immediately after his reign the crown became the object of petty papal intrigues with Burgundia or native rulers who were aiming at a dominant position in Italy, and had secured their independence as officials under the empire's vanishing power.

Under Arnulf's successor Germany was terribly ravaged from the south-east by the Magyars; neither the government, which ruled in the name of Louis the Child (899–911), nor the bold individual resistance of the tribal duchies, which now began to act for themselves, were able to impose any permanent check upon these invaders.

The stage was now clear for the appearance of the tribal duchy; the election of Arnulf to the kingship had definitely established the elective theory and superseded the partitions of the kingdom among the royal families. Arnulf's illegitimate son Zwentibald, the namesake of the great Moravian despot Sviatopolk, while joint king of Lotharingia, had succeeded only in discrediting this form of partition and in driving his subjects from himself to Louis the Child. Tribal particularism as such was far from abolished.



THE REGALIA OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION

In place of the partition kings—no longer members of the royal stock—native rulers attempted to make themselves supreme with the goodwill of the people; these traced their descent from families possessing hereditary estates and prestige; their importance was increased by the tenure of high offices. It was not immediately clear in every case which family was the most capable of rule, or would be able to maintain its ground if appointed. In Franconia, for instance, there was a keen rivalry between the Conradiner family, which was settled in the Lahn district,

and the eastern family of the Babenbergers, which held property on the Upper Main. The imperial government itself favoured Conrad and helped him to secure a definite victory over the Babenbergers, permitting him also to adopt the somewhat indefinite style of duke. Under Louis the Child, the title of duke became, in Saxony, Francia, Alamannia and Bavaria, the ordinary method of denoting a popular leader. The same was the case in Lotharingia, where the original sense of Frankish relationship had been modified by historical events.

Church Leaders in Imperial Government

About 900 the imperial government consisted chiefly of the leading ecclesiastics of East Francia, Archbishop Hatto of Mainz and Bishop Salomo of Constance. Under Louis the Pious, the clergy had attempted to secure all possible political unity in order to preserve their ecclesiastical unity; so now, when the division of the empire into halves had proved definite and irrevocable, they attempted to pursue some policy of union within the East Francian division. There were at the same time more direct motives to influence their action. The results which the upper clergy might expect from the division of the empire among the leading princely families were also to be expected from the more obvious and tangible power that the dukes either claimed or exerted over the bishopries which lay within their spheres of government.

Thus, in 911, when Louis died in childhood, leaving no heir, the episcopate immediately undertook the choice of an East Frankish king; the laity offered no opposition, as this seemed the surest means of breaking away from the hereditary claims of the West Frankish Carolingians and from the collective monarchy. Whether they would obey the new ruler of their choice was another question. The Frankish count or duke, Conrad, was elected. He was a suitable character in the eyes of the leading ecclesiastical princes, and he was also related to the Carolingians, so that the breach with the old dynasty seemed less violent; and by the choice of Conrad the crown remained "among the Franks." Upon all these questions people thought as tribesmen; therefore the crown was regarded as the property of the Frankish tribe. A request was sent to the most powerful duke, the Saxon Otto, of the house of the Ludolfings, which was declined; this was but one of the preliminary negotiations which preceded the election at Forchheim, on Frankish soil, on November 8th, 911.

Conrad Receives a Crown

Such was the indifference with which the revival of the monarchy was viewed; its existence was made conditional upon individual consent, and its power was yet further diminished. None the less it remained in existence, and, precarious as that existence was, it yet became a traditional and historical idea. If its practical power decreased, it secured an influence less easy to estimate, which eventually enabled it to surmount the considerable dangers which were yet to threaten its existence. Hence, we observe that the passage from Charles the Great onwards through German history is by no means direct, and is explicable solely by the partitions between 843 and 870. Of his immense, statesmanlike work, many achievements disappeared entirely and with unmerited rapidity. The permanent element in his work, which exercised an enduring and decisive influence upon Germany, is the fact that Charles united a large number of diverse Teutonic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine with his own empire; by administration, by civil and ecclesiastical government, he bound them so firmly together that they were unable to separate in spite of their mutual animosity. Their crown, however, their political union, their common institutions, and their future nationality were plants which either withered or grew with difficulty, and for a long time could be preserved from extinction only by the most careful attention.

Charlemagne's Influence on Germany

These new growths would certainly have perished had not Conrad I., or whoever advised him, taken a step in the hour of death which produced a profound and salutary impression. The proud and powerful Saxons were extremely anxious that the crown and the leadership should fall to themselves, the youngest members of the imperial alliance. Expediency and generosity, on the other hand, urged the Franconians to give their consent. In this way they remained the supporters and preservers of the power of the crown, though this was a pleasure which they did not exaggerate. Thus, in the midst of general indifference, these two tribes at last elected a king, the son of the deceased

Duke Otto. The most dangerous moment in the existence of the German crown had been passed, and henceforward all was progress.

The methods of Henry I. (the Fowler) consisted largely in a policy of humouring the particularist spirit as far as possible. He acted like the layman he was, granting neither the right of coronation nor any obvious influence to the imperialist section of the clergy; their influence would not have suited him personally, and his energies were expended chiefly in cases where others would have been glad of his help, entirely for the benefit of his Saxons, in whose duchy the Thuringians were incorporated. Thus it was only his own duchy that he liberated from the Magyars in 933 by means of a truce and a victory, acting as if this were the course of action generally approved. He proceeded very cautiously to secure the recognition of the supreme royal authority in Bavaria and Alamannia (Swabia); he even left the appointment of Bavarian bishops in the hands of the Bavarian duke. As soon, however, as the Swabian duchy fell vacant and a leader was required, he immediately chose a foreign duke for the country from among the Franconian supporters whom he wished to reward. Lotharingia alone, which with its duke, Giselbert, had given offence to all the other Germans, he proceeded to treat severely on the first favourable opportunity, which he also seized to secure his recognition as East Frankish king by the West Frankish government, though he was not himself a Carolingian. He carried on his former Saxon policy, with the military power of his well-trained Saxon troops, by making an advance into the Slavonic lands of Eastern Europe. He thus pointed out the road for the future, which was to be a German and not merely a Saxon line of advance, so soon as the tribes co-operated and the gain of the individual became that of the nation. The same remarks apply to his creation of a Saxon frontier against the Danes, the mark of Schleswig.

The Saxon Policy of Henry I.

The succession of his son, Otto I., which he had personally secured, began in 936 with a kind of manifesto against Henry's careful policy of retirement. The new generation and the imperialist clergy were anxious to announce their theory of the constitution. Otto was crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle with great solemnity and reaped the fruits of Henry's silent successes. The great dukes acted as his household officers during the coronation feast, thus admitting their position, not only as servants of the empire, but also as servants of the king. Otto further announced his general position as *primus inter pares* and a crowned tribal duke by immediately entrusting the Saxon government to the hand of a representative, Hermann Billung, who was specially commissioned to guard against the Danes and the Baltic pirates. With Hermann the great Margrave Gero administered the frontiers and directed the Saxon policy of expansion upon the Slavonic side.

Saxons and Franks at Variance

Otto was anxious from the outset to appear as the universal king, equally supreme in every matter. The natural reaction took place; there were dissensions between Saxons and Franks; revolts were joined by two of Otto's own brothers, who had been unable to understand why Otto should be elevated rather than themselves, at this moment when the dynastic theory was only nascent; there were complications with several of the dukes and with the superior clergy in the course of these revolts. Otto had some difficulty in averting these dangers, and as among the Danes, Burgundians, and West Franks, or French, there was no lack of tribal or dynastic tendencies, a kind of protectorate over their kings was immediately offered him.

Otto's system of placing the duchies in the hands of personal friends or immediate and younger relations was not carried out in every case. His son, Ludolf of Swabia, was no exception. He, like his Bavarian uncle Henry, Otto's brother, was carrying on an independent foreign policy beyond the south frontier, exactly as the duchy had done during the weakest period of the German crown. Henry, however, having learned wisdom by many attempts at revolt and past favours, maintained friendly relations with Otto, whereas Ludolf was inclined to act out of jealousy with his uncle Hence the Swabian duke was induced to challenge his father prematurely to a trial of strength. The latter's interference in Italy was urged upon him by the necessity of showing that the king himself was master of his foreign policy. The Saxons thus followed

Ludolf's Challenge to his Father

the paths leading beyond the Alps which had been used by the old Merovingians and by their successors, the Carolingians, of whom Arnulf was the last.

At length the claims of East Francia to Italy and the imperial crown, which had long been allowed to lapse, were revived. Otto acted like Charles the Great by proclaiming himself "Rex Francorum et Langobardorum" at Pavia, and by demanding the imperial crown at Rome shortly afterwards. Between these two steps he married Adelheid, the sister of his protégé, Conrad of Burgundy, and the widow of Lotha'r, one of the kings who for some decades past had occupied Italian soil by usurpation. She was a pleasing and distinguished lady, though she did not bring with her the Italian crown a gift which Otto, indeed, had never expected.

Otto's Bid for the Italian Crown

The imperial crown was refused him by the timorous Alberic, who had made himself governor of Rome and lord of the papacy; in Germany the old revolts were for a moment revived with the help of Ludolf. Otto therefore returned and agreed to a convention concerning Italy, which satisfied no one except Henry of Bavaria, who gained the old Friuli with Verona and Aquileia for his duchy. Among the dissatisfied parties was Berengar of Ivrea, who had regarded his own kingdom in Italy as secure upon the death of Lotha'r, and who had now received only a diminished feudal kingdom; dissatisfied also were Otto's son-in-law, the Frankish duke, Conrad of Lorraine, and Ludolf and his partisans.

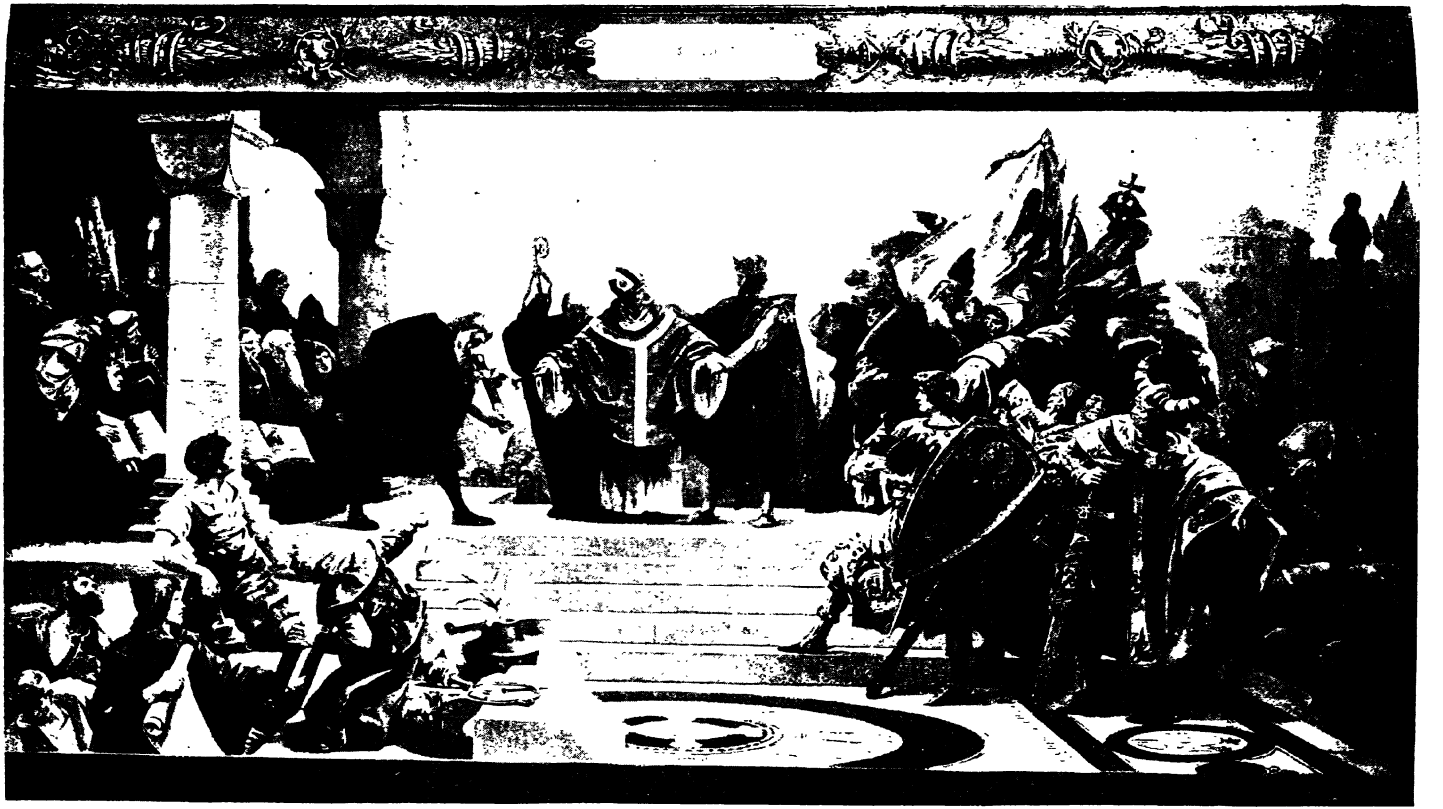
A new and formidable revolt broke out, the danger of which was increased by a simultaneous invasion of the Magyars, but public opinion declared in favour of the king. After 954, Otto suppressed the revolt and initiated a new policy, entrusting to the bishops a certain share of the secular government in the duchies and counties, and securing that close personal connection with them which he had desired to introduce in the case of the dukes. His capable brother Bruno, the Archbishop of Cologne, was given the supervision of Lotharingia, always a thorn in the side of the empire, and it was henceforward divided into two duchies. For the help of the Saxon policy against the Slavs, and the Germanisation of the country beyond the Elbe, he proposed to support the power of the army and the margrave by making Magdeburg on the old frontier a metropolitan seat, and thus a centre of ecclesiastical activity. Upon the Magyars' return in 955, Otto inflicted upon them at the Lechfeld, near Augsburg, a heavy defeat which finally liberated Germany from these marauding raids, and was regarded throughout the empire as an exploit which had secured the salvation of the common monarchy.

The Clever Policy of Otto

The consequence and power of the energetic German king were now obviously in their maturity both at home and abroad; all his activity and all earlier events were turned to some account. The splendour of the age of Charles the Great either revived or was surpassed; Greeks and Saracens sent embassies with presents of honour from empire to empire, according to the forms of courtesy in use at the period. This fact was an invitation to consider the possibility of reviving the imperial power of Charles. It was a possibility further implied by the fact that the Saxon dynasty had attempted and failed to unite its interests with those of the tribal dukes, had transferred its favour to the upper clergy of the empire, and was in close sympathy with the missionary and universal aims of the Church. The Church and its wide influence possessed a wholly unworthy head in Pope John XII.; and it was therefore all the more important to withdraw no longer from the Roman ecclesiastical centre of gravity the influence of an imperial power which could make ecclesiastical policy its own and become the ally and patron of the Church. Moreover, the revival of the empire would provide a definite solution of those Italian problems which had been raised by the behaviour of Berengar and of his son, Adalbert. Every recent development of Otto's later policy seemed to point the way to Rome. The foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg could most easily be arranged at Rome, since it was opposed by the Metropolitan of Mainz, who could, from Rome, be prohibited from further extending his great ecclesiastical province eastward.

A Policy that Pointed to Rome

It therefore appeared that the most tangible national object, the extension of the empire and of the nationality upon the Baltic and in the eastern interior, could best be furthered by measures undertaken in the distant country of Italy.



BISHOP BERNARD RECEIVING EMPEROR HENRY II. AT THE CATHEDRAL AT HILDESHEIM ON PALM SUNDAY, 1003

From a painting by Professor Hermann Prell, in the Town Hall at Hildesheim, used by permission

The expedition to Italy was begun in 961; in the course of it Otto accepted the Lombard crown, and was finally crowned as emperor at Rome by the Pope on February 2nd, 962. Henceforward the imperial power was not thought to have been fully acquired until this form was carried through. Shortly afterwards the papacy was reformed by a forcible change of Pope under the judicial supervision of the emperor himself. Northern and Central Italy immediately became new districts of the empire, as formerly under Charles the Great; the Pope became the chief imperial bishop even as the Metropolitan of Mainz had been the chief bishop of the German kingdom. The latter was obliged to assent to the bestowal of archiepiscopal rank upon the new see of Magdeburg.

Reform of the Papacy

Like Charles, Otto proceeded to effect a composition with Byzantium, which was indignant at his rise to power. After much ill-feeling an understanding satisfactory to both sides was secured by the marriage of the emperor's niece, Theophania, with Otto's son and namesake, whom he had already, in 961, appointed to succeed him. Like Louis the this second Otto became emperor father's lifetime, in 967, for the purposes of the Greek marriage contract. The Saxon dynasty thus calmly established itself, both in its old and new positions, and it seemed that Otto the Great was about to resume the Carolingian traditions in their entirety, when he died on May 7th, 973.

The government of Otto II. (973–983) is remarkable in Germany rather for the continuance than the extension of his father's work. The centre of gravity for the empire shifted so far that it no longer remained in Germany. The existence of the imperial crown made the Lombard crown a superfluity, and this later theory of the situation secured the complete uniformity of the whole empire. Imperial assemblies upon Italian soil decided the affairs of Germany. For the coronation, the emperor's successor, the child Otto III., who was designated at Verona the Archbishop of Ravenna, as well as the Archbishop of Mainz, travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle. The relations of this son of Adelheid and husband of Theophania with the Mediterranean thus differed widely from those entertained by the successor of Henry I.

How German Affairs Were Decided

The conquest of Græco-Saracen Lower Italy — an enterprise threatened by Otto I. in order to put pressure on Byzantium — became for Otto II. the most important object of his reign. His carelessness brought down upon him the appalling defeat of July 15th, 982, at the modern Capo di Colone, south of Cotrone, which inflamed the slumbering hostility of the Lombards, Wends and Danes. The emperor died before he could repair the heavy losses. The difficult work of restoring the prestige of the empire devolved upon the regent Theophania. With the help of Archbishop Willigis of Mainz she defeated the intentions of the younger Henry of Bavaria, a grandson of Henry I. and a Ludolfing, who considered himself as much better qualified to rule than a queen-regent of alien nationality and dynasty, or even, in the last resort, than Otto III. himself, who, though crowned was still a minor.

Otto III. suffered more than any other German ruler from the consciousness that he was nothing but a German. We learn from reliable evidence that Theophania was inclined to manifest her personal scorn and contempt for the Germans and even for the German characteristics of her own husband. Otto III. complained of "the rudeness of his Saxon character" which had not been entirely overcome by his tutors, who were chiefly foreigners or by the foreign friends with whom he surrounded himself. He changed his capital to Rome, and thus to the neighbourhood of his friend Gerbert, whom he made Pope Sylvester II. in 999. He fulfilled that theory of the empire which had already been manifest at the court of Otto II., by organising his court upon Byzantine models. He proclaimed himself upon his seal and otherwise as the first real restorer of the Roman Empire in the full sense of the term; for this reason he added "Romanorum" to the title "Imperator." He regarded the German merely as a nation subject to the empire which had its capital in Rome. He assumed the secondary title "Saxonicus" by which he meant not "the Saxon," but "the Governor of the Saxons," after the pattern of the old triumphal titles of Africanus, Germanicus, etc. Believing that the prestige of this empire was lost

Otto III. "Nothing but a German"

creased by powerful vassals, he bestowed ecclesiastical independence upon Poland by founding the archbishopric of Gnesen over the grave of his Czech friend, Woitech. This measure destroyed the usefulness of Magdeburg. In the same spirit he freed the Poles from their obligations to the German Empire and to the Saxons. He helped the Hungarians to secure a royal crown as a papal fief, and to found the archbishopric of Gran. By the latter measure he destroyed the position of the Bavarian Church among the mixed peoples of the Hungarian territory.

Otto was himself to feel the bitterness of beholding the collapse of the empire thus modelled upon antique forms. The Romans drove out the German who had renounced his nationality from his pampered "aurea Roma." He died in 1002, while he was attempting to make a forcible re-entry, and the transference of his corpse to Germany was completed amid the revolt of Italy.

King Henry II., a Ludolfing of the Bavarian line, whose election was not secured without the opposition of rivals, is, more than all others, the restorer of the royal power in Germany and the German sphere of interest. Although personally a South German, he resumed the policy of the Saxon rulers. He averted the danger of a great Slav Empire, under the energetic Duke Boleslav Chabry, maintained German supremacy over Poland and Bohemia, and founded the bishopric of Bamberg, in order to secure the transformation of the Slavs on the Upper Main into true Germans. His interference in Italian affairs in 1004 was merely confined to preventing the foundation of a national supremacy by Arduin, or Hartwin, of Ivrea.



KUNIGUNDE AND HENRY II.
The Emperor Henry II. and his wife Kunigunde, from their tomb in the Cathedral at Bamberg.

Instead of treating Germany and Italy as one kingdom, after the example of Otto II., he followed that of Otto I., and accepted the Lombard crown which Arduin had temporarily lost. In 1014 he made a rapid journey to receive the imperial crown. This restoration of the German monarchy as ruling separate kingdoms led to the acquisition of Burgundia for the German crown through a treaty which promised German protection to the childless king, Rudolf III.

The latter in return promised the royal succession to Henry in his territory. This acquisition, which could not be refused, and also Henry's close but entirely political relations with the Church, which were maintained not so much through the worldly-minded bishops as through the reformers, obliged him to enter the paths of imperial policy. In 1019 and 1020, at the request of the Pope and at the appeal of the faithful Lombard episcopate, he was begged to return to Italy. He undertook the journey in 1021 and 1022, and re-organised the affairs of the north and centre. In his case, however, all these resumptions of imperial policy had a prospect of permanence and success, as he had previously been careful to secure the predominance of Germany.

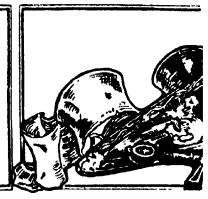


"RESTORER OF THE EMPIRE"
The Emperor Otto III., who suffered from the consciousness of being "nothing but a German," changed his capital to Rome, and proclaimed himself as the first real restorer of the Roman empire.



THE POPE'S HUMILIATION OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR HENRY IV.

In the course of the bitter st[illegible]ggle between Pope Gregory VII. and King Henry IV., the former excommunicated [illegible] emperor and deposed him from the imperial dignity. Henry, unable to bear the social results of the papal b[illegible] scrambled over the slippery slopes of Mont Cenis, in the depth of an unusually severe winter, that he might make peace with the angry Pope. Gregory retired to the castle of Canossa, and to that fortress high up in the Apenn[illegible] he was followed by the humble emperor. For three days Henry, clad in the thin white robe of a penitent, shivered [illegible] the courtyard of Canossa, and absolution was at length granted to him only on humiliating terms of submissi[illegible]



THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS

AND THEIR LONG STRUGGLES WITH THE PAPACY

THE policy of the childless Henry II. was continued in many respects by Conrad II., a Rhineland Franconian of Salic extraction. His dexterity in crushing a Franconian rival of the same name secured his success in the royal election of September 24th, 1024. The empire had thus passed out of the hands of the Saxons, who had practically lost it in 1002; such, at any rate, was their own opinion when the Bavarian Duke Henry secured the crown, although he was a Ludolfing. The fact that it now returned to the Franconians was due not so much to a regular resumption of the old principle of succession as to the closer relations subsisting among the great Rhine ecclesiastical princes. Conrad, though not educated by court chaplains like most future emperors, but by laics, like Henry I., did not reject the imperial ideas which were forced upon his notice in the most varied directions. He attempted to combine them with an essentially German policy. Hence after the Italian bishops had visited him at Constance during his royal progress and had invited him to come to Italy, he accepted the invitation in 1026, received the imperial crown in 1027, and extended the power of the empire from Lombardy, where it was urgently required, to the south, including the position of the Normans, who were now settled in Lower Italy. As the legal successor of Henry he was able to renew the compact with the king of Burgundy and to resume the government of the country in 1033, after Rudolf's death, being formally elected and crowned in this case as in Italy. The Imperium of the Germans thus comprehended three separate kingdoms, with a guarantee for their permanent union.

Imperial Crown Given to Conrad

The alliance of the Polish duke, Mesko II., with his uncle Canute of Denmark and England threatened danger to this government, which Conrad was able to avert by immediately contracting a friendship of his own with the Danish king. This was consolidated in 1035 by the marriage of the emperor's son, Henry III., with Canute's daughter Gunhild, or Kunigunde, and by the surrender at that moment of the mark of Schleswig. The brave Saxons settled in this mark remained none the less Germans, and even advanced their nationality beyond the Schlei, further northward. This friendship made it possible to retain the imperial supremacy unimpaired in Poland and Bohemia, and in 1036 to bring to a triumphant conclusion certain complications with a people who had been useful as allies against Poland, the Slav Liutizes.

Royal Houses Joined in Marriage

Polish and Burgundian affairs gave rise to certain difficulties, with which was connected the revolt of Conrad's stepson, Ernest, the heir of the Swabian duchy, and Count Conrad, who in 1024 had been over-reached in the royal election by the adroit management of Archbishop Aribo, who wished to secure the election to the elder Conrad. However, Conrad II. surmounted all these difficulties in 1030. In the constitutional and social development of the empire Conrad proved himself a practical and creative administrator. Both in Germany and in Italy he supported the vassals of the great feudal lords in their efforts to secure a hereditary title to their fiefs. By this action he united the interests of that class with those of the crown, and by this means also in Italy the allegiance to the empire, which was recognised by most, if not by all the bishops, was laid upon broader foundations.

Conrad's Successful Policy

The success of this policy was most obvious in the powerful position which it gave to Conrad's heir, Henry III. He restored the balance between the conflicting powers of Bohemia and Poland—Bohemia in this case being the aggressor—

and secured the obedience of both to the empire; in Hungary the monarchy recently established by Stefan was involved in the fierce confusion of a struggle with old Magyar conservatism. Here the emperor was able to assert the feudal supremacy of the empire in 1044-1045, though it was a relationship which soon afterwards was very loosely interpreted.

Henry's Ascetic Character

On the ecclesiastical side Henry's position was determined by an education in spiritual principles and practices which had given an ascetic turn to his character; he was accustomed to lament the secular nature of his father's character and policy. After Gunhild's death he was confirmed in this point of view by his marriage with Agnes of Poitou; she was a zealous pupil of the strict reforming movement which originated at Cluny. The struggle had begun against simony that is to say, against the purchase of offices, or the return of ecclesiastical revenues to the patron and against other secular influences within the Church, which were the consequence of its enormous temporal possessions. Henry considered this business the empire's special task, and placed himself entirely at the service of the high aims which had been pointed out to the Church and the papacy. He checked the tendency of the German episcopate to form an independent national Church; and partly in the interests of the authority of the crown he repressed the simoniacal leanings of the bishops, who had become temporal princes of wide power, by emphasising the ascetic theory of the worthlessness of earthly possessions and by supporting the monasteries founded upon the principles of the Cluniac reforms in which Henry II. had already shown special interest.

Three Popes who were fighting simultaneously for precedence in Rome were deposed by Henry in 1046. His action aroused considerable surprise, but it was not a difficult task, and was anything but a victory over the Church. He thus made room for a papacy conducted in opposition to simoniacal principles and with a higher conception of the importance of its office. He chose, as occupants of the Holy See, Germans upon whose pure zeal he could safely, men unbiassed by the nepotism of Roman competitors. Although in every individual case he exercised the free and independent right of the emperor to choose his own Pope, his object was rather to secure a proper occupant for the Apostolic Church than to fortify the interests of the crown. After Swidger of Bamberg, who died in 1047, and Poppo of Brixen, who died in 1048, the Alsatian Bruno of Egisheim, Bishop of Toul, was appointed Pope as Leo. IX. Henry then allowed his nominee to submit his election to the approval of the Romans, and thus to recover the right of confirmation of election for the "clergy and people of Rome." Leo then arranged that the papal election should be made by the college of cardinals; he also secured the help of the Norman conquerors of Southern Italy as the protectors of the papacy, and left to future Popes his scholar Hildebrand as their adviser and practical guide. In 1054 Leo was succeeded by another German Pope, Gebhard of Eichstatt, whose appointment was also confirmed by an election at Rome. Thereupon Roman interests proceeded to break away from all German influences, even from that which had most zealously striven to secure the elevation of the papacy through the agency of German Popes. Henry's imperial supremacy was also expended in conflicts with the German princes. Until 1049 he had a severe struggle to wage with the capable Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, who, after the loss of his duchy, had gained a new position by his marriage with the widowed Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, the mother of the famous Countess Matilda. The wide possessions of this family in North Italy, the Italian home of which was the castle of Canossa, tended more than ever to alienate it from the imperial power, and to incline it to political co-operation with the papal struggles for independence, a tendency fostered by the ecclesiastical leanings of the two countesses. After 1055, when Henry III. was making a further stay in Italy, the existence of the empire was threatened by a great conspiracy of the South German princes, who had traitorously entered into alliance with the Hungarians. An open breach was averted rather by the death of important participants, such as Wolf of Carinthia and Conrad of Bavaria, than by the measures of the emperor; it was, however, a bad omen for the reign of the six-year-old boy, whose succession the emperor had acknowledged in 105-

Three Popes Deposed by Henry

Germans on the Papal Throne

...l whom he left to hold his crown ... 1056.

Henry IV. had many weak qualities, ...ich, however, being entirely human, ...re insufficient to extinguish his manly ...aracteristics and his capacity, and made ...m not unworthy of his later popularity; ... is, to an extent rarely so obvious as in ... case, a product of the conditions under ...ich he grew. In women so entirely ...ranged from worldly desires as was the ...mpress Agnes the feminine desire for ...pport and friendship finds expression only in tenderer forms. The competing influences of ambitious bishops and energetic laymen, among whom the Burgundian Rudolf of Rheinfelden held an initial advantage, ended in a victory for the clergy. The stern, harsh Swabian Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, was by no means a man who could compete for the favour of a great lady with a Gunther of Bamberg or a Henry of Augsburg. In conjunction with some princes, he pushed the queen-mother aside and secured forcible possession of that valuable hostage for power, the young king.

The great struggle for regency and supremacy was then continued between Anno and Adalbert, the brilliant Archbishop of Bremen; he was anxious to be the founder of a Low German patriarchate and to become the temporal administrator of the empire. This he preferred to the papacy, which he might have attained at an earlier date. Between these two leaders, Anno and Adalbert, the factions of the remaining princes wavered as their inclinations varied. The reasonable nature of their policy gradually disappeared, as neither of the two archbishops hesitated to use the royal prerogative for their own purposes, and many a powerful layman was seduced by the idea that he could himself be a better king. As regards the young king himself, his character was destroyed by Anno's unsympathetic training, which made the boy mistrustful, reserved, and suspicious. The ill-advised flattery and epicureanism of the cheerful and self-satisfied Adalbert were equally pernicious, since they only resulted in producing in Henry a precocity of the very worst kind.



KING VERSUS POPE: KING HENRY IV. AND THE CITIZENS OF WORMS

When the bitter antipathy existing between Pope Gregory VII and King Henry IV. broke into open war in 1076, Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him at Rome, there to answer for various breaches of the ecclesiastical law. To that Henry retorted by convoking a Synod at Worms at which the bishops who supported the emperor renounced their allegiance to Gregory, and served upon him a summons, couched in insulting terms, calling upon him to leave the apostolic throne which he had usurped. Henry's humiliation soon followed.

Such being the state of affairs, Rome proceeded to aggression at an early date. Hildebrand was the real author of the election decree, issued in 1059 by Nicholas II., which placed the election of the Pope in the hands of the cardinals and left only an unimportant right of appeal to the people of Rome; in other words, the decree deprived the great Roman families of that useful implement they had formerly enjoyed, an adaptable pontiff. For the crown was reserved only the show of responsibility; but the royal representatives, Agnes and her advisers, replied to this blow merely by an expression of discontent. Very different was the action of the Roman factions and the bishops of Upper Italy. But Hildebrand was ready for any attack. He secured the friendship of the Normans, to whom the papacy had granted investiture of their conquests, in virtue of the suzerainty conferred by the donation of Constantine; he encouraged the democratic and reforming party of the "Pataria" in its opposition to the Lombard bishops, and entirely disregarded the ordinary forms of election if they seemed likely to delay the immediate appointment of the Pope. When the time came, he himself, in open disregard of the decree, assumed the pontificate in 1073 as Gregory VII., without any formality whatever.

A Pope who Elected Himself

Meanwhile, it had become clear that, together with the Normans and the Pataria, a third resource was at his disposal in Germany—namely, the princes and the laity. The king had now attained his majority, and was proceeding to deal with the insubordination of his chief vassals; he took Bavaria from Otto of Northeim. Otto's Saxon friends and kinsmen revolted as a result of long-growing irritation with the Salian dynasty, which they could regard only as alien. Its imperial prerogatives, its demesnes and its Saxon palaces seemed the outward signs of a foreign despotism. Fortunately for Henry, the narrow particularism of the Saxons blinded their eyes to the alliance that was awaiting them among the malcontents of Southern Germany and in the Roman Curia. Their political wisdom had not increased since the time of their own wars with Charles the Great. On the other hand, the Swabian duke, Rudolf of Rheinfeld, and Welf, who had received through Rudolf's influence the Bavarian duchy forfeited by Otto of Northeim, and Berthold of Zähringen—the greatest secular lord in Swabia and duke-elect of Carinthia, though he was unable to make head there against local revolts—all sought the friendship of Gregory VII. After a severe struggle, with varying success, Henry IV. finally conquered the humiliated Saxons in the autumn of 1075. His sole secure support was the citizen class, now rising to power and beginning in many quarters the struggle with the territorial lords, ecclesiastical and princely, in order to secure the autonomy of their own towns.

What the Saxons did Not See

Hitherto Henry had based his opposition to the Curia upon no broad political principle. All his energies and resources were engrossed by the war in Germany; in view of this main object he considered that the task of explanations with the Pope might be deferred. To the Pope he sent a superfluous and extravagant expression of homage, without considering the political or constitutional dangers which this act might imply; in fact, to all complaints of Gregory he replied only in terms of the most extreme submission. Gregory accepted these overtures quietly; and at a moment when Henry's attention was occupied entirely by domestic troubles, in February, 1075, he declared his policy by prohibiting lay investitures—that is to say, by forbidding the king to make appointments to bishoprics and abbeys within the empire, or invest their occupants with lands and revenues. This papal policy implied that the class which might be regarded as the most valuable support of the monarchy was entirely emancipated from its allegiance, and could henceforward be used upon the side of the opposition. Only at this moment did Henry recognise the full extent of the danger which was entailed by an understanding between the papacy and the revolted South German princes.

The Bold Stroke of the Pope

After his victory over the Saxons he proceeded to secure his position against Hildebrand. Upon this question he was supported by the German bishops, who were by no means anxious to surrender their previous connection with the empire for incorporation in the close hierarchical system with its powerful and aggressive Pope. Thus a violent and perhaps premature counter-stroke was delivered by the imperial diet of January, 1076. Only one duke was present, the younger Godfrey of

Lorraine; he was the son of the above-mentioned Godfrey, whose unhappy marriage with Gregory's friend, Matilda of Tuscany, had driven him to the king's support. On the other hand, twenty-six ecclesiastical princes were present, and were inspired by comparative unanimity. Gregory's papacy was declared to be illegitimately acquired and he himself was deposed, while his friendship with Matilda was also misrepresented.

Gregory relying upon the principles of the false decretals, replied by deposing the king, and releasing his subjects in the three realms from their fidelity and allegiance to Henry. Upon this occasion and in this situation the excommunication of the emperor, which had never before been attempted and had not therefore lost its power, produced full effect. The hostile secular princes carried the sentence of deposition to its logical conclusion, while several bishops recognised, though they had been present at the Diet of Worms, the stronger position of Gregory, and deserted to him. The old secular spirit of the Saxon peasantry could not be induced to look beyond the special interests of Saxony alone, and was brought only with difficulty to take action upon the wider question. Concurrently with this determined action of the hierarchy, a parallel movement of Cluniac reform was proceeding throughout Germany. The central point of it was the Swabian monastery of Hirsau; clergy educated in this school and inspired with its spirit were gradually placed in the various bishoprics. The election of a new king in place of the Salian monarch who had been deposed by the Pope was deferred, for the most part owing to the selfishness and ambition of the leading parties. Moreover, Pope Gregory, though anxious to secure the subjection and humiliation of the actual monarch, who was at the point of ruin, was not desirous to set up a new king supported by some powerful faction, who might oblige him to begin his work again from the beginning. Against the strong opposition of the princes, he proceeded to discuss the question of Henry's absolution from the sentence of excommunication, and secured an armistice. In order to secure his control over details, which were greatly complicated by the opposition of the princes, he set forth to visit Germany in person.

Emperor Deposed by the Pope

The king hastened to meet him on his way at Canossa, the castle of Gregory's fellow-traveller, Matilda. Here Henry IV. secured his release from excommunication by a display of unwearied and extreme humility and by a readiness to make atonement which Gregory in vain strove to break by the severest measures. In this way the Pope was able to separate the chief penitent from the hierarchical politicians, who were anxious to make themselves masters of the whole situation in Germany. But this was not all. Gregory merely absolved the king in his private capacity, and expressly retained his right to influence the situation in Germany. The vexation and impatience of the princes now came to the support of King Henry and justified his expectations that in this way he would most speedily emerge from his difficulties.

Henry's Humiliation at Canossa

Gregory again joined the opposition to Henry for the reason that the king was growing too strong in Germany. He excommunicated Henry a second time, but the latter upon this occasion was less disturbed at the sentence. On October 15th, 1080, Rudolf was mortally wounded at Grune, near Pegau—according to others, at Hohenmölsen. His death was due to the loss of that right hand with which he had once sworn fidelity to his king, though victory remained with him through the bravery of the Saxons, who remained faithful through all the increasing embarrassments of their favourite and leader, Otto of Northeim. The opposition thus became more confused and less effective, while the new opposition king, Count Hermann of Salm (1080-1088), proved of no importance. Henry was able to travel to Italy in 1084 and to receive the imperial crown at Rome in St. Peter's from the hand of the imperialist anti-Pope, Clement III.; the true Pope was so closely besieged in the neighbouring Castle of St. Angelo that he welcomed the relief brought by the Normans at his summons, under Robert Guiscard. Gregory retired to Lower Italy, and died at Salerno on May 25th, 1085, embittered by the thought that he had been defeated in a great and righteous cause. In Germany the Guelfs and Zähringers made peace with the emperor; the latter party for the second time renounced the ducal power in Swabia—which they had claimed after

The King's Indifference to Papal Ban

the extinction of the Rheinfeld family—though they received certain compensation and retained the ducal title in 1098. The duchy remained in the hands of the house of Hohenstauffen, to which it had been given by King Henry immediately after his journey to Canossa in 1079.

Meanwhile, in 1090, a new opponent to the emperor arose from the Zähringen family. This was Gebhard, formerly a monk of Hirsau and now Bishop of Constance, a man of unusual energy and tenacity. He was also the confidential adviser of Pope Urban II. (1088-1099), upon whose accession the papacy, despite the despondent words of Gregory upon his death bed, reaped the fruits of that great statesman's labours and resumed his aims. At an earlier date the revolt of Conrad, the emperor's eldest son, and his opposition kingdom (1093-1101) led to no great result; the rising of the future heir, Henry, who had already been crowned in 1099, began in 1104, as a result of disagreement and intrigue, and became important owing to the co-operation and conduct of Gebhard of Zähringen. He accompanied the young king to Saxony, where the bishop secured not merely full political agreement but also the accomplishment of Gregory's reforms. The result was a very confused campaign of father against son; eventually, in 1105, their quarrel was settled by more reliable measures of treachery and violence. The younger man proposed a meeting with the hope of reconciliation, and took his father prisoner by a breach of faith.



KING RUDOLF OF SWABIA
Elected as an opposition king by the German princes when Pope Gregory VII. and Henry IV. were fighting their protracted duels, Rudolf enjoyed but brief reign, dying in 1080. This illustration taken from a bronze plate the cathedral at Merseburg.

At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, the papal legates, Cardinal Richard of Albano and Gebhard of Constance, who were entrusted with full powers, successfully intimidated the numerous princes who supported the emperor and were indignant at the son's action by reiterating old personal charges and producing the former bull of excommunication. At the same moment the chief gaoler of the emperor—who was kept in the castle of Bökelheim—the former Abbot of Hirsau, then Bishop of Speier, succeeded by some means in securing his abdication. The son and his advisers, however, did not venture to bring this act of abdication before the imperial diet, an intention which they had originally pretended.

Henry IV. was forced to abdicate on December 31st, at Ingelheim, amid a gathering of his deadly enemies and under threats of excommunication from the legates. Afterwards, relying upon the fidelity which he knew to exist in many quarters, he attempted to reverse this last of the many defeats he had suffered in his restless life, but died before the appeal to arms, at the early age of fifty-six, in Liège, on August 7th, 1106.

Henry V. was a ruler of ability in whom the deceitful and treacherous elements so alien to his father's nature reached their full development and were combined with stern determination. As soon as he became king—that is to say, when he had secured the recognition of both parties—he pushed aside his ecclesiastical teachers and guides, to whom he had been profuse in his promises of important concessions. He invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope, Paschal II., that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. In 1110 he marched to Italy with two formidable armies, himself going over the St. Bernard, through Burgundy, while the duke of Bohemia went over the Brenner Pass.

Paschal, who was a hot-tempered doctrinaire, when confronted with this inevitable difficulty, suddenly discovered the most remarkable of all solutions, the actual accomplishment of which was an almost inconceivable achievement, and to this Henry V. quietly agreed on February 4th, 1111. It was arranged that the



AN EMPEROR ON HIS DEATH-BED : THE LAST MOMENTS OF HENRY IV. OF GERMANY

The life of Henry IV. was full of troubles. He had enemies on every hand, greatest among them being the Pope, who excommunicated the emperor on more than one occasion. At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, Henry was forced to abdicate, but his old fighting spirit was by no means quenched, and, relying upon the fidelity of his friends, he determined to reverse this last of many defeats. But he did not live to make his appeal to arms, his restless life ending at Liège, on August 7th, 1106.

From the painting by Von Arnim, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

crown should resume all the imperial fiefs held by the ecclesiastical principalities, together with the remaining regalia, with the result that no form of property requiring lay investiture would remain to them. This was a measure of secularisation analogous to that completed to the horror of the Church in the Roman Catholic portions of Germany in 1803, though without inflicting any damage upon the spiritual power and inward strength of the Church. Had any attempt been made to accomplish this enormous transference of property and power in the year 1111, it would have been an event remarkable in the history of the world: but the secular and ecclesiastical princes made a tremendous uproar at the immense loss with which they were threatened—the secular princes in so far as they occupied ecclesiastical fiefs, while the dominant position which the crown would acquire was no less a cause of dissension.

Henry made the Pope responsible for this indignation, and threw him into confinement. On April 11th he forcibly abolished the prohibition of the investitures and secured his coronation as emperor two days afterwards. On the homeward journey he was clever enough to secure from the old Countess Mathilda a bequest of her property.

No permanent victories are ever secured by such violent measures as Henry had used; the forces of the opposition remained unimpaired. An archbishop, Guido of Vienna, made himself leader of the ecclesiastical resistance in the Burgundian principality, while the secular opposition centred round Lothair of Supplinburg, who had succeeded the Billungs as duke of Saxony. He was a capable administrator of the Low German duchy, and had successfully revived the policy of a political expansion to the Baltic and beyond the Elbe—a policy the more successful as it coincided with the economic interests of his subjects, the rising spirit of nationality, and the energetic character of the laity.



MAKING THE POPE PRISONER: AN INCIDENT IN THE CAREER OF PASCHAL II

In the long struggle for supremacy between the two potentates, Emperor and Pope, little quarter was shown on either side. When Henry V. ascended the throne he invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope, Paschal II., that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. It was arranged that the crown should resume all the imperial fiefs, and when this measure of secularisation led to an uproar, the crafty emperor laid all the blame at the door of Paschal and arrested him at Rome in 1111.

On February 11th, 1115, the opposition defeated Henry V. at the Welfesholz at Mansfield; a series of concessions and attempts to secure peace culminated on September 23rd, 1122, with the Concordat of Worms, which was concluded with Calixtus II. and with the secular and ecclesiastical princes. The episcopal elections throughout the empire were left to the cathedral chapters,

imitation of the Pope's election by the cardinals. The enfeoffment of the nominees with the regalia was to take place, though only in Germany, before their consecrations, which were thus far made dependent upon the consent of the crown; this enfeoffment, as distinct from investiture, was to be carried out so as to exclude the theory that it implied appointment to ecclesiastical office. Henry V., who was personally an unattractive character, died on May 23rd, 1125, too early to secure the restoration of order, or to reconcentrate and revive the powers of the crown.

The Hohenstauffen Frederic of Swabia would have received the crown, for which he came forward as a candidate in August, 1125, had he not been the private heir and nominee of Henry V. The duke of Saxony was therefore preferred to the succession, notwithstanding his strong position and in spite of, or on account of, his indifference. Thus the kingdom returned to the Saxons, and Lothair in consequence undertook a burden of responsibility and a policy analogous to those of Otto I. At the same time his consciousness that he was a servant of the Church proved even more inconvenient than before 1125, during his membership of the alliance. It was necessary for him to gain some support against the Hohenstauffen, who were continuing the struggle. They had elected the younger brother, Conrad, duke of a portion of Franconia, as opposition king, for the reason that Frederic of Swabia was suffering under a bodily infirmity. Lothair therefore won over the Guelfs by the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Gertrude, with Henry the Proud in 1127, while the Zähringers were bought with the concession of the imperial governorship in Burgundy. In this quarter they had secured considerable wealth as heirs of the Rheinfeld family and also by a second inheritance of a county in North Burgundy which Lothair assured to them; they were unable, however, to turn to the best account the important position of governor, which they held at the same time. The old single-headed eagle of the empire which these dukes had added to their coat of arms, in virtue of their office, was transferred, after their extinction in 1218, to their heirs of Fürstenberg, on whose shield it is still to be seen. It was under the rule of Lothair (1125–1137) that the great families of the empire consolidated their power and became of importance owing to the extent and locality of their possessions. The nucleus of the old allodial estates of the Guelfs was situated on the north of Lake Constance; in the meantime they had entered upon the inheritance of the Billungs in Saxony, and were next in succession to the property of the family of Suplinburg, with which were closely connected the inheritances of Northeim and the Ludolfings.

How Lothair Won the Guelfs

The Imperial Crown Given to Lothair

Lothair opposed the enterprise of the Hohenstauffen in Italy, where he received the imperial crown in the Lateran on June 4th, 1133. He attempted to alienate the property of Matilda from her Salian heirs by acknowledging it as a possession of the Pope, who placed this interpretation upon previous promises of Matilda, and received it from the Pope as a fief. He evaded, however, the form of the oath of allegiance, and did not acknowledge himself the Pope's "vassal" (*homo*), as the Curia maintained at a later period. A reconciliation was effected in Germany, under which the Hohenstauffen renounced their claim to the crown in October, 1134, and in September, 1135. A second journey to Rome, in 1136–1137, emphasised by its splendour the unity of the empire and the freedom which the emperor had acquired. Pope Innocent II. regarded the change thus betokened by the emperor's action and his expedition as highly inconvenient. The old imperial rights were enforced throughout the country, and the feudal supremacy over the Normans of Lower Italy was reasserted.

On his homeward journey Lothair died, on December 4th, 1137, in the Alpine village of Breitenwang on the Lech. The empire was again at the height of its power; intellectually and materially a period of prosperity was beginning, to which a considerable impulse was given by the Crusading movement, and it was promoted with surprising rapidity by the laity, who were now awaking from their long torpor.

The Dawn of a Great Day

Western Europe as a whole outstripped Byzantium after this decade, and no longer stood in need of Byzantine civilisation when it had learnt the method of drawing inspiration from the sources of classical civilisation.



FINDING THE BODY OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR, FREDERIC BARBAROSSA

The first of the Hohenstauffen dynasty, Frederic I., Holy Roman Emperor, had an eventful career. He was one of the leaders of the Third Crusade, which was, perhaps, the most famous of the Holy Wars, and during that enterprise met his death by drowning in Pisidia, in the year 1190. From the painting by Bru[illegible] in the [illegible] Gallery



THE TRIUMPHS OF BARBAROSSA AND THE PASSING OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN DYNASTY

IN view of the situation existing from 1137 to 1138, many have asserted that the Guelfs ought to have succeeded in securing the throne with the other inheritance of Lothair: in that case the German nation would have entered upon a period of straightforward North German rule instead of the Swabian government, which eventually lost its vigour in Italy. Conjectures of this kind are invariably to be mistrusted. Otto I. extended the imperial policy to Italy. Otto II. and III. forgot the claims of Lower Germany in view of their desire to advance to the Mediterranean and Italy. Though Lothair had grown old in the politics of Lower Germany, he had devoted the end of his life to warfare and organising work in Lower Italy. We shall find the Guelf Otto IV. pursuing the policy of the Hohenstauffen as soon as he is emperor. It was, in any case, no mere imperial dream which induced the Hohenstauffen to attach such importance to the Italian possessions. It was, on the contrary, the imperative necessity of augmenting the resources of the crown, even more than the power of their own family, by means of Italian wealth.

Why Henry Lost a Throne

The reason why Henry the Proud did not become king, after his step-father Lothair, is to be found in the apprehensions which the princes entertained of his growing power in Swabia, Bavaria and Saxony, and still more in the disappointment which the Church had suffered through Lothair's action. The elevation of Conrad III. was primarily due to the Church. Against a candidate and a wearer of the royal insignia who was so firmly established as Henry, all that could be done was to support the rival and his independent power; a third unimportant claimant would have been useless. We may, indeed, venture to say that the fact that the Guelfs did not then succeed to the crown preserved for them the fruits of those efforts which the son of Henry the Proud carried to a successful conclusion in the north.

King Conrad considered that it was impossible to break up the power of the Guelfs, and to divide among his Babenberger and Ascanian friends the offices which they were holding. Thus the struggle began which divided the empire, and especially the Swabian territory, between the Guelfs and Ghibellines—that is, Waiblingen. In May, 1142, the question was temporarily settled—that is to say, deferred. Henry died on October 20th, 1139, before attaining the age of thirty-two. His son of the same name (the Lion) was allowed to inherit the Saxon duchy; but the margrave Albert the Bear, became immediately dependent upon the empire, and was given the imperial post of chamberlain. This high office and Albert's exploits laid the foundation of that position which Brandenburg afterwards enjoyed as an imperial electorate; the old duchy of Saxony could thus be represented by two votes among the ruling nobility of the imperial principalities, while to the other hereditary duchies of Germany not even a single vote was accorded.

The Struggle that Split the Empire

Between 1147 and 1149 Conrad, much against his will, undertook his fruitless crusade to Damascus. At the same time a crusade against the Wends was undertaken by the princes of Lower Germany, and those who were somewhat hostile to the king, after a loyal agreement had been concluded between the two parties. The results did not indeed correspond with the amount of energy displayed, though the position of the young Duke Henry in this district was thus confirmed from the first. The alliance between the Guelfs and Zähringers was renewed at the Lake of Schwerin in the course of this crusade; about the year 1147 Henry married the Zähringer Clementina.

Crusades that Failed

The election of Frederic Barbarossa on March 4th, 1152, as the successor of Conrad III. was an attempt to heal the opposition between the Waiblingen and the Guelfs. So great importance was attached to this object that no difficulty was made in passing over Frederic of Rotenburg, the surviving son of Conrad III. Frederic Barbarossa, the Swabian nephew of the deceased king, was a son of a Guelf mother, and occupied in some respects a position midway between the two parties, though not entirely coincident with the position of Conrad III.

The hopes of both parties had been placed upon him during the last crisis, immediately after the Crusade. He had distinguished himself upon the Crusade no less than in a rapid series of exploits at home; he was ready to become king, and his desires were accomplished without difficulty and with the h of various agreements. His choice is sign of the recognition given to bravery and of the effort for unity during this period, in which the spirit of chivalry was upon the increase.

These influences made Frederic's position firm and powerful from the outset, though he succeeded a transition government which had been marked by great irresolution. Hence his foreign policy was able to make the ideal of Imperial suzerainty effective. In the usual domestic struggle between Danish families for the succession in that kingdom, he was able to secure the success of one competitor, Sven, by accepting him as an imperial vassal. Between 1154 and 1155 he secured the imperial crown, after a rapid expedition with a few men - an achievement for which Conrad had been too incompetent. In 1154 Bavar was given back to Henry the Lion, the result being that Austria became the special duchy of the Babenbergers, with certain exceptional rights, affecting its obligations to the empire, secured by the "Privilegium Minus" of September 17th, 1156. The result of this fifty-second election was thus to secure the equipoise of Guelf and Hohenstauffen, though for the moment under a reconciliation which guaranteed peace upon both sides.

Since the time of Charles the Great, no king had been inspired with so keen a desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country as Frederic showed in his measures of organisation and legislation. He proved that his electors had been perfectly correct in their choice of him as successor to the throne. The constitution of the empire was almost entirely remodelled by his action; but the transformation was effected without difficulty



BARBAROSSA'S AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE POPE AND THE DOGE

Even under the revived "Holy Roman Empire" it was no uncommon occurrence for emperor and Pope to be in violent opposition to one another; and Frederic Barbarossa was not free from trouble with the Papacy, as the following pages and illustrations show. Here we see the ambassadors of the emperor being received by the Pope and the Doge



THE ELECTION OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AS GERMAN KING

In choosing Frederic Barbarossa as the successor of Conrad III., in 1152, the electors selected a man well worthy of their confidence and support. His measures of organisation and legislation were proof of his great ability, and it was generally recognised that no man since the time of Charlemagne had been inspired with such a keen desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country. After settling the affairs of Germany, Frederick paid his first visit to Italy, received the Lombard crown at Pavia, and in 1155 was crowned emperor in Rome by Adrian IV.

He did not, like Charles, attempt to secure the immediate administrative powers of the monarch against the feudal system, but remodelled that system by introducing a series of military gradations. The spirit of patriotism which was then passing over the nation, the sense of nationality among the Germans which was arising to consciousness throughout all classes, enabled him to make the episcopacy the mainstay of his throne; such men as Archbishop Rainald of Cologne and Christian of Mainz proved themselves most reliable princes among the German nobility, and became Frederic's best advisers and generals. On the other side, he turned especially for support to the "ministeriales," both to those of the empire and of his own family, and to those of the German Church.

In continuation of the policy begun by Conrad II., he helped the class of the more important "ministeriales" to become free vassals and to incorporate themselves with the lower nobility. The chivalrous spirit of the time, which made these social modifications possible, was marked by a high conception of the loyalty due to the position and person of the chief overlord. The secular princes might join this temporal hierarchy of feudal retainers as they pleased; loyalty was expressly demanded by Frederic only of individuals in close dependence upon him, or of those whom he used to counterbalance the great dukes. The chivalrous and national spirit of the age rapidly brought these temporal princes to the emperor's side, often in consequence of loss and irritation, as is shown, for instance, by the history of Berthold of Zähringen.

To the end of his reign, Frederic continued his policy of dividing the old duchies and of reducing the position of the imperial princes, with the result that only the spiritual lords, the diminished dukes, and the more important princes of the Wends were reckoned among the "principes," with the exception of certain

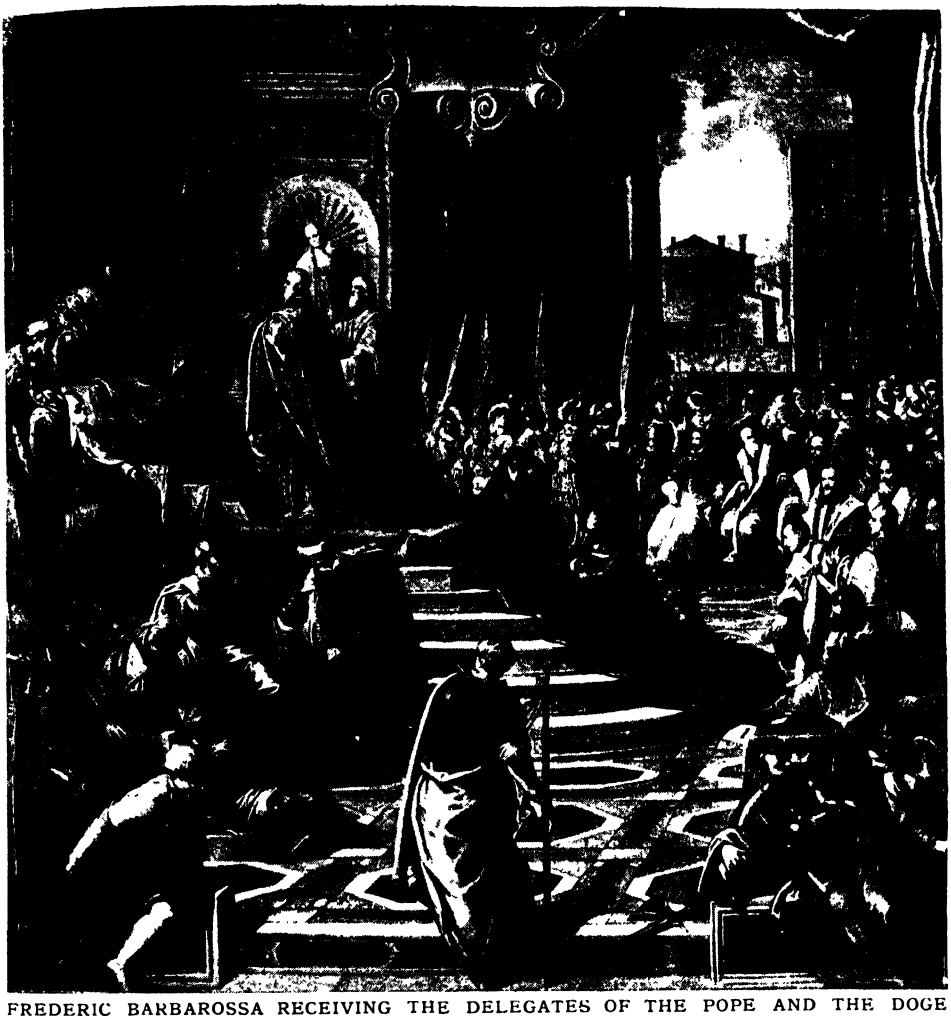
palatine counts and margraves, and the counts of Anhalt—these last as Ascanii. Hence this order was limited to those secular princes who were actually of supreme importance, while the remainder, the chief body of the counts, were reduced to the rank of free lords without sovereign jurisdiction. Thus, in addition to the old hereditary dukes, a generation of younger, more vigorous, and more loyal princes received a new accession of consequence; at the same time the preponderance of the spiritual lords in conjunction with the emperor was secured throughout the empire.

The new class of burghers remained undisturbed by the modifications and the new demands of this chivalrous empire. Certain distinctions had been purposely created by legislation to separate the merchant and the knight, while the regulations of the public peace, which provided against speculation in corn and other possibilities of the kind, seemed to indicate some animus against the burgher class. On the other hand, other princely houses were, or became, careful to advance the prosperity of the burghers. Of these, the Zähringers were the most important, while the Guelfs also did much by their creation of new cities from Munich to Lübeck; their economic resources were based more or less upon the revenues which they received in their capacity of landlords from the towns and from commerce. This new social organisation of the



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC BARBAROSSA ENTERING MILAN

The old duel between emperor and Pope broke out once more during the reign of Frederic Barbarossa, whose quarrel with the occupant of St. Peter's chair began in 1157. In the following year Frederic crossed the Alps, and after compelling Milan to submit, held a triumphant diet at Roncaglia. Revolts succeeding, Milan was besieged, and more than three years elapsed before the opposition was overcome and the town finally captured and destroyed.



FREDERIC BARBAROSSA RECEIVING THE DELEGATES OF THE POPE AND THE DOGE

The Lombard League, which was an outcome of the enmity of the Italian cities to the emperor, took final shape in 1168 and in the battle of Legnano, in 1176, it defeated Frederic, who was compelled to make submission to Pope Alexander III. by the Peace of Venice. Frederic and the Pope became reconciled, and the bitter struggle with the Lombard League was brought to an end with the Peace of Constance in 1183.

Fresco painting in the Sala Regia, Vatican Palace

empire developed rapidly in every quarter. The terms "prince," "lord," "citizen" and "peasant" came into general use; the terms "free" and "unfree" had not entirely disappeared, but became antiquated, while their meaning was often inverted, though the conservatism of Lower Saxony preserved them for the longest period.

Notwithstanding all these regulations, the crown still needed some secure source of revenue, as the private and public revenues of the empire had fallen too largely into the hands of the princes. Such a source could be found in Italy. Even in that country the royal revenues had largely been alienated from the crown. They had fallen into the hands of the towns, the individual prosperity of which had steadily increased their importance. In Italy national and feudal organisation had almost disappeared. The bishops and imperial officials of former times, together with their vassals, had seen their prerogatives undermined by the development of the town and had accommodated themselves to this development. The blow delivered by Frederic I. against this state of affairs, shortly after his first expedition to Italy, was no doubt an act of oppression and implied a sudden overthrow of what had grown by degrees. The

impoverished condition of the crown and of the empire in the midst of a general and growing prosperity was a bitter experience, while the impossibility of opening other sources of revenue increased the seriousness of the financial situation. The crown, moreover, was theoretically justified in vindicating its former rights.

To the famous imperial diet of Roncaglia in November, 1158, Frederic had summoned from Bologna a number of doctors learned in the civil law, which had lately been revived as a study in the Italian universities, and was still the basis of common law in the towns. These experts advised the emperor to adopt the decisive course of declaring all the royal dues payable to himself, and their actual recipients to be dependent upon him and obliged on their side to prove their rights individually. This assembly of civilians is also of importance in another direction. It marks the beginning of a classical renaissance which was to permeate mediæval thought and civilisation and modify the imperial theory; it is also a proclamation of the revival of Roman law, which was demanded by the imperial interests. The idea of using the antique imperial law for the advantage of the mediæval crown had long before occurred to the acute Henry V.; the diet of 1158 had merely put it into tangible shape.



HENRY THE LION
With his following of vassals this duke acted as an independent king. For disloyal action toward Frederic Barbarossa, the latter, in 1180, declared his lands forfeited.

The long war between the empire and the rich Lombard communes soon broke out, and was prosecuted with appalling animosity. After 1170 the towns were forced into close alliance with the papacy, which was also intimidated by the spectacle of an empire of wide influence conducted upon secular principles by a band of spiritual princes. However, the bishops and the secular princes of Germany continued their fidelity to the emperor. On the one side stood German feudalism and chivalry, and on the other the power of the Italian cities; these parties were in violent opposition, and had no point whatever of common interest. However, the most powerful of the German princes, Henry the Lion, refused his help to the emperor when it was urgently required. Shortly afterwards Frederic lost the battle of Legnano on May 29th, 1176, though not for want of the duke's help; with a sudden change of plan, he attempted to secure an armistice and a settlement in Italy.

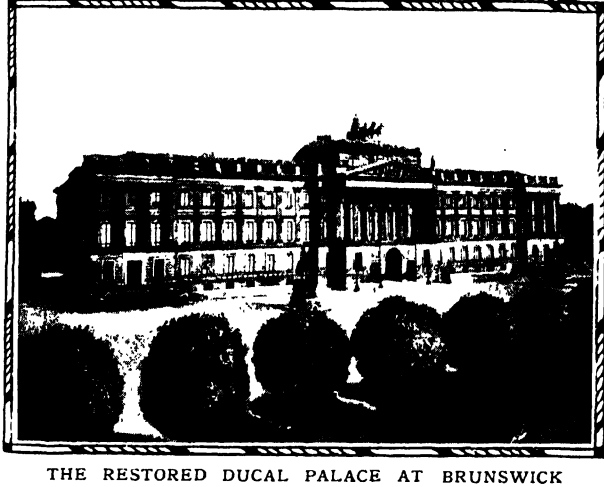
It was most important for him to come to an arrangement with the Guelfs; and at the cost of some sacrifices he secured a reconciliation with Pope Alexander III. in the Peace of Venice, in the summer of 1177. The royal revenues in the Church states and the inheritance of Matilda were guaranteed to him after a lapse of fifteen years, and Alexander was relieved of the presence of Calixtus III., the imperialist anti-Pope. An armistice was also concluded with the Lombard communes; a peace with them was finally arranged at Constance on June 25th, 1183. The emperor saved his territorial supremacy, his judicial rights, his influence upon the administration of independent communes, the *fodrum* the payment for the expense of maintaining the emperor and his armies and a yearly sum as compensation for his fiscal rights in the territory of those communes which would not, or could not, prove their rights in accordance with the principles formulated at the diet of Roncaglia. Within their own walls the towns were in undisputed possession of the revenues and the supreme power. Thus was removed all opposition on the emperor's side to the development of free and independent city states which was then taking place in Italy. At the same time, the influence of the crown in Italy was now far greater than in 1152; and after the conclusion of peace, the splendour of the empire as head and front of the knightly organisations, which Barbarossa's vigour in these struggles and negotiations had maintained, was further advanced.

Among those violent adversaries the emperor himself secured a popularity and a distinction which the leading commune, Milan, soon strove to share as an honour of special importance.

The destruction of Henry the Lion falls between the peace of Venice and that of Constance. Since 1156 Germany had been practically divided into two empires, that of the west and south, extending towards Burgundy and Italy, and the Bavarian-Saxon Empire, with a Slavonic and northern policy. Henry the Lion had extended his conquests to Pomerania, and had founded Lübeck as a permanent Saxon harbour on the Baltic. This duke, with his independent vassals and his "domestic disturbances," acted as an independent king; more than once the abbots and bishops within his territory, who were possessed of territories or dioceses, had joined the temporal lords of Saxony against Henry. The histories of the empire and of this ducal power run almost in parallel lines. A further-line of demarcation was secured when Henry exchanged certain Zähringer estates in the Breisgau, which he had gained by marriage, for certain royal estates in the Harz district. Side by side with Goslar, and surpassing that royal town, Henry made his town of Brunswick a ducal residence of unparalleled splendour. Upon the occasion of a breathing space from his domestic work, he made independent expeditions eastward, like a great king, in 1172. We must also mention the fact that about 1174 Frederic obtained the reversion of the estates of Henry's uncle, Welf VI., which consisted of the old Swabian Guelf lands to the north of Lake Constance.



VIEW OF BRUNSWICK



THE RESTORED DUCAL PALACE AT BRUNSWICK

This must be added to the points of difference and division between the two great cousins, although it might eventually lead to the further consolidation of the two monarchies.

The crisis was initiated by the refusal of this uncrowned monarch in Lower Germany to place his army at the disposal of the Hohenstauffen in the hour of danger; his help had been requested as a favour and not as a matter of feudal right. The Emperor Frederic regarded himself as paralysed in the freedom of his own policy by this growing Guelf kingdom in the other half of Germany. The refusal to render military substance implied something more than a policy of mutual avoidance, and an understanding on the point was imperatively demanded. It must always remain a matter for our admiration when we consider the means by which Frederic, though simultaneously opposed by the

towns, the Pope and the Guelfs, extricated himself from these difficulties, came to an agreement with all three with no loss of supremacy, obliged his opponents to make peace and to grant concessions, and then advanced with determination upon the Guelfs. This was a daring resolution, but the best he could make, as in any other case his action would be perpetually thwarted from the side of Germany. Had Frederic made concessions to his adversary to secure the help which he desired for reclaiming the utmost of his rights beyond the Alps, we should have every reason for blaming an empire which neglected its domestic power to secure supremacy in the south, and thereby destroyed the unity of the nation. Frederic made his plans for the decisive struggle with the greatest caution, availed himself of the weapons of formal right, and used them to the utmost by dexterous policy.

Frederic's Struggle for His Rights

As soon as the whole position was transferred from the level of political force to the strict theory of constitutional and feudal law, the ground was cut from under the foundations of this second great state within a state, the existence of which had hardly been disputed. The emperor appeared not as an opponent but as a judge, and immediately sent the princes who had a grudge against Henry to the attack. The Guelf was thus handed over to the judgment of feudal and common law, was deprived of his ecclesiastical and imperial fiefs, of his rights of local justice, of his allodial domains, and was outlawed.

In November, 1181, the struggle concluded with some diminution in the severity of the sentence; the annihilation of this family would have been an unparalleled proceeding, and the effects of such acts of extirpation are often disastrous to the triumphant party. The sentence of outlawry was removed, and Henry received his Saxon allodial territory once more. He was, however, obliged to go for a time into exile in order that the new arrangements might be carried out without his personal interference, and for this purpose he chose England, where relatives of his family were settled.

Henry the Lion in Exile

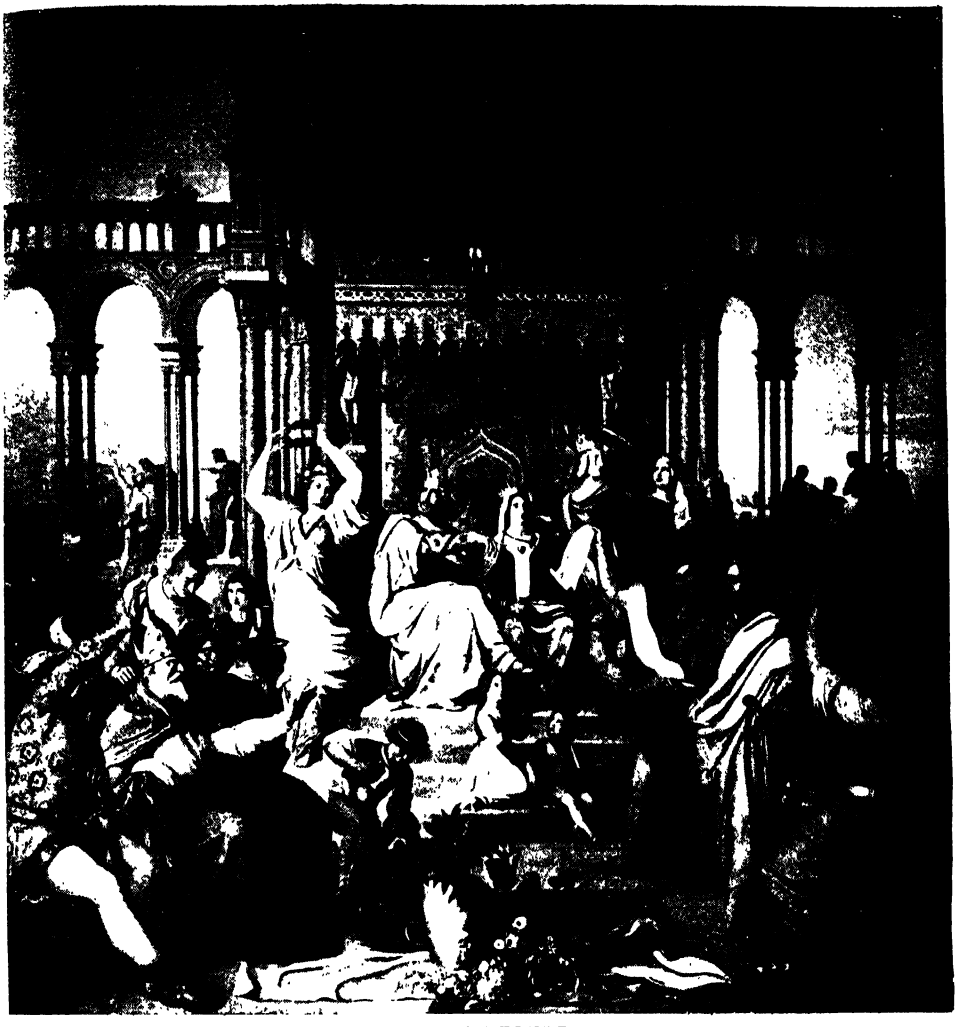
The Saxon duchy was broken up; a number of its subjects were made immediately dependent upon the empire, while a ducal power over the west was given to the archbishopric of Cologne and the remainder of the east was transferred to an Ascanian line. In 1180, as a reward of service, the Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto of Wittelsbach, was created a duke, which implied a restoration of early historical family connections. The duchy was, however, further diminished by the fact that certain provinces were made independent or dependent upon the empire; these were Styria, Tyrol and Istria.

The highest point of imperial power is marked, after the comparatively favourable peace of Constance in 1183, by the brilliant festival of Mainz at Whitsuntide 1184, when Frederic's elder sons, Henry and Frederic, were knighted. Equally obvious on the occasion of this festival is the enthusiasm of the nation and of the contemporary court poets—Walther von der Vogelweide and others—for the splendour which surrounded this great emperor and leader. The emperor's position was advanced even more by the general current of events in Europe than by his personal victories; and in the autumn of the same year, William II. of Sicily, the Norman ruler of Lower Italy, though a sworn ally of the Guelfs since the Crusade of Conrad III., offered to the Hohenstauffen prince, Henry, the hand of his heiress, Constance, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Pope.

Lombardy Between Two Fires

There was a strange and general movement of lay feeling throughout the world, which tended to compose the difference between political opponents, between the chivalrous and the trading, and which even under the cassock of the distinguished prelate appeared in open or secret opposition to the principles of secular or hierarchical self-renunciation. As we have already observed, Milan requested the honour that within its walls, as a counterpart to the festival of Mainz, should take place the imperial celebrations of January 27th, 1180 it was a marriage destined to strengthen the hold of the Hohenstauffen upon Italy in an unparalleled degree and to bring Lombardy between two fires.

Henry was, then, crowned thus in Milan with the iron crown of the Lombards. It is remarkable that the emperor gave his successor the title of Cæsar, which the classical Augusti bestowed upon their presumptive heirs; Augustus and his imperial power had in point of time preceded Peter, the apostle of Christ. In 1165



CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD ON THE SONS OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AT MAINZ IN 1184

A great festival was held at Mainz, at Whitsuntide, 1184, on the occasion of the knighting of the emperor's elder sons, Henry and Frederic. The brilliancy of the event was matched by the enthusiasm of the nation, and the ceremony is described as marking "the highest point of imperial power," the Emperor's position being then at its zenith.

Frederic demanded the canonisation of Charles the Great from the then Pope, Paschal III. This was a matter of political expediency, and the translation of the Frankish emperor's remains was carried out with due solemnity. Frederic now surpassed the energies of his model, and united the foundations of national German supremacy with the traditions of the universality and magnificence of the old classical empire.

The Curia despaired of the laity, but not of itself or its ideal of the predominance of the Church. It placed its hopes, in spite of all, upon the possibility of recovering the ecclesiastical, military and political power which had belonged to the episcopate. Its opposition to the fiscal rights of the crown was a clever move in the interests of the ecclesiastical princes. According to these rights, when an episcopal chair fell vacant, the personal property of the deceased and the enjoyment of his revenues reverted to the crown, until a successor had been appointed; and this was a source of income which had recently assumed a value unforeseen by the simplicity and poverty of the past.

The evil results of the overthrow of Henry the Lion, which had relieved the Low German ecclesiastical princes of a burden, were further announced in the

self-seeking policy of Philip of Heinsberg, Archbishop of Cologne. He forthwith grasped at the proffered friendship of Rome, and, abandoning his position as the high official and helper of the emperor, came forward as the representative of Rome and the hierarchical idea in Germany, and looked about him for political support. The tension was then relieved by the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin and the Crusade of the emperor; he was the supreme head of European chivalry, and in conjunction with France and England he drew his sword on behalf of the eastern policy of the Church, an action which tended further to consolidate the ecclesiastical position. With imperial conceptions which were greater than any previous German ruler had entertained, but which were almost forced upon his notice, he appeared in the Slav states to the north of the Balkans, and on the East Mediterranean; he held out a prospect to the Armenian Leo II. of the grant of a royal fief by the empire; but his career was closed by his sudden death. The account of the Crusade will be found in the later section devoted to the Crusades.

Destruction of Jerusalem



KING PHILIP OF SWABIA
Unable to secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, then but one year old, the Hohenstauffen party was forced to elect Philip of Swabia; he was murdered in 1208.

Henry VI. had accepted all these practical and ideal conceptions of universal wide supremacy; but both before and after his father's death, on the River Salef on June 10th, 1190, he was obliged to secure his position in Germany and in Italy. The old Duke Henry of Saxony had already appeared upon German soil in October, 1189, in a defiant and revengeful spirit, which was stimulated by the English king, Richard Cœur de Lion.

This monarch in the winter of 1190-1191 entered into relations with the Norman revolt in South Italy against the husband of Constance, and opposed those claims of supremacy to which Henry was legally entitled by the death of William II., on November 18th, 1189. It proved possible, however, to secure a favourable change of position. The friendship of France was certain, and Philip of Cologne, who was intimidated by the appearance of the Lion, became a temporary helper and intermediary. Afterwards, indeed, while Henry VI. was on his road to Sicily, a menacing understanding was begun between the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and the other princes; but, fortunately for Henry, the life and soul of the opposition at home and abroad, Richard Cœur de Lion, was trapped in Austria on imperial soil, on December 21st, 1192, by the Babenberger duke, Leopold, whom he had personally insulted before Acre. Leopold handed over his prisoner to the emperor, and the conspiracy was broken up.

On February 4th, 1194, the Emperor Henry, who had held that title since April 14th, 1191, surrendered the pledge which he possessed in the person of the adventurous Plantagenet for a ransom of 150,000 marks. In the spring of the same year, 1194, Henry the Lion abandoned his hopeless attitude of defiance and became reconciled, after his son, of the same name, had received, as the son-in-law of the Hohenstauffen Count Palatine Conrad, the promise of the succession in this Rhenish principality, which was formed of Franconian lands, and the official revenues of Lorraine. In 1194 Henry gained a complete victory and shattered the resistance of the Normans in Southern Italy. On Christmas Day he received the crown at Palermo and secured his possession by the severity of his measures. After these events there appears in German history the imperial idea of amalgamating in one whole the German, Italian, and Burgundian kingdoms with the independent Sicilian monarchy, which was not subject to election, provided that the house of Hohenstauffen should be secured against the uncertainties of an election, or, in other words, if the empire could be guaranteed to that family by right of hereditary succession. In return for this concession, Henry proposed to abandon the "Jus Spoliorum" in favour of the ecclesiastical princes, and to permit the secular princes to extend the rights of succession to include their female relatives. These arrangements are intelligible only upon the supposition that Henry, instead of abandoning his independence in the Norman kingdom,

Henry's Proposals for the Empire

proposed to subject the whole empire to a centralised administration of officials, for which purpose he had successfully employed the German Order of Knights in Italy. He must also have proposed to transform the German princely families into a class of high territorial nobles—an attempt which the French crown afterwards carried out successfully.

This tremendous innovation would have transferred the centre of gravity of the empire beyond question to the shores of the Mediterranean; and therefore the opposition beyond the Alps, in Lower Germany and in the territory of Cologne, with its relations with England and the North Sea, was especially keen. The plan was repeatedly discussed in December, 1195, but was finally abandoned at the end of 1196.

There was one achievement visible to all the world, and standing as evidence of the universal and imperial, no less that the monarchical, tendency of this strong government; this was Henry's enterprise in the East—one of the successful Crusades, notwithstanding the fact that it was prematurely abandoned owing to the sudden death of the emperor on September 28th, 1197. Since the emperor took no personal share in the undertaking, his Arch-Chancellor, Conrad of Wittelsbach, the Archbishop of Mainz, acted as his representative. This crown official led a number of high secular princes, and crowned Amalric king of Cyprus and Leo II. king of Armenia, accepting both as vassals of the emperor. The dangers of the electoral rights of the princes, which Henry had proposed to abolish, were never revealed with more appalling clearness than on the death of Henry VI.—one of the most decisive events, if not in German history, yet in that of the mediæval empire.



ANCESTRAL CASTLE OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN, BUILT IN 1080

The Hohenstauffen party could not secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, the child of Constance, who had been chosen in 1196 and was then but one year old; they were forced to appoint Philip of Swabia on March 8th, 1198, at Mühlhausen in Thuringia, an election preferable under the circumstances, though not unanimous, and were obliged to leave Italy to itself. The opposition were at first in favour of Berthold V. of Zähringen; when, however, he declined, they chose, on June 9th, at Cologne, Otto, the second son of the deceased Henry the Lion. In the last reign the empire had reached an unexampled pitch of splendour and had

reduced even Byzantium to the position of a vassal state; now two rival kings had suddenly reappeared, who would be likely to fritter the power of the crown away, in order to increase their own following. Pope Innocent III., who held the balance between the two parties, claimed the right of arbitration, which Otto at last conceded to him in the hope of securing his support. Philip, however, who championed the rights of the secular power, gradually asserted his position, but only to be murdered in consequence of a private quarrel immediately after his success, on June 21st, 1208.

Two Rival Kings

Otto IV. immediately proceeded to effect a reconciliation with the party of the Hohenstauffen, and to reassert the royal and imperial rights wherever possible, and even in Italy. Upon this sudden change in 1210 the Church again proceeded to play off the Hohenstauffen against the Guelfs, as it had done in 1138, the Guelf candidate being Frederic II., king and heir of the two Sicilies. The Hohenstauffen proved victorious, supported as they were by Otto's enemies and by the opposition of France to the Anglo-Guelf alliance on the Lower Rhine.

Frederic, who had been present since the midsummer of 1212, remained completely master of Germany after the Emperor Otto had been defeated by Philip Augustus at Bouvines on July 27th, 1214. For more than three decades he was able to use this position to overcome all difficulties by the surrender of the German crown rights, while working to secure the expansion of the monarchy in Italy and its close connection with the fully centralised official power of the Norman kingdom; he also added the crown of Jerusalem to that of Sicily on March 18th, 1229.

As early as July 12th, 1213, he had renounced in writing at Eger the crown rights resigned by the Concordat of Worms, and had also surrendered the "Jus Spoliorum," the property of Matilda and the possessions in the Church states claimed by the Curia. The importance of the document was increased by the addition of letters of consent from the princes, a further constitutional development. On March 22nd, 1209, Otto IV. had made the same concessions at Speier to secure his election as emperor, but had afterwards cunningly explained that the consent of the princes had not been secured. For this reason more careful measures were taken for the future. In May, 1220, Frederic surrendered the regalian rights; in 1220 he was anxious to exchange positions with his son Henry, who had been originally intended for the kingdom of Sicily.

The Cunning Policy of Otto IV.

Frederic now proposed to administer Sicily himself, while bringing his son as regent to Germany; for this purpose, at Frankfort-on-Main, on April 26th, he guaranteed the territorial rights of the ecclesiastical princes, limited the sphere of the royal jurisdiction, and renounced all fiscal claims upon towns, castles and customs houses. The regency of his crowned son gradually developed into a kind of opposition kingdom, and in order to deprive Henry of his friends, Frederic threw the German towns entirely into the power of the princes by the Privilege of Worms of May 1st, 1231, removing their powers of self-administration and of concluding alliances with one another; at the same time he recognised the territorial power of the secular princes. The empire thus became a loosely connected congeries of ruling princes under a royal or imperial head. In 1233 he also threw Germany open to the prosecution of heretics by the Church, which proceeded to torment the alienated laity with inquisitions and martyrdoms. The Dominican inquisitor, Master Conrad of Marburg, and his assistants, were given full power of jurisdiction until the indignation of the people and of the secular princes put an end to the persecution after a few years of terror.

Suppression of Heresy

After the youthful policy of King Henry had clashed with that of his father in July, a certain return to the centralising policy was implied by the measures of August 15th, 1235. These were a great ordinance for the public peace, by which the Teutonic right of prosecuting private war was considerably limited, and the foundation of a permanent high court of justice. At this time the allodial possessions of the Guelfs were made immediately dependent upon the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

While this period is almost void of imperial exploits of successes, German independence, as such, was beginning to develop. Otto IV. in his necessity, and also Frederic, to gain support against Otto, had surrendered Holstein and the German Baltic districts to the Danes, a



AFTER THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES, IN WHICH PHILIP AUGUSTUS DEFEATED THE EMPEROR OTTO ON JULY 27TH, 1214

From the painting by Vernet at Versailles

1201 and at the end of 1214; the courageous blow delivered by Count Henry of Schwerin in May, 1223, and the bravery of the allied Low German estates in the brilliant fight of Bornhövede, recovered these territories from their foreign ruler on July 22nd, 1227.

In the distant country of the Prussians the Teutonic Order of Knights, founded before Acre on March 5th, 1198, began in 1228 a series of conquests under the leadership of the great Hermann of Salza, who was a faithful counsellor and a kind of German conscience to Frederic II. On the battlefield of Liegnitz the Mongols were repelled on April 9th, 1241, by the bravery and heroic death of Duke Henry II. of Lower Silesia. From Silesia to Prussia and Jutland, industry and culture, accompanied by a full consciousness of German nationality, proved invariably triumphant, and transformed the native dynasties of the Slavs into German princely houses. Hungary, which had been severely ravaged by the Mongols, recovered her prosperity through the efforts of the new German colonists, who were summoned to the country. It seemed that Bohemia and even Poland would be peacefully overcome by the powerful growth of the German nationality; the Bohemian court, like the Silesian, was already German.

Frederic proceeded to wage his wars against the Lombards in Italy. He relied upon his Sicilian troops rather than on German support. He asserted the rights of the empire, not through the German knights whom his father had employed, but through the support of great civic families on whom he counted to end the period of self-government. His successes threatened to become a danger to the States of the Church in 1241, but resistance in that quarter was encouraged by the determination and the statesmanship of Sinibaldi Fieschi of Genoa, Innocent IV. (1243–1254).

At the Council of Lyons, on July 17th, 1245, this Pope excommunicated the emperor and deposed him from all his kingdoms. He then offered the Norman kingdom to some new vassal and secured the election of an opposition king even in Germany. On May 22nd, 1246, Henry Raspe, the landgrave of Thuringia, was elected, and upon



AFTER THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO: CAPTURE OF THE FAMILY OF MANFRED

The illustration represents an incident that followed the battle of Benevento in 1266, in which the German King Manfred was defeated by Charles of Anjou. Manfred was slain, and his family fell into the hands of the conqueror.

From the painting by Eduard von Engerth in the Art Museum at Vienna

his death before Ulm in February, 1247, Count William of Holland was appointed in September.

The transference of the imperial power to the princes is clearly expressed in the fact that their tool, the counter king, was not necessarily possessed of princely rank or power of his own. On December 13th, 1250, during the preparations called forth by the defeat of Vittoria on February 18th, 1248, a misfortune due to carelessness, Frederic II. died—where we do not know. He carried with him to his grave the empire of Charles the Great, Otto I., Barbarossa and Henry VI.

For the revival of that empire he had never made the smallest effort. He had little or no personal sympathy with the German nationality. He was a product of Italian and Saracen education, a poet in the Italian language, the independent monarch of a centralised government, the champion of a closely organised monarchy upon modern lines in his own hereditary kingdom; and in Upper Italy he was "the first of the moderns," standing on the threshold of the future Italian renascence. German feudalism and chivalry had no attractions for him; he was equally out of sympathy with the rich and joyous development of Central European culture as exemplified in Germanic civilisation, with the home of the Nibelungen, of Wolfram, of Walther, and of mediæval romanticism.

Death of Conrad IV.

Conrad IV., son of Frederic II., had been already crowned in 1237, and attempted to maintain his kingdom by securing his possessions in Sicily. There he died at Lavello on May 21st, 1254. His half-brother, Manfred, in opposition to Conrad's son, Conradin, to whom he was opposed, as Philip of Swabia had been opposed to Frederic II. in 1198, sought to preserve the Sicilian monarchy by making himself its representative, after 1258, but was defeated at Benevento on February 26th, 1266, by Charles of Anjou, who was in allegiance with the Curia. Charles, the capable but ruthless brother of Louis IX. of France, continued the traditions and the work of the Emperor Frederic II. among that motley collection of peoples which formed the Norman state.

In Germany a change of circumstance was marked by the continued rise of the citizen class. Privileges had been hastily granted to this class by Frederic II. after 1242, when he began to feel the pressure of the princes, especially of the ecclesiastical party. The great town federation which began in 1254 with Mainz and Worms, and speedily reached Regensburg and Lübeck, included numerous members and relatives of the princely class. King William was satisfied to remain the patron of the alliance and to increase his prestige by this position; it was, indeed, rather fostered than diminished by the early decay and the growth of disunion within the federation.

Rise of the German Citizens

In January, 1256, William died in the course of a local Frisian quarrel, and a year afterwards a more restricted body of the princes, who had preserved this right against the rising power of the third estate and wished to turn it to pecuniary account, chose two masters who were able to pay for the distinction. Of these, Richard of Cornwall and Poitou, brother of the English king, Henry III., was a man of straw; on the other hand, the bold Alfonzo X. of Castile pursued the Italian and Mediterranean policy of the Spaniards, which materially influenced the Apennine peninsula in the course of following centuries, and seized the opportunity of basing his plans upon the inheritance of the Hohenstauffen.

Side by side with these mock governments proceeded the enterprise of Conradin. He had been educated by his uncle, Duke Lewis of Bavaria, and though not elected to the German crown, he was duke of Swabia, with a hereditary claim to the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. He hoped to reconquer the latter state, and then possibly to change the course of events in Germany. The downfall of this courageous youth, on October 29th, 1268, conjoined with the permanent imprisonment of Enzio by the people of Bologna, from May 26th, 1249, to March 14th, 1272, caused the extinction of the male line of the Hohenstauffen and the dissolution of the duchy of Swabia. The last Hohenstauffen were avenged upon the house of Anjou by the instrumentality of Manfred's son-in-law, Peter of Aragon, and the Sicilian Vespers of March 30th, 1282.

The Sad End of Conradin



THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PAPAL POWER

ABOUT the middle of the thirteenth century all continuous influence on the part of the crown had practically ceased. The idea of national unity and of common authority was again overshadowed by the old invincible Teutonic tendencies to separatism and to the formation of small independent federations. Thus, when these broken forces found themselves inadequate to secure their own purposes, help was sought in temporary alliances and in unstable connections. The primitive characteristics of Teutonic constitutional life—individualism on the one hand, completed or voluntarily extinguished by a process of federation upon the other—reasserted themselves in the face of the later or foreign conception of uniformity, though they reappeared in changed form and in different stages. There is no doubt that the manner in which the monarchy had been finally administered contributed largely to the triumph of these tendencies. We enter upon a period of alliances and peace unions, of town leagues and Hansas, of noble and chivalrous societies, of princely alliances and electoral diets.

Independent Teutonic Federations

Among these movements appears a remnant of the royal power which is not absolutely extinguished, but is used now for this purpose and now for that. The kingdom has revived, but its means of subsistence are refused whenever it threatens to become a real force. With the exception of the leading civic offices, which continually call for a change of occupancy, all else had become hereditary. The restricted class of the high nobility, though not predominant, was able to retain within its limits the power to confer the crown; and this it exercised in different directions, taking full care that the remnants of monarchical influence should never put forth new roots.

The German history of this period consists of territorial aims and events, of capacity and effort applied to local enterprises. It was not the imperial government but the rivalry of individual forces in the most varied localities that secured the great increase of material prosperity and culture with which a detailed history of the nation must deal, and the evidence of which is still to be seen in the north and south of Germany, in her Gothic churches and warehouses, her sumptuous palaces and lordly castles, or in the collections which illustrate the progress of artistic taste in manufacture and the development of civilisation.

Meanwhile the crown was utterly impoverished as compared with those who should have been its subjects. In this position it was retained by the repeated elections of monarchs who possessed no means at all, or only so much as would prevent a more important personality from grasping the monarchy. Under such circumstances the various emperors naturally attempted to find support for themselves and for their houses; in other words they regarded their immediate object as the task of making themselves distinguished and prosperous princes, like their electors. On occasion they attempted to divert the wealth of the towns to their own coffers, but a more successful method was the seeking or the using of favourable opportunities to make themselves strong territorial lords. But all attempts to exalt the conception of the monarchy proved fruitless. Moreover, their efforts were marked by a general individualism. Among other points we observe that the interests of an individual emperor were practically confined to the geographical boundaries of the district which he had inherited or might acquire. During

What the Emperors Aimed at

the period of rivalry between the Saxons and Hohenstauffen this had not been the case to the same extent. The Sicilian Frederic II. is an exception; he was no more a German than Alfonso of Castile. Upon the whole, however, rulers like Lothair of Saxony or Otto IV. had raised the crown above the sphere of mere territorial politics and given it a more imperial significance.

After the interregnum, it was the house of Capet which chiefly aimed at that imperial and universal position vacated by the fall of the Hohenstauffen. This family was established by Charles of Anjou in Provence, in Lower Italy, and in the Arelate province of the kingdom of Burgundy, which belonged historically to the Germans. It embraced Italy upon two sides, and afterwards, when established in Hungary, upon three. It began to resume the policy of Frederic I. and Frederic II. in Lombardy. It then surrounded the papacy, whose power the French strove to use as an instrument of their imperial designs, in a mean spirit of aggrandisement which is wholly alien to that of the former German emperors, with their devotion to ecclesiastical ideals. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Capets began to cast glances upon the shattered body of the German Empire, to consider the possibility of acquiring and incorporating it in their own world power. Nor, after the elections of 1257, can we feel any surprise when we find enthusiastic Frenchmen proclaiming the advantage offered by this prospect to the peace of the world and to civilisation in general.

Shattered German Empire

The man who averted these comprehensive foreign ambitions and recalled the Germans to their own course of development was not one of themselves, but a foreigner, Pope Gregory X. The entire change of political circumstances had forced upon his notice the necessity for a German monarchy worthy of the name, which he could use as a counterpoise to the imperialism of the Capets. He therefore threatened the princes with a choice of his own making if they did not elect a king of their own after Richard's death on April 2nd, 1272.

Since Frederic I. had proposed to limit the number of the princes, and therefore of the electors, certain events which were taken as precedents, certain theoretical and literary formulæ, including the precedent of the cardinal bishops, had tended to produce an isolation of the electoral body and had secured a certain recognition for the theory that seven princes were the special electors to the empire. However, the rise of the electoral college is by no means a simple process, and it was only the Golden Bull of 1356 which defined the existence of this new element in the constitution. Among the princes who belonged to this corporation the wish for a native king had been gaining ground since 1272. The most powerful of the lay princes in the empire was King Ottokar of Bohemia. After the extinction of the Babenbergers, in 1246, Ottokar had emerged triumphant in 1251, notwithstanding the tortuous intrigues of the Emperor Frederic II. and of other princes to secure this inheritance. He had ruled over Austria and Styria with Carinthia and Carniola since 1260. It was his earnest desire to open Bohemia and Moravia to German immigrants, to found towns and to introduce civilisation of the German type, and so to raise the level of their civilisation. In the east a great and uniform power was in process of formation under the Premyslids. He also extended his influence to the north-east, where he was in close connection with the pioneers of German expansion; the young town of Königsberg in Prussia adopted his name in his honour and in memory of his co-operation with the Teutonic Order. Hence in every respect it was intelligible that he should not be the king the electors desired and that they attempted to exclude him from all influence upon their choice.

The Golden Bull of 1356

On September 28th, 1273, they elected a man who was not a prince, but a Swabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, the candidate of Archbishop Werner of Mainz. Rudolf's hereditary lands lay in the Sundgau and Aargau; his family had inherited a considerable portion of the large territories of the Zähringers, who became extinct in 1218, through the house of Kyburg and in conjunction with their property; this important Swabian and Burgundian territory had been further increased by the cleverness and foresight of Rudolf. Thus it was not an entirely unimportant personage who was brought forward from the south-west to confront the new Henry

Rudolf Called to the Throne

the Lion in the east. Moreover, from the outset Rudolf was resolved to assert his position as king. The relation between himself and Ottokar was analogous to that which had formerly existed between King Conrad I. and Duke Otto the Illustrious of Saxony; there are many points of similarity in their respective relations to the electoral princes.

Rudolf's Bold Measures

Conrad, however, had avoided the stronger territorial lord, who did not care to be king, as his candidature was not seriously considered, and had finally offered the empire to his son. Rudolf, on the other hand, formed the bold resolve of overthrowing Ottokar and securing his territorial power for himself. Here, again, we see points of resemblance with the destruction of the rival Guelf by Frederic I. Rudolf utilised the legal pretext of unfulfilled feudal obligations, and summoned the Bohemian in due form before his court. Ottocar, like Henry, had to deal with risings at home and with the opposition of the Bohemian superior clergy, whom Rudolf again turned to his own account. He was also helped by the Bohemian particularist movement against the Germanising territorial lords and the opposition to the Hungarian king, Ladislaus. With their help Rudolf secured the upper hand in the fierce decisive struggle on the Marchfeld at Dürnkrut, in which Ottokar lost not only the battle but also his life at the hand of his subjects on August 26th, 1278. It was not the princes of the empire who helped Rudolf to this success; on the contrary, Ottokar found valuable allies among them wherever the king revealed his purpose. These purposes, however, were attained by calmness and dexterity. The Premyslids were restricted to Bohemia and Moravia, to the satisfaction of other rulers; at the same time the policy of German immigration, which had been fostered by the native rulers, was now brought to an end. The process of Germanisation and immigration came to a standstill, and the policy of the succeeding Premyslids was now turned from its former paths to Poland and Hungary—that is, to paths which did not affect Germany. In Austria and Styria, which were at first governed by an imperial vicar, the house of Hapsburg quietly seized the territorial supremacy. Carinthia and Carniola were transferred to Rudolf's supporter, Duke Meinhard of Görz and Tyrol, whose daughter, Elizabeth, was married in 1276 to Rudolf's eldest son, Albert.

Rise of the House of Hapsburg

Austria being thus secured, Rudolf then attempted to lay his hands upon Hungary. In the west, within the hereditary property of the Hapsburgs, he was anxious to restore the duchy of Swabia and the royal prerogative in Burgundy for the benefit of his house. These efforts, however, proved fruitless. The achievements which he had secured by bravery and care conferred too great a distinction upon his son, Albert of Austria, to secure the latter the favour of the electors. His third son, Rudolf, might have been a possible candidate, as the old view of the hereditary rights of a chosen and reigning family was not altogether dead, and as Rudolf was to inherit only the old Hapsburg possessions; he, however, died in 1290 before his father. Moreover, Albert was rejected by the adoption of a new theory, to which the force of precedent was given; as Rudolf I. had not been emperor, it was asserted that no king of the Romans or successor could be elected during his lifetime. As regards the imperial rights in Italy, Rudolf had renounced Lower Italy and Sicily and also the "recuperations" of the Patrimony in favour of the papacy, in 1275 and 1279, but had renewed the contracts of Otto IV. and Frederic II. made during their time of alliance with the papacy, and had secured the recognition of his title by Gregory. In Upper Italy, therefore, the possibility of restoration remained open to the German imperial power, and homage was there offered to Rudolf through his ambassadors.

The King's Concessions to the Papacy

Upon the death of Rudolf I., on July 15th, 1291, an even less important personality than Rudolf had been in 1273 was elected on May 5th, 1292; this was Count Adolf of Nassau, who had to buy his election by heavy sacrifices from the remnants of the imperial demesnes. The new king could see no other way of asserting his position than that which Rudolf had followed—to secure control of some principalities. For this purpose he thought he might turn to account the violent family quarrels of the Wettins. This family, which belonged to Meissen, had secured Thuringia after the death of Henry Raspe, in 1247. The Hessian portion of the province had gone as a special

landgraviate to an heiress of Brabant, belonging to the family of the landgraves of Thuringia, which had become extinct in the male line in 1263. Adolf now interfered in the family quarrel of the Wettins by purchasing the lordship of Meissen and Thuringia, which were the property of the aggrieved party; this he was enabled to do by using the subsidies which England had been sending since 1294 in return for the promised co-operation of himself and the German chivalry against France. This proceeding was highly questionable, and was also an enterprise beyond his powers, as he was wanting in that calm, clear strength of calculation which had distinguished Rudolf I.



RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG ACCEPTS A CROWN

When the Swabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, was elected Emperor of Germany, in 1273, the country was the scene of many disorders, and these he at once proceeded to suppress. By defeating and killing Ottokar, the powerful Bohemian king who held Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the famous house of Hapsburg. Rudolf died in 1291.

Meanwhile, Adolf was opposed, not only by the Wettins, whom he was attempting to oppress, but also by Albert of Austria. Three of his six married sisters brought him into connection with the princes of Bohemia, Wittenberg in Saxony, and Brandenburg; these relationships offered more or less tangible prospects to his relatives, calmed their opposition, and induced them to take sides against the king. The electors of Adolf had grown dissatisfied with their choice, and Albert was therefore chosen king on June 23rd, 1298, at the instance of Wenzel II. and Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, while Adolf was simultaneously threatened with the sentence of deposition from the electoral body. The matter was decided by Adolf's overthrow at the battle of Göllheim, not far from the Donnersberg, on July 2nd.

It was naturally only to be expected that the powers which had created the opposition king should quarrel with him as soon as he was sole ruler. It proved impossible permanently to satisfy all his helpers, though Albert had hoped to secure this end by renouncing his duchies, which he placed in the hands of his sons as his vassals. In other directions he showed that the Hapsburg lust of territory was by no means appeased. He took upon himself the claims to Meissen, which Adolf had bought, and attempted also to appropriate Holland, Zeeland, and Frisia upon the death of the local ruler, John I., in 1299; here, however, he was obliged to retire in favour of the Hainaulter, John II. of Avesnes, who derived a hereditary right from the female line of succession.

Rudolf I. had originally and unsuccessfully attempted to burden the towns with heavy direct taxation to supply the royal privy purse, but had afterwards courted the friendship of these mercantile republics. This latter policy was continued by Adolf, and followed by Albert, who

abolished, in favour of the towns, in 1298, all the territorial customs-houses which had been illegally erected since 1245. In his relations with the lower nobility and the knightly classes he followed in the steps of Adolf, whom he had overthrown. Thus the jealousy entertained by the electors towards the crown, which, with the help of the other orders, seemed likely to recover its position, became steadily accentuated, until the decision could no longer be postponed.

Archbishops Fall Before the King

As usual, the three Rhine Archbishops of Treves, Mainz, and Cologne, together with the Wittelsbach Count Palatine, Rudolf the Stammerer, asserted the electoral power against the crown and the Hapsburgs. Brandenburg, Saxony and Bohemia clung to that side which they considered most important for their territorial position; during the various elections their votes were simply placed at the disposal of one or another of the electoral archbishops. These four archbishops now met on October 14th, 1300, at Heimbach, near Bingen, and deposed Albert, but in the following years he rapidly overthrew them one after another.

The king's relations with France and the Pope were dictated solely by the desire to avoid interference with his German policy. The papal biretta had lately been changed by Boniface VIII. to the double tiara, denoting the supremacy of the world. This ambitious successor of Gregory and Innocent opposed the imperialism of France by advancing those pontifical claims which had already raised the papacy above the empire. The struggle between the supreme powers in Church and State now lay between Rome and France, as a result of the change in the political situation. In reference to Germany, the papacy needed only to complete the acquisitions already made. For this purpose Albert, after the end of 1302, steadily offered every opportunity. On April 30th, 1303, he received the papal confirmation of his title, which, much to his disgust, had hitherto been withheld; he made no difficulty in declaring that both the electoral rights of the prince and the military power of the chosen king or emperor were subject to the supremacy of the Pope as overlord. These direct concessions were the greatest triumph which the hierarchical theory ever gained over a generally recognised German government. At the same time they implied very little in actual practice, and affected the independence claimed by the electors in greater measure than the power of the king. Immediately afterwards the French monarchy pronounced its theories upon the subject, and the papal sentence of excommunication was followed by the imprisonment of the Pope in his own territory on September 7th, 1303. From the time of Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., the papacy long continued to be a tool in the hands of the French monarchs and was resident, not in Rome, but at Avignon.

The Great Triumph of the Pope

Albert had in 1306 secured the succession of his son Rudolf to Bohemia upon the extinction of the Premyslids. Rudolf, however, died on July 4th, 1307, and the Bohemian crown fell, against the will of the German king, to Henry of Carinthia. On March 31st, 1307, his general, Henry of Nortenberg, was defeated at Lucka by the Wettins, Frederic and Diezmann. It must, however, be allowed that the position of Albert was solid and powerful. He might have been able to transform the electoral crown into a monarchy had he not been murdered, on May 1st, 1308, by his nephew John, son of the above-mentioned Rudolf, who had demanded his old Hapsburg inheritance, and interpreted the king's reluctance as an intention to withhold it entirely. As upon the death of Henry V., the premature death of this stern and ruthless man must be regarded as a severe loss to the cause of the German monarchy.

King Who was Murdered by His Nephew

Upon the death of Albert the work of the practical Hapsburg politician, the strengthening of the monarchy, was handed over to the political idealism of his successor, Henry VII. This petty count of Luxemburg, born between 1274 and 1278, was brought forward as a candidate by his brother Baldwin, who was but twenty-two years of age, and had just been appointed Archbishop and Elector of Treves, and by the Archbishop of Mainz, Peter of Aspelt, who was of a Luxemburg family. Henry was successfully elected on November 27th, 1308. The opposition candidate was Charles of Valois, brother of the French king, Philip IV. Thus the ambition of France, which was now determined to lay hands upon the German crown, was frustrated by this means, and the turbulent

the Rhineland princes was abated. Meanwhile, however, though Henry's land was entirely Frankish, early residence, education, and connections made him half a Frenchman.

A true product of Romance civilisation, Henry now proceeded to revive the splendour of the Romano-German Empire to the full extent of its historical theory, as if there had existed no obstacles or overwhelming difficulties in Germany or Italy. He viewed the position with the eyes of a Capet rather than an electoral prince. His enterprise was favoured at the outset by many facts. Though he was half a foreigner and possessed but little territory, he had no great or united opposition against him in Germany. Neither Pope Clement V., who was dependent upon France, nor the French king was disinclined to leave him unfettered within certain limits; it was possible that he might be useful for their purposes, and he might also be able to organise for the Pope that great final crusade upon which the Curia, untaught by two centuries of experience, continued to rely for the fulfilment of its old hopes of universalism. If successful, he might break the bonds in which France had confined the papacy.



THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ

This illustration, reproduced from the tomb of Peter of Aspelt, Archbishop of Mainz, in the cathedral of that city, represents him with the three kings whom he crowned Henry VII., Lewis the Bavarian, and John of Bohemia.

Italy found that after her liberation from Hohenstauffen despotism, far from securing peace, she had been involved in the local feuds of the Guelfs and Ghibellines these animosities had increased so rapidly that a mediator from beyond the Alps would be welcome to the Ghibellines, as the realisation of hopes which were either far-reaching or selfish. Every German who could see beyond his own immediate convenience was at once attracted by this return to the traditions of the Hohenstauffen, which still survived among the nation, though these feelings were now manifested rather as a form of enthusiasm than as an effective determination. In Bohemia, where Peter of Aspelt possessed long-standing connections, the Carinthian had not been able to establish himself, and in the summer of 1310 the crown of the Premyslids was offered to Henry's son John, born in 1296, together with the king's daughter Elizabeth; the offer was accepted, and a compromise with the house of Hapsburg was then facilitated.

Such were the prospects with which the Luxemburger crossed the Mont Cenis and appeared in Lombardy at the end of October, 1310, accompanied by 3,000 troops. There, however, the same theory of imperial supremacy which gave its character to the whole enterprise and provided it with both moral and intellectual strength, eventually hampered and destroyed a success which had at first seemed easy. Henry refused to accept the support of the group which stood ready to help him. He would not purchase their homage at the price of his help. He wished to be not a partisan king, but an all-powerful mediator, the one and only emperor of peace. He thus seized the opportunities which he found here and there, chiefly among the Ghibellines, to attract even his most distant opponents and to secure their adherence, as opportunity offered, by friendly overtures and concessions. In this way the general body were thrown into confusion. He was soon obliged to abandon festivals and tournaments for siege operations and punitive courts.

The king was also obliged, whether he would or not, to avail himself of the partisan help offered in the country. The calculating Angevins of Naples had never found it so easy to secure the allegiance of their inheritance in most important towns in Upper Italy and Rome. Henry's coronation as king of Lombardy, on January 6th, 1311, was easily

and rapidly secured. His imperial coronation by three cardinals in the Lateran on June 29th, 1312, was a less brilliant affair, as he could not secure entrance into St. Peter's. Meanwhile he had now recognised Naples as his most formidable opponent, and had begun a war in alliance with the Aragonese king, Frederic of Sicily. At this point Pope Clement V. interpreted his action, not as securing his position in Upper Italy, but as an attempt to revive the policy of Manfred and Conradin, and as an open breach of the guarantees which Henry had given. Possibly Clement was correct in thinking that this emperor would have become a second Frederic II. in the event of success, and would have eventually left Germany unsecured. King Philip of France was naturally no less excited than the Pope. The Pope and the emperor fought by means of legal experts and publicists, discussing the correctness of their respective theories. The imperial theory, which Henry was bound to define by the exigencies of his position, undoubtedly shook the justice of French and papal imperialism and its recent achievements. A powerful fleet started from Italy and began the appeal to arms, with much promise of success. The emperor himself, who had formed an armed camp in opposition to Florence, which was ruled by the Guelfs and Angevins, and constituted the central point of hostilities in Upper Italy, started southward from the faithful town of Pisa. While this state of tension was continuing, he succumbed to an illness on August 24th, 1313, midway between his friends and foes, after triumphs and disappointments.

Theories of King and Pope

In Germany the Austrian party and that of Luxemburg and Mainz now made their preparations for the elections. These parties were too comprehensive to leave room for the existence of a third. As the youth of John made a Bohemian candidature impossible, for this and other reasons the Bohemian party supported the candidature of the Wittelsbach against the Hapsburg. Before the gates of the election town of Frankfort in Sachsenhausen, on October 10th, 1314, Frederic III. the Fair, of Austria, son of Albert I., was elected by the exiled Henry of Carinthia, representing the Bohemian court, and by Saxony, Wittenberg and Cologne; but on the following day, on the right bank of the Rhine, Lewis IV., of Upper Bavaria, was elected by Mainz, Treves, Brandenburg, Saxony-Lauenburg, and by John of Bohemia. The Hapsburg side was joined against Lewis by his brother Rudolf (the Stammerer) of the Palatinate, with whom he had quarrelled.

Electing a King at Frankfort

Lewis was forthwith opposed by the resistance which had thwarted the Swabian ambitions of the Hapsburgs since the middle of the thirteenth century—a resistance offered by the federal communities of the Forest Cantons. This opposition became a local war, in which Leopold, Frederic's brother and best champion, suffered the heavy defeat of Morgarten at the hands of the Swiss and the peasants of Uri, on November 15th, 1315. Modern Switzerland rightly considers this federal alliance, the earliest attested by documents, between Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, on August 1st, 1291, as the initial date, or, better, the jubilee date of its origin. It must be remembered that neither upon this nor upon other occasions of the kind was there any proposal to break away from the empire. On the contrary, the question at issue was the maintenance of that immediate dependence upon the empire which, in the case of Uri, was indisputable; in other words, it was resistance or revolt against the Hapsburg supremacy. In this struggle the Forest Cantons saw, on March 29th, 1316, the confirmation of Henry VII's promises of June 3rd, 1309, which Lewis of Bavaria now considered as equally important to himself.

Resistance to Hapsburg Supremacy

His war against Frederic, which became a struggle of skirmishes and attempts to secure allies was considerably advanced, on September 28th, 1322, by the battle of Mühldorf, in which Frederic was beaten and taken prisoner before Leopold's arrival with fresh forces. It was not a decisive battle, as neither party was overthrown. Frederic himself, who was released from the fortress of Trausnitz to secure the retirement of Leopold, returned home without accomplishing anything. After a personal interview Lewis granted him the rights of co-regency by the treaty of Munich on September 5th, 1325. The situation was not clear until Leopold's death, on February 28th, 1326, thenceforward Frederic remained in peace as the master of his hereditary territory with the title of King of the Romans, which

was very little more than personal. He died on January 13th, 1330.

With the battle of Mühldorf begins the supremacy of Lewis in Germany, although he entirely lost the Luxemburg and Bohemian friendship by his friendship with Hapsburg. He had already greatly offended John. After the extinction of the Ascanians in Brandenburg in the year 1320, he had invested the Bohemians with the fiefs of Bautzen, Löbau, and Kamenz, but in the spring of 1323 he had placed his own son Lewis in possession of that electorate.

For Brandenburg itself the Wittelsbach government was an interim with no particular influence upon the prosperity of the country or the people, but rather tending to impoverishment and internal disruption. The more Lewis strengthened his position, the stronger became the opposition of Pope John XXII. in Avignon. The object at stake was to secure the same submission to the papacy of the Wittelsbach, which had been gained from Frederic's father, King Albert I., though John did not feel himself bound to the Hapsburgs. On October 8th, 1323, this Pope proceeded to complain that though Lewis did not possess the papal recognition, he had yet assumed the kingdom of Italy,



LEWIS THE BAVARIAN CROWNED EMPEROR AT ROME

Elected Emperor of Germany in 1314, Lewis the Bavarian proceeded to Rome, where he was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal—a strange innovation—and crowned by the capitano of the city. Lewis quarrelled with Pope Benedict XII., and was excommunicated for denying papal authority in Germany. His stormy career ended in 1347.

and invited him to answer personally for his conduct at Avignon on July 11th, 1324. The king and his legal advisers were supported in the struggle thus forced upon them by a valuable body of helpers, the Minorites. In particular, a certain fanatical section of the Franciscan friars called zealots or "fratricelli," who were condemned for heresy (November 22nd, 1323), attacked the papacy, and not only the papacy, but all clergy who declined to

endorse an extreme Franciscan doctrine of poverty. This sect of friars proceeded to offer a bold and clever literary defence, criticising the foundations of the papal position and claims. It now made the cause of Lewis its own ; and as it was widely spread and popular in the towns, it easily persuaded the people to feel no apprehension of excommunication or papal interdict. Lewis, who had no cause for fear respecting the attitude of Germany, appeared in Italy and advanced to Rome. He was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal—a strange innovation—and crowned by the capitano of the city of Rome, a Colonna, on January 17th. He then pronounced the deposition of the Pope as a heretic in April, 1328. No other important consequences resulted from this Roman journey, which ended disastrously in December, 1329, apart from the new impulse given to Roman animosity by imperial claims and demands.

Lewis Crowned at Rome

The action of John, who died in 1334, and of his successor, Benedict XII., in Germany, eventually led to the famous electoral conference of Rhens on July 16th, 1338. At this meeting the electors laid down the principle that their choice conferred the title and power of king upon the successful candidate, as well as a claim to the empire ; that empire and kingdom were therefore independent of the papal power, and were rather derived immediately from the grace of God. These resolutions were accepted by a diet which met at Frankfort in August of the same year. It was then proposed to make war on France in alliance with England, since the king of France was the protector of the papacy. King Edward III. appeared at Coblenz on August 31st and seated himself on the steps of the throne, upon which the emperor appeared in full imperial splendour. Thus a further impulse was given to a wider conception of German imperial power, and the papal claims to control the German crown were eventually shared in common by every order in the empire. Lewis might have had an opportunity of refounding the power of the crown at this moment, had not the efforts of the crown been rather directed to territorial acquisition. Its subsequent attitude was that of feeble conciliation towards France in 1342, and the Curia in 1343, followed by illegal infringement upon their privileges.

Papal Claims on Germany

John of Bohemia had married his son John Henry to Margaret Maultasch, the daughter and heiress of Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol ; she was older than her husband and therefore preferred the emperor's eldest son, Lewis of Brandenburg. The Pope, however, who was an enemy of the Wittelsbachs, would not do them the favour of dissolving the earlier marriage or of providing the dispensation necessitated by the near relationship of the contracting parties ; these acts were therefore performed by the emperor himself, who thus simply superseded the rights undoubtedly belonging to the spiritual authorities.

The further extension of territory at which the Hapsburgs had long been aiming was secured by the Emperor Lewis, upon the death, in 1345, of William, Count of Hainault, the ruler of Holland and Zeeland. Lewis had married the sister of Count William, by name Margaret, as a second wife, and to her as his heiress he transferred the government of the vacant imperial fiefs, which were then held in trust for her son William. The Wittelsbach territory thus extended from Hainault and Brandenburg to Tyrol, and the succession of a son of Lewis to the empire was therefore inconceivable ; attempts to turn the electors in his favour proved hopeless. The new Pope, Clement, resumed the struggle from Avignon, after 1346, with considerable vigour. Charles of Moravia and Bohemia had been ruling in place of his father, who had gone blind in 1340 ; he was the Pope's personal friend, and to do him a favour Prague had been made an archbishopric in 1344, and the metropolitan influence of Mainz thus withdrawn from Bohemia and Moravia. On April 13th, 1346, Clement solemnly banned the Bavarian. Charles came to Avignon in person, renounced the electoral decrees of Rhens, admitted all papal demands for supremacy, promised that the emperor should spend no further time in Rome than the single day of coronation, and that the Pope should decide all complications with France, etc. Besides his great-uncle Baldwin of Treves the electoral votes of Mainz, Cologne, and Saxony-Wittenberg were secured for Charles, while the votes of the Palatinate and Brandenburg were refused, as these electors were under an interdict ; thus Charles was proclaimed king on July 11th, 1346, at Rhens.

The New Pope Clement

EDUARD HEYCK



THE GERMANIC EMPIRE

RIVALRIES OF THE EMPERORS AND THE POPES

CHARLES IV. had not been long recognised as emperor when, in the winter of 1347–1348, he made a triumphant progress through South Germany and received homage in Regensburg, Nüremberg, and even in Ulm, and was favourably met by a number of princes. The powerful Wittelsbachs, headed by Lewis of Brandenburg and Tyrol, were still bitterly hostile to him. At their instigation King Edward III. of England was, in January, 1348, elected emperor by four electoral votes. But Charles induced Edward by skilful diplomacy to renounce his election, and he made at the same time great advances in North Germany, in the immediate neighbourhood of Brandenburg, a Wittelsbach possession.

Not unconnected with this was the appearance of a man who gave himself out as the Waldemar who had been dead for nearly thirty years, and, supported by the enemies of Lewis, was universally acknowledged in the march to be the old lord. Charles, who certainly had nothing personally to do with the imposture, naturally took the matter, so favourable to him, in a serious light, ordered the stranger to be solemnly proclaimed as the real Waldemar by people who had known the latter, and gave him the fief of the march in return for the concession of Niederlausitz. The prospect, at the same time, was held out to the dukes of Saxony and the counts of Anhalt that they would succeed to Waldemar's land in the event of his dying without issue.

How Charles Treated an Impostor

In any case Lewis had lost his support in the north; he could hold his own only in Frankfort-on-Oder. He did not wish to enter into negotiations with Charles. Indeed, he set up a rival candidate, the energetic Count Günther von Schwarzburg, a petty lord, known as a valiant warrior. On January 30th, 1349, Günther was chosen emperor on the plain before Frankfort by the votes of the electors of Mainz, the Palatinate, Brandenburg and Saxony; a few days afterward the town allowed him to make his entry. But his following did not increase, and Charles made great advances in the empire, especially when in March he married the daughter of the palsgrave, and thus not only drew the latter over to his side, but at the same time broke up the hostile alliance of the Wittelsbachs. Since Günther refused negotiations with Charles, a short struggle for Castel and Eltville ensued, from which Charles derived considerable advantage.

The Fate of a Rival Emperor

Before matters came to a decision, however, Lewis of Brandenburg himself sued for peace. Günther was abandoned by his party, and very soon died at Frankfort, after he had formally relinquished his claim to the empire. Charles now gained the recognition of the princes by making concessions to them. The electors of Mainz, the Palatinate and Brandenburg declared publicly that they had elected Charles emperor after Günther's death, and he was solemnly crowned, together with his consort, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by Baldwin of Treves.

In Brandenburg, meantime, fortune had favoured the side of Lewis. In a diet at Bautzen the princes declared that they could not consider the claimant as the genuine Waldemar if they were called on to swear to it. Charles, therefore, enfeoffed Lewis the elder once more with the march as well as with Carinthia and Tyrol, and promised to take steps toward releasing him from the ban. Lewis delivered up the insignia of the empire. The renewed ban did him little harm. He reconciled himself with his neighbours by concessions of territory and payments of money, and, finally, in 1355, with the counts of Anhalt. But he transferred the march as a whole to his younger brother, Lewis the "Roman," in 1351. Tranquillity and

Peace and Order in the Empire

order again reigned in the empire. Charles was the only and universally admitted king.

Charles was doubtless aided by an event which bore on politics only through the feelings with which it inspired princes and statesmen. Toward the end of 1347 there first appeared on the shores of the Mediterranean an epidemic which had never yet been known in Germany. It spread with inconceivable rapidity over all Western Europe and spared very few districts. The pestilence was called the "Black Death," and men thought to explain it by accusing the Jews of having poisoned the wells. Although Pope Clement, as well as the Emperor Charles, gave no credence to the report, a universal sanguinary persecution of the Jews followed, accompanied by hideous acts of cruelty.

The loss of life caused by the plague cannot now be even approximately stated. Goswin, a monk of the Convent of Marienberg in Tyrol, considers that hardly a sixth part of the whole population of the country survived. Of his convent brethren only two lived through it, himself and another. Similar results may have been found in other districts. For years afterward the deficiency in population was noticeable.

The event made a marked impression on contemporaries. Since many people saw a divine punishment in this terrible pestilence, a course of life acceptable to God seemed to be the best means of propitiating the wrath of heaven. Brotherhoods were formed, especially in the Netherlands, and set before themselves the duty of mortifying the body and of doing penance by lacerating their flesh with scourges in the presence of the whole population.

The "Flagellants" obtained everywhere so many followers that this new mental disease caused for some time as much excitement in Germany as the physical disease of the Black Death. In the strain of this terrible time the new emperor had little to contend against; men's minds were fixed on supernatural issues. Charles now wished to be duly crowned and consecrated; but Clement, who had been bitterly deceived in his protégé, refused his request. It was only after Charles, in 1353, had taken for his third wife Anne, daughter of Duke Boleslaus of Schweidnitz-Jauer, and after Innocent VI. had mounted the papal throne, that the journey to Rome took place in 1355.

In Rome great hopes were entertained of the grandson of Henry VII. Rienzi hoped to revive his power by help of the new emperor; but Charles gave no encouragement. The title of emperor satisfied him. He marched over the mountains with a small retinue, received the crown of Lombardy, and was crowned emperor at Rome. He left the Eternal City the same day in order to return soon to Germany, laden with large sums of money. By the beginning of July he was once more at Augsburg proud of the imperial title.



THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV. Charles IV. was not well received as Emperor of Germany by all parties; and a rival emperor in the person of Edward III. of England was elected. Charles, however, induced him to withdraw.

A few months later, he entered Bohemia, and summoned an imperial assembly at Nüremberg, at which the first part of the new state charter, afterwards called the Golden Bull, was discussed and solemnly published on January 10th 1356. The second and shorter part was made law in the diet of Metz on December 25th, 1356. The Golden Bull in all essential points ratified the existing condition of affairs, and only in isolated sections decided for one of two antagonistic parties. It was the foundation-stone of the German constitution up to the peace of Westphalia and still later, and was of great importance in the development of constitutional ideas.

With Poland and Hungary Charles made political arrangements, but with France and with Pope Innocent his relations became troubled, as he made promises to both which he could not possibly fulfil.

So, too, the question of the castle and lordship of Donaustauf, which Charles had acquired from the Bishop of Regensburg, soon led to a bitter struggle with the Bavarian Wittelsbachs. But the glory of the Wittelsbachs was passed, and the Hapsburgs in Austria had become the leading southern power of Germany, under Duke Albert, who died in 1358. His son Rudolf, son-in-law of the emperor, managed by forgeries of imperial grants to secure to himself and his house the rights which the Golden Bull had conceded to the electors. Charles was obliged finally to make some concessions, although he was very little disposed to acknowledge the claims of Rudolf or to agree to his acquisition of Tyrol, which Margaret Maultasch handed over to him in 1363 as a gift.

To settle political dissensions he chose Elizabeth, the daughter of the duke of Pomerania, for his fourth wife. The marriage took place at Cracow in May, 1363. At the beginning of the next year a full peace was concluded with Lewis of Hungary and Rudolf of Austria, and a little later followed the important agreement as to the succession between the houses of Luxemburg and Hapsburg.

When Innocent VI. died, in 1362, without having accomplished any great results as far as his Italian policy was concerned, and without having advanced the reform of the Church, Urban V. was raised to the papal chair in order to continue the efforts of his predecessor in Italy. It now seemed to the Emperor Charles a favourable opportunity to enforce the return of the Pope to Rome. The close connection of the papacy with France implied a danger for the whole of Western Europe. In the eyes of contemporaries, who, without exception, attached great weight to externals, the imperial dignity itself was bound to be impaired if merely a legate and not the Pope himself performed the ceremony of crowning.



A RIVAL EMPEROR

Count Gunther von Schwarzburg was set up as a rival emperor to Charles IV. in 1349; but he was soon deserted, and his death at Frankfort quickly followed

[illegible] from the [illegible] Frankfort Cathedral

Urban was not opposed to the proposal of leaving Avignon, but could only point out to Charles the quite incalculable obstacles in his way. Charles therefore resolved to go himself to Avignon in order to remove the difficulties and to guide the whole policy of Western Europe into another channel. He entered Avignon at the end of May, 1365, and was crowned as king of Burgundy, thus proclaiming his insistence on his right and title. He then began negotiations with the Pope and the brother of the French king about a crusade which was intended especially to clear the country from the roving mercenaries who lived in France.

When Charles left Avignon he had made every sort of arrangement with Urban about the removal to Rome. In the diet of Frankfort he obtained the consent of the princes to an expedition to Rome, and Urban promised to start in the spring of 1367, and in the first instance to live at Viterbo. He sailed, in fact, from Marseilles on April 30th in an Italian ship, took up his residence at Viterbo, and entered Rome on October 16th.

But the preparations for war in Germany met with obstacles. Sickness and famine delayed the assembling of the army so that the emperor did not appear in Italy before May, 1368. The war with Bernabo de Visconti of Milan was unsuccessful, so that a peace was concluded by the end of August. Charles, however, marched on with only a few followers, had a meeting with Urban in Viterbo, and both made their entry into Rome. The emperor stayed this time two months in the city. During this period his consort Elizabeth was crowned empress. He found many fresh complications on his way back, especially with the Milanese, who had broken the peace. He had also forfeited

the friendship of Urban long before he reappeared in Germany in August, 1369. For the Pope did not find in Rome what he wished, and in 1370 returned once more to Avignon, where he died in December of that year. His successor was Gregory XI., nephew of Clement VI., a learned man, who was regarded as an especial friend of Charles. The good understanding between Charles and the princes had terminated even before the expedition to Rome. His matrimonial policy made it only too clear how he hoped to enrich his family. In any case the rival princely families saw their hopes deceived. There could be no doubt now that Charles's fervent wish would be to secure the royal crown for his son Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, who was betrothed to the Hungarian princess Elizabeth—a splendid prospect, which would have raised the Luxemburgs high above all other princely houses.

Charles' Matrimonial Policy

Charles, on his return home from Italy, saw himself confronted by a confederacy to which the Count Palatine Rupert, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, Poland, and Hungary belonged. From this a danger threatened him in the east of his dominions, especially because the march of Brandenburg, which was pawned to him, no longer afforded any real support. Fortunately for him, Casimir of Poland, whose realm was now united with Hungary, died at this time; so, too, did Gerlach of Mainz, and the emperor succeeded through papal favour in elevating to the important episcopal throne one of his relations, the bishop of Strassburg, a man of no independence of character.

Now, however, a new quarrel about the march of Brandenburg broke out. At the beginning of the year 1371 Otto declared his nephew Frederic to be his heir in the march, and thus prejudiced Charles's claims to inherit. War, therefore, began. On the side of the Wittelsbachs Pilgrim of Salzburg and Lewis of Hungary fought together against their inconvenient neighbour. But nothing came of it except plundering and devastation. An armistice was concluded in October, 1371, at Pirna; and shortly afterwards the king of Hungary, engrossed with the coming war against Venice, withdrew from the alliance. At the same time Charles's second son, Sigismund, was betrothed to Lewis's daughter. The Wittelsbachs now stood alone. Soon after the expiry of the armistice, in the summer of 1373, an agreement was entered into at Fürstenwalde, by which Otto and Frederic renounced all claim to the march, and received from Charles in all the very considerable sum of 500,000 golden florins. The imperial cities must, indeed, have made gigantic efforts in order to raise this money.

Kings Fight for Territory

Although Charles had not yet reached his sixtieth year, he now thought earnestly of the future of his empire and his dynasty. His fondest wish, that of seeing his eldest son Wenzel elected German emperor, was still to be realised, but could be so only if the adroit father took the appropriate steps during his own lifetime. Moreover, the opportunity was now presented, when for the first time an election could be carried out strictly according to the provisions of the Golden Bull. It was, indeed, a costly task to win over the three spiritual electors. But by October, 1374, the vote of Rupert, the count palatine, was secured, and at the beginning of the year 1375 Charles had all the votes for himself, for this time the election of the emperor was to be unanimous. The actual elective proceedings had to be postponed until Wenzel had completed his fifteenth year, and thus attained his majority.

The Vain Threats of the Pope

When Pope Gregory heard of the intended election, he was astounded, but could not by all his threats produce any alteration in the adopted proposal. Without the papal sanction the election of Wenzel was settled on June 1st, 1376, and was solemnly confirmed on June 10th, in the sacristy of St. Bartholomew's, at Frankfort. The coronation followed on July 6th, at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope Gregory refused his consent, but was finally satisfied when the emperor, in a document dated back before the election, asked for his approval.

Wenzel was now lawful emperor, together with his father. But the imperial cities of the south had a dread of new mortgages—naturally enough after their experiences so far—for Wenzel's election cost much money. Fourteen imperial cities of Swabia formed a league even before the coronation against "all who oppressed them with taxation or mortgage." The town of Ulm took the lead. Charles advanced with an army up to its walls, but could effect nothing.

and marched back again. Other towns joined in the league. Count Ulrich of Würtemberg was killed at Reutlingen in 1373. Soon afterwards Wenzel, who meanwhile had become vice-regent of the empire, was compelled to promise the cities, by the Peace of Rotenburg, that he would not pawn them.

The emperor had meanwhile journeyed to the court of King Charles V. at Paris, and had prevented the threatening alliance of the king's second son, Louis of Orleans, with Mary of Hungary, but was forced in return to confer on the dauphin the vicariate of the empire over Burgundy, and thus to renounce the imperial sovereignty in this district. Soon after his return, Charles fell a victim to fever at Prague, on November 29th, 1378. His reign marks a turning point in German history. He was the founder of the Luxemburg dynasty, and through skilful diplomacy left the empire in a more dignified constitutional position than he had found it. His reputation among his German contemporaries, and in later times, has suffered chiefly from the fact that he regarded every political step as a financial operation, and in an unknightly fashion avoided the fierce contest of the battlefield. But in the age of wars and devastations this fault had many compensations.

The policy of the young Emperor Wenzel showed itself in his first public act when he declared himself a supporter of Pope Urban VI. The princes supported him; so did Lewis of Hungary. Only Adolphus of Nassau, who was still at enmity with Lewis of Meissen about the archbishopric of Mainz, declared himself the friend of the Pope of Avignon, Clement VII. The unity of Germany was thus destroyed, and Clement soon found other friends as well. But the other electors on the Rhine, namely, Cologne, Treves, and the Palatinate, could not countenance the dissension about Mainz, and at the beginning of 1380 concluded a league at Oberwesel against all adherents of Pope Clement. By this, of course, Adolphus was primarily intended. The latter, when the archbishopric of Mainz was assured him, while Lewis was compensated with Magdeburg, returned to Urban. The electors had attained their object without the help of the emperor, and they suspected his policy, since he appeared so little in the empire, and always stayed in his hereditary dominions. Indeed, the chief efforts of Wenzel were directed toward the maintenance of



THE BROTHERS OF THE CROSS DOING PENANCE FOR THE BLACK DEATH

The Brothers of the Cross, or Flagellants, appeared towards the end of the summer of 1349 in the Netherland towns, especially Doornik, and in the market-place did penance by scourging their bodies in order to free the world from the plague of the Black Death, or pestilence. As shown in the illustration, the Brothers marched barefoot; their bared backs were covered merely by a short cloak, while they held in their hands the scourges, the marks of which were to be seen on their backs. Their headgear was the hat with the cross, and thus they got their name, Brothers of the Cross.

From the Chronicle of Æguius Li Muisis in the Library at Brussels

friendly relations with Hungary and Austria. He therefore abandoned any idea of armed conflict with Leopold of Austria, who openly sided with the Avignon Pope, although his partisanship caused a miniature schism in the bishoprics of Strassburg, Basle, and Constance. The espousal of Urban's cause by Germany was mainly based on the opposition to France, although Wenzel had maintained with the French royal house the good relations which his father had promoted. In devotion to the Roman Pope, Germany agreed with England, which hoped by means of papal support to gain advantages in France. Wenzel cemented the friendship with England by giving his sister Anne in marriage to King Richard II., and at the same time he skilfully avoided any breach with France.

English King Weds German Princess

The favourable relations of the German king to Urban had from the first made a journey to Rome, in order to obtain the imperial crown, appear as a desirable object. There were, indeed, no difficulties in the way, and both Pope and Emperor would have derived from it an unmistakable accession of power. The journey over the Alps had been planned for the spring of 1383, when dynastic policy put obstacles in the way. There was a prospect of gaining Luxemburg.

Lewis of Hungary had died in 1382. In the last year of his life he had won Naples, and thus enlarged the extent of his authority. No one of his daughters was yet married; but Sigismund, as prospective son-in-law, was already living in Poland, a country unaccustomed to the Hungarian rule, in order to gain friends for himself there. Mary, Sigismund's betrothed wife, was elected Queen of Hungary; but in Poland the people did not wish for her—at any rate, they wanted another daughter of Lewis. In October, 1384 Hedwig, a girl of thirteen years of age, was actually crowned at Cracow, and the still pagan Grand Duke Jagiello of Lithuania became her husband. But Sigismund succeeded, through his stubbornness and skill, in procuring for himself the crown of Hungary by the end of March, 1387.

The Girl Queen of Poland

Up to this, Wenzel had been variously occupied, but his natural disposition to inactivity became more and more evident. His continued absence caused dissatisfaction in the empire. His nearest relatives, especially Jobst of Moravia, intrigued against him in every way, and in Bohemia, his own home, the lords rose against his rule. The victim of the supposed conspiracy was the Archbishop of Prague, with his official and his vicar-general, Nepomuk. The Bohemian nobility now found a leader in Jobst, who had quarrelled with his brother Prokop.

Jobst, in conjunction with Sigismund, Albert of Austria, and the Margrave William of Meissen, pursued a policy of hostility against the king, and finally, in May, 1394, brought Wenzel prisoner to Prague. Since a movement was made in the empire to liberate the king, he was set free in August. Jobst, in his turn, was made prisoner, but he also was released. War raged in Bohemia, and Albert of Austria, during the confusion, aspired to the vicariate of the empire, in fact to the crown itself. Fortunately, he died soon.

Wenzel and Sigismund concluded, in March, 1396, a compact as to the succession. Sigismund became vicar of the empire, and now aimed at the German crown. His position was not indeed favourable at the moment. An army collected from all Europe under his command was defeated at Nicopolis by the Sultan Bajazet II. Hungary also threatened to be lost to him after Mary's death. Jobst made peace with Wenzel in 1397, and received from Sigismund's former domains a compensation in the march of Brandenburg.

Sigismund's Ambitions in Germany

Wenzel still longed for formal investiture as emperor, and Boniface IX., Urban's successor, would gladly have welcomed him to Rome. But his position in Germany at the same time became more and more precarious. He had never been in the empire since 1387, and alliances of the knights and the towns continually disquieted the land. The cities especially had cause to feel the evils entailed by the absence of the sovereign, and, notwithstanding all the appeals of the electors, Wenzel kept away from the empire.

Fresh disorders had broken out owing to the vacancy in the archdiocese of Mainz, from which finally John of Nassau emerged as archbishop. Before this the palsgrave and the two other spiritual electors had convened a diet at Frankfort for May 13th, 1397. This was an unprecedented step; but the indifference

of the emperor to his duty made such a proceeding seem necessary. Wenzel had, it is true, summoned an imperial assembly at Nüremberg; but when he heard of the electoral diet he unwisely abandoned his own. At Frankfort, with the assent of numerous princes and towns, a vicar of the empire was demanded from Wenzel, and a regency of princes was proposed in the event of his absence. The question of the schism was also discussed. Complaints as to the government were sent to Wenzel. Great excitement was caused at Prague by the tidings of the proceedings in Frankfort; but nothing happened at the moment.

Wenzel did not appear in Nüremberg before September, and by issuing a "Public Peace" showed that he was in a position to conduct the affairs of government himself. During the course of proceedings at Frankfort the electors laid before the emperor, at his own wish, further complaints. The question of the Church stood in the foreground, and, closely connected with that, the policy towards France. The opinion was growing that the settlement of the papal dispute would be most easily effected by a "cession"—that is to say, by the resignation of both Popes. Benedict XIII. was elected at Avignon, in 1394, on the express condition that he would resign his title to secure unity. The object of the French policy was now to persuade the followers of the Roman Pope, Boniface, to make him resign in turn. In March, 1398, Wenzel met Charles VI. at Rheims. The outcome of the meeting was only an exhortation to both Popes to abdicate, naturally without result. Wenzel stood by Boniface. France itself opposed Benedict; even the cardinals rebelled against him, and a long siege of the papal fortress at Avignon began.

Popes who Would Not Abdicate

Wenzel, on his return from Rheims, found the old disorders in Bohemia; the quarrel in the royal family still lasted. This time he did not omit the appointment of an imperial administrator. But the empire was not benefited at all by this step. The electors of Mainz and the Palatinate, who found the position of affairs obviously most irksome, looked for some remedy, and bound themselves with the elector of Cologne at Boppard in April, 1339, to a common policy *in all matters of Church and empire, with the one exception of electing the king.* On the occasion of a meeting of the princes in May, when a compact against the towns was concluded, John, Archbishop of Mainz, attached new members to the Rhenish Confederation, which was clearly formed against the sovereign.

Everywhere, then, similar dissatisfaction with Wenzel prevailed. The charges brought against him were neglect of the realm, especially through his long absence—he himself by the nomination of Sigismund to the vicariate of the empire had admitted his dereliction of duty—and waste of the crown lands, with special reference to the loss of Milan. In this latter case, it was a question of sacrificing a possession which could no longer be held, just as formerly under Charles IV. in the case of the surrender of Arles. The alleged reasons were very weak in so far that the real feeling of all, namely, that the royal power was being used exclusively for the aggrandisement of the Luxemburg dominions, remained actually unexpressed. Interest in the empire may have influenced many; others certainly thought of obtaining the crown for themselves. But all the princes considered that in any case no great loss could be sustained by an alteration.

Wenzel's Neglect of His Duties

Wenzel naturally heard of these proceedings, and wished to come into the empire and hold a diet; but the electors no longer assented to his proposal. On the contrary, the thought was already expressed in September, 1399, by many princes, that a new king should be elected; clearly, however, no one wished an elector to be king. Not until 1400 were the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate received at Frankfort among the candidates. When Pope Boniface had been informed of the proposed new election, a meeting of the princes and towns was summoned for the end of May at Frankfort, and many visitors put in an appearance. An agreement had already been made as to the person of the new king, Rupert of the Palatinate, when on June 4th, Wenzel, who on his part had forbidden any resolutions as to empire and Church to be passed during his absence, was earnestly requested to appear at Oberlahnstein on August 11th; otherwise the electors would consider themselves released from the oath which

Emperor Called to Account

they had taken to him. Wenzel did not come. On the day fixed the four Rhenish electors appeared at Oberlahnstein; Rupert's election was settled, and he swore to serve the empire loyally. His election was publicly announced on August 20th, 1400, and was ratified next day on the Königsstuhl in Rhens.

Wenzel Loses His Throne

The deposition of Wenzel, although a benefit for the empire, was not constitutionally justified. The most weighty of the accusations brought against him was that he had alienated parts of the imperial dominions, and had done so for base lucre when he elevated Galeazzo de Visconti to be Duke of Milan and Count of Pavia. The new emperor had a wide field of operations before him. Without doubt, great expectations were entertained of him, and at any rate he had the point in his favour that he had not begun by buying the votes of the electors by a shameful traffic in crown lands.

Wenzel was infuriated at his deposition, but did not venture on any action or any defence of his rights by the sword. On October 25th Rupert of the Palatinate made his state entry into Frankfort as German king. Other towns had already joined his cause. Since Aix-la-Chapelle did not open its gates, the coronation took place at Cologne on Epiphany, 1401.

The crown was now acquired, but the difficulty was to keep it. The war against Bohemia had begun before France, Italy, and the Pope were won over. In France Rupert found a friend in Philip of Burgundy, while Louis of Orleans supported Wenzel, as did his German ally, the brave William of Guelders. Henry IV. of England hoped to secure the friendship of Rupert through ties of kinship, and therefore promoted the marriage of Rupert's son with his daughter Blanche. Rupert had also to obtain the recognition of the Pope; in fact, he hoped soon to gain the imperial crown.

The New Emperor & His Friends

Boniface, far too engrossed to be able to interfere in German affairs, did not refuse to recognise the new emperor, and tried only to make sure of his help in the Italian policy. The conditions were: opposition to the counter-papacy, an immediate expedition to Rome for coronation, and political severance from France.

The emperor improved his position by making a progress through the empire. The important city of Nüremberg opened its gates to him, and in May, 1401, the first diet met there. Rapid preparations for the expedition to Rome seemed desirable, as Florence offered 200,000 florins in gold if he would come that very year and begin the war for the recovery of Milan. The details of the imperial coronation were to have been discussed in Nüremberg; but since the attendance was too small, the matter was put off to a new diet at Mainz.

Rupert could now have shunned Germany. There were no further hostilities to be feared from Wenzel, Sigismund had been made prisoner by the Hungarian nobility, and in Hungary the election of a new king was contemplated. Jobst again believed that under these circumstances he had a favourable opportunity to gain the crown of Bohemia and renewed the agreement, which had never been entirely dissolved, with the Bohemian nobles.

A truce was arranged in July between Wenzel and Rupert at Amberg, when the new king formulated his demands, but without producing any effect upon the old sovereign. At the beginning of July the expedition to Rome for the coronation was discussed at Mainz. The Austrians, in return for a large sum 100,000 ducats - allowed a passage through their country and over the Brenner, and the departure of the army from Augsburg was planned for September 8th, 1401. There was, however, a want of money, and Florence did not wish to pay until the sovereign was in Italy. Wenzel, also, now returned an answer, but not such as Rupert had hoped. He consented to abandon his claim to the kingdom in favour of Rupert, but wished to become emperor himself. Besides this, his daughter Elizabeth was to marry Rupert's son, Hans, and in return for some support in holding Bohemia, a small cession of territory was planned. Rupert wanted a complete resignation of all claims by his rival, whose position soon became very favourable.

Germany's Rival Emperors

Notwithstanding the distress in the empire, of which his son Lewis was to be regent, Rupert prepared to start from Augsburg with an army of some 15,000 horsemen. But since no money was forthcoming, 5,000 horsemen had to be at once disbanded. An advance was slowly made to Trient, the proposed starting-point of the campaign against

Galeazzo of Milan. Small reinforcements came from Italy; the money difficulties increased, since Florence had for the moment sent only 55,000 ducats, to which another sum of 55,000 ducats—and only a small part in cash—was added in the middle of October. The war took an unfavourable turn, since they failed to take Brescia between October 21st and October 25th. Most of the German princes—Archbishop Frederic of Cologne, Count Frederic of Mörs, Duke Leopold IV. of Austria—now returned home. Rupert, under stress of circumstances, dismissed the greater part of his army, but himself waited on, and, on November 18th, appeared with 400 horsemen in Padua, still, of course, without money.

There was little inclination in Florence to pay the rest of the 90,000 ducats when the advance against Galeazzo had been entirely unsuccessful. Negotiations were still pending with the Pope as to the terms and the form of the recognition. Florence finally paid at the end of 1401, or the beginning of 1402, 65,000 ducats more—44,000 in specie, 21,000 in pay for mercenaries. But the little band of loyal followers round the king daily diminished. And so he remained after December 11th in Venice without any prospect of seeing Rome, for Boniface declared emphatically that the coronation could take place only if the war against Galeazzo was vigorously prosecuted, whether by the help of Venice or through royal mercenaries. This result was unattainable, for money was wanting. The king and his followers borrowed what they could, but that was soon spent. After a second stay in Padua, from January 29th to the middle of April, he went back to Germany through Friuli. On May 1st, 1402, Rupert was again in Munich, and one of the most calamitous expeditions to Rome that had ever been attempted, was thus terminated.

Rupert's Calamitous Expedition

The state of affairs in Germany was equally gloomy. There was a want of money, and nothing was less likely than a general acknowledgment of the king. The Luxemburgs, above all, persisted in their refusal, although Sigismund, released from captivity, took his brother Wenzel prisoner and conveyed him to Vienna. The latter escaped towards the end of 1403, and his sovereignty in Bohemia was again established, while in all parts of the empire feuds raged, and the negotiations with other countries about the Church question had not yet borne any fruit.

A change in the international relations was introduced by the death of Giovanni Galeazzo of Milan. He had, after the murder of Bernabo Visconti in 1385, become the head of the seigniories, and had bought from Wenzel the title of duke and a position as prince of the empire in return for a large sum paid down. In 1399 he had extended his power over Pisa and Sienna, and had become a formidable opponent of the town of Florence, which for its part supported the electors in their action against Wenzel, in order to shake Galeazzo's position by the fall of his patron. This plan miscarried; for Galeazzo was too shrewd a diplomatist, and so his death on September 3rd, 1402, was all the more welcome to the republic.

Welcome Death of Galeazzo

The Pope at once entered into relations with Florence, and began war against the infant children of the Duke of Milan. He would, indeed, at this moment have been glad to see Rupert in Italy even with the reward of the imperial crown, and therefore held out to him, in the event of his marching immediately to Rome, the prospect of acknowledgment and coronation as King of Italy by a cardinal at Padua.

In return, of course, the king was to promise to take part with Florence in the struggle against Milan, and to represent the interests of Rome against Avignon and France. When Rupert answered in the spring, 1403, he demanded an immediate acknowledgment; the new expedition to Italy was, he said, impossible for the time being. Boniface, who now supported Ladislaus as rival king to Sigismund in Hungary, became anxious, since just then Benedict XIII. had again been acknowledged by France as lawful Pope. He was bound at all hazards to secure Rupert for his side, and therefore on October 1st, 1403, formally proclaimed his approval of Rupert, together with a ratification of Wenzel's deposition. For the coming expedition to Rome he granted the king two tithes of the German Church. Rupert did indeed seriously meditate the journey to Italy both in 1404 and again in March, 1405, but it was not carried out. His want of money did not allow him to put such desires into action; it rather drove him to oppress his previous supporters, the towns, whose hostility he thus

Poverty of the Emperor

incurred. John of Mainz, who had formerly supported the king, joined the ranks of the discontented in the empire. The result was a confederation for five years between seventeen Swabian imperial towns, Baden, Würtemberg, and the bishops of Strassburg and Mainz. A league was formed at Marbach in 1405, which was nominally aimed at all who should injure them in their liberties and rights. The point of it was really opposition to the king, although he was informed of the proceedings, and asked for his protection. He himself was clear on the matter, and wished in consciousness of his innocence to defend himself against the implied reproach in a diet; but the confederates did not allow that. The Archbishop of Cologne, formerly Rupert's friend, was still desirous of mediating, and at last gained his object in 1407. The confederation indeed remained undissolved, but without any special importance.

League Against the King

The king learned a lesson from what had happened, and was cautious in the future not to ask the states for pecuniary support. Without any assistance, he at last achieved some small successes. The town of Rotenburg, which had formed a secret alliance with Wenzel under its energetic burgomaster, Heinrich Toppler, was punished. The Duke of Guelders joined Rupert, and the town of Aix-la-Chapelle abandoned its resistance, paid 8,000 florins, and prepared a stately reception for the king toward the end of 1407. Lübeck also fell to him.

Shortly before this, Brabant had been lost to the empire. Anton of Burgundy, second son of Duke Philip, had become heir after the death of the Duchess Joanna. He took possession of his country, in spite of Rupert's protests, and in so doing enjoyed the favour of Wenzel, who gave him his niece Elizabeth to wife. Anton thus acquired the prospect of the hereditary lands of Luxemburg, and on the death of Jobst, in 1411, at once took possession of Luxemburg. Rupert's struggle against Wenzel was dormant, and little attention in the empire was paid to either. But in the momentous question of the council, which now excited Christendom, both once more came into opposition.

Struggles of the Papacy

The crying distress of Christianity, the unhappy dispute about the pontificate, had already had a marked influence on the politics of Western Europe. But as long as Rupert wore the German crown with little honour, the controversies had become more and more acute. The idea of a general council, which the University of Paris even in the lifetime of Clement VII. had quite timidly ventured to entertain, now seemed the only practicable solution.

With the overthrow of the German kingly power, which, illuminated by the splendour of the Roman imperial crown, had once represented the central point of civilisation in Western Europe, only in faith and doctrine was the universal character of the Catholic Church now visible. The rulers of Germany, Italy, England, and Spain were opposed to each, and the French Church outstripped all others in importance. We know how it succeeded in removing the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, and what efforts the French crown made, with the support of French cardinals, to assert their power over the head of Christendom after the return of Urban VI. to Italy. Benedict XIII. in Avignon, as well as Innocent VII., the successor of Boniface IX., who died in 1404, in Rome, were forced to promise the electing cardinals that under certain circumstances they would abdicate in the cause of unity. But neither acted according to his promise, although the healing of the schism was their most sincere wish. How, indeed, could the one have yielded without the other? The French policy, in fact, which for five years refused obedience to Benedict, proved itself quite mistaken, so that after May, 1403, he had again to be acknowledged.

The Fruits of Papal Rivalries

The dispute had now lasted twenty years without any end to it being visible, and sowed discord in all sections of the population. As in Mainz, so in many other bishoprics, a bishop had been appointed by both sides; even in the vicarages the same spectacle was visible. Each of the two Popes tried to bring over the adherents of the other party by gracious concessions of every sort. The result was a degrading traffic, with which punitive measures, bans and interdicts alternated in appropriate cases. Germany, Italy and England as a whole were in favour of the Roman Pope; France, Spain and Scotland of the French Pope. A college of cardinals supported each of them. The struggle between the two

representatives of the universal spiritual power was to a large extent only the result of the miserable position of the Church in general. In particular the Curia, since its migration to Avignon, appeared as an international financial body for the impoverishment of the countries, since the sale of preferments and the accumulation of benefices for the profit of the papal treasury were daily occurrences.

The ordinary revenues of the papacy were no longer sufficient for the enormous demands of the Avignon court establishment, to which were added the claims of the French king. It was necessary to procure fresh means. In theory, all ecclesiastical property had for centuries been claimed as the property of the Pope, who in the fourteenth century put the theory into practice, and began to grant all benefices as coming from him, and naturally expected some return. At the same time the doctrine of Indulgences was developed, and after the end of the fourteenth century the virtues of these compositions in discharge of penitence, which became a never-failing source of profit, were continuously preached. At the same time the practice began of conferring several benefices on one person, so that his income was greatly increased, while the parsonages themselves were filled by vicars. It was the usual rule that canons belonged to several chapters; they naturally resided only at one place, and simply drew the income from the others, in order, often, to live on it in a very ostentatious and even luxurious way.

The Oppositon Between Pope and Church

Just as the electors in the empire still entertained the idea of setting up the king in opposition to the empire, so the more advanced part of the clergy felt more or less clearly the opposition between Pope and Church. The former claimed to represent the Church; the clergy thought they ought to contest this claim, for they knew another real representation of the Church—namely, a general assembly of the Churches. In this lies the fundamental significance of the movement, which ends with the concordat of Vienna in 1448, that the idea of the Church, as it appears embodied in the council, was realised by each individual member of Christianity. The question throughout was not about the faith, but about the constitution of the Church; not about the refutation of false doctrines—the discussion of the doctrines of a Wycliffe and a Huss was only an incident of small importance—but about the moral regeneration of the clergy. The fifteenth century was not able to reach this goal. It was only the mighty shock which the universal Church experienced in the sixteenth century, when the discussions of questions of faith estranged great masses of the nations from its bosom, which led to its moral revival at Trent. Benedict XIII., at Avignon, a Spaniard by birth, was an able and learned man, of strictly moral life, inflexible in his resolution, and the keenest champion of the view that the Church was embodied in the Pope. At Rome, Innocent VII. had died in 1406, after only a two years' pontificate; and the cardinals chose for his successor a grey-haired Venetian, who took the name of Gregory XII.

Rival Popes Fail to Agree

He was a shifty man, and in spite of his declarations to the contrary, did not seriously trouble himself to settle the dispute. He showed himself apparently favourable to an offer of Benedict, that the two Popes should meet to arrange the dispute. When the Avignon Pope really came to Sarona, he raised all kinds of difficulties. He removed to Lucca at the beginning of 1408, but by so doing was not really nearer Benedict. Everyone now saw that nothing was to be expected from the two Popes; only a council could help.

Fortunately, the two colleges of cardinals, who were earnestly striving for unity, separated from their Popes. Gregory, in order to be rid of the insistence of his cardinals, nominated a number of new ones, whereupon the old ones broke off with him and went to Pisa. Not long afterward a French provincia synod declared Benedict an obstinate schismatic and heretic. Thereupon the French cardinals also went to Pisa. Both colleges now jointly issued the invitations to a general council. It was important to win at once the consent of the temporal powers. France was inclined to begin, and England's consent was finally won; but the German king, Rupert, who was invited as defender of the Church, did not answer, and thus favoured his rival, Wenzel, who immediately acquiesced in the welcome notion, and towards the end of 1408 demanded that his envoys

Claims of the Two Popes

should be regarded as those of the lawful king Rupert and his learned councillors were distinct opponents of the council. In their eyes Gregory was the legitimate Pope, and the action of the cardinals seemed to them rebellion against the spiritual head; the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz thought otherwise.

The Great Council at Pisa

Yet their plan did not succeed in the Frankfort diet of January, 1409, although the envoy of the cardinals was sympathetically greeted, especially in the towns; while the plenipotentiary of Gregory, who also issued invitations to a council, found full support from Rupert. The king finally appointed three envoys, who in combination with Gregory were to raise protests against all decrees of the council, and they were thus employed when punctually, on March 25th, 1409, the council at Pisa was opened.

The assembly, contrary to all expectation, was largely attended. More than 200 bishops stood by the side of the representatives of fully 100 cathedral chapters, and more than 300 doctors of theology and of the canon law represented, together with the deputies of fifteen universities, the authority of Western learning. At the head of a small body of temporal princes from Germany stood Wenzel, who gave the inconsiderate promise that he would help the newly-elected Pope to his rights by force of arms. The negotiations proceeded quickly.

By the beginning of June, both the Popes, Gregory and Benedict, were declared deposed as heretics, and toward the end of the month a new Pope was chosen in the person of Alexander V. Neither of the deposed Popes, it is true, contemplated any resignation. Three Popes, each with a considerable following, now reigned over Christendom. At the beginning of July, Alexander V. dismissed the council, and a new one was proposed

Three Popes at the Same Time

for 1412, when the suggested ecclesiastical reforms were to be discussed. In Germany Rupert still supported Gregory. On the other hand, Wenzel, most of the princes, and the towns, stood by Alexander. But in Prague itself there was a large party under the direction of the archbishop and the cathedral chapter opposed to any separation from Gregory, while within the university the opposite view was held. A violent dispute broke out between the Bohemian and the three other nations, who had long had a feud with each other, as only the first, in accordance with the king's wish for the neutrality of the university, expressed its views on the question before the council, while the Saxon, Bavarian, and Polish nations wished, considering the importance of the matter, to take sides, and support the Pope chosen by the council. In order to gag the Germans, Wenzel, by imperial dispensation, changed the conditions of voting in the senate of the university so that the Bohemians should have three votes, and the combined Germans only one vote. The majority of the body of German students, indignant at this insult, left the town, together with their teachers, and went to the recently founded university of Leipsic, which received its charter from Pope Alexander V.

Open war was now threatening in the empire on account of the Pope. The archbishops, John of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne, united for the common defence of Alexander's rights, while Gregory handed over to the king,

Death of the Emperor Rupert

as his loyal supporter, the revenues of the dioceses whose bishops supported Alexander. The towns, it is true, still stood by Rupert, but showed no wish to espouse the cause of Gregory with him. Rupert had already allied himself with the lords of Hesse and Brunswick for war against John, when death cut his plans short on May 18th, 1410.

However unimportant and unsuccessful Rupert may have been in his policy, his death was an important event. The declared enemy of the council, from which alone, as matters then stood, a solution of the difficult problems could be expected, had now disappeared. The last representative of the papal-absolutist constitution of the Church was in the grave. The regular council could now come into life as a Church institution, as a representation of Christendom, supported by the German sovereign, the born defender of the Church. In comparison with the councils or synods of the early Middle Ages, the field of operations as well as the composition of the council was enlarged. The world, therefore, could hopefully look forward to the intended assembly, which, as the successor to the Council of Pisa, should undertake the reform of the Church in head and members.



REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

THE COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND BASLE

AFTER the death of Rupert it was necessary to elect afresh an emperor for Germany. Wenzel, it is true, still claimed to be the lawful sovereign, but he took no serious steps to secure this position for himself. The vote of the Bohemian electorate was for him, Rudolf of Saxony was his friend, and Jobst of Moravia, as holder of Brandenburg, stood by him too.

These three, however, agreed only on the advancement of a Luxemburger. Of the remaining electors, those of Cologne and Mainz wished in any case for a supporter of the Pope chosen by the council, while those of Treves and the Palatinate would choose only a friend of Gregory's papacy. Sigismund of Hungary had hitherto taken very little part in the papal question. He could be reckoned as much an adherent of Gregory as of Alexander, and he was a Luxemburger by descent, although at present no friend of Wenzel.

Germany's New Emperor

His election would help the cause of all three parties. Sigismund was still vicar of the empire and acted in this capacity. He was desirous that Wenzel should be crowned emperor, and did not directly trouble himself to become kaiser. But he forfeited the electoral votes of the Palatinate and Treves by suppporting the successor of Alexander, John XXIII., the Pope elected by the council. However, he had a claim on the electoral vote of Brandenburg in place of Jobst, and he commissioned Frederic VI. of Nüremberg, the burgrave of the Hohenzollern house, to vote in his stead.

Though the other electors did not agree to this, the burgrave was admitted as representative of Sigismund to the election in Frankfort at the beginning of September, after he had induced the electors of the Palatinate and Treves by his declarations on the papal question to favour his principal. The electors of Cologne and Mainz wished to wait for the envoys of the three other electors before the election should be made. But Frederic, with the electors of the Palatinate and Treves, insisted on the election and held it in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's Church, for the building itself was closed in consequence of the interdict. The three chose Sigismund, and soon afterward left the city. The electors of Mainz and Cologne, however, applied to Jobst and offered him the crown, although he had declined the invitation to vote on the ground that there was a sovereign already.

Jobst Refuses a Crown

On October 1st, the electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Saxony, in the interior of St. Bartholomew's, finally chose Jobst as emperor. But he took no steps at all to secure the possession of the kingdom, and died in January, 1411. Sigismund now proclaimed that he accepted the choice which had fallen on him in September and entered into negotiations with Wenzel. The latter was conceded the title of King of the Romans, with the prospect of the imperial dignity, to which Sigismund was to help him, and Sigismund was tacitly acknowledged as emperor by the electors.

This was Sigismund's first appearance in the empire, the conditions of which had become strange to him, and soon after his recognition he went back to Hungary. Before doing so he carried out another arrangement which, insignificant as it seemed, became of the greatest importance for the history of Germany. In return for the support which had been given him in Hungary and at the first election, he conferred on the burgrave, Frederic of Nüremberg, as representative of the sovereign, the disordered march of Brandenburg, where a wide field was open to him for uninterrupted activity. His heirs were destined to remain in possession of this lordship, and the empire

Frederic of Nüremburg Rewarded

could buy it back only at a high price. In the year 1417 the Hohenzollern was formally invested at Constance with the march and the electoral vote thereto appertaining. Brandenburg now had a family dynasty, and from that time the empire was no longer disturbed by the disputes about that country which had lasted almost a century.

Alexander, the Pope elected at the Council of Pisa, died before he could enter Rome. His successor, John XXIII., had been legate of Bologna, and was a man of small intellectual capabilities, but a shrewd politician. His first object was to fight King Ladislaus of Naples, who continued to support Gregory XII. But the campaign against him was attended with little success, for Rome and the state of the Church fell into the hands of the Neapolitans. Sigismund took advantage of the Pope's plight at a time when prudent and quiet conduct would have won for him the gratitude of the whole Christian world. At the end of October he announced to the world that the council planned at Pisa was to meet on November 1st, 1414, at Constance, a place which lay beyond the jurisdiction of one of the three Popes. John, who on his part also issued a Bull of summons in December, was asked to appear, and so was Gregory, and Spain like France, even if unwillingly, had to obey the summons of the German sovereign.

Sigismund was all this time in Italy, and was engaged in a war with Milan, which he wished to recover for the empire but before the opening of the council he had to receive the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, and therefore marched in the spring of 1414 to Germany. After the death of Frederic of Cologne a dispute arose about the succession to the archbishopric between Dietrich of Mörs and William of Berg.



THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

Sigismund, king of Hungary, was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1410, and was the author and protector of the Council of Constance, called together for the purpose of ending the Hussite and other schisms.

Sigismund favoured Dietrich and allowed himself to be crowned by him at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope John also favoured him. But an episcopal dispute threatened, since William's succession was ratified by Gregory XII. This added another complication.

Pope John entered Constance about the end of October, 1414. Sigismund appeared at Christmas. An immense crowd was now collected in the city on the lake of Constance. In addition to the high spiritual dignitaries and doctors of theology there appeared princes and knights, jugglers and loose women. The laity, who found amusement and profit there, fan

outnumbered the body of real members of the council. Sigismund was everywhere regarded as the chief personage. He honestly exerted himself to perform his duties, and, above all, to restore the unity of the Church; and he had already come to an understanding with England and France that John must surrender his papacy. The numerous Italians would have easily been able to turn the scale. But the system of voting by nations, which was then usual, prevented this. The German nation and the newly recognised English nation acted together; by them stood the French, Italian, and Spanish nations, each with one vote only. John could not fail to see that he had no support in the assembly. To secure unity, the two other Popes must be won, and negotiation would have implied the admission that he was not the only lawful Pope. He promised on March 1st, 1415, to resign his office, but recalled his declaration, and with the help of Frederic of Austria secretly escaped from Constance.

Gregory XII. voluntarily abdicated, John was pronounced by the council to be deposed, and only Benedict XIII. was now left. The departure of John had the immediate consequence that the assembly in a resolution of immense importance, declared on April 6th that their official authority was derived immediately from Christ, and that even the Pope was obliged to submit to it. By these decrees the council took upon itself great duties, especially since it had been expressly declared that the assembly could not break up before the schism in the Church was healed and the reform of the Church completed. Frederic of Austria, owing to his action, fell under the ban of the empire, and Sigismund intended to crush him completely. However, as Benedict's claims were too great, Sigismund broke off communications with him and arranged with his former supporters, the kings of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, that they should attend the council and ere agree to his deposition. This was duly carried out on July 26th, 1417.



THE REWARD OF FREDERIC OF NUREMBERG

As a reward for the services which Frederic of Nuremberg had been able to render to Sigismund in Hungary, the emperor conferred on him the march of Brandenburg; and, insignificant as this arrangement might seem, it became of the greatest importance in the history of Germany. Frederic's heirs remained in possession of their lordship, and the empire could buy it back only at a high price.

Meanwhile, at Constance, other questions had come forward for discussion, at the express wish of Sigismund. Measures were taken against heresies which were disturbing the land, and especially against Wycliffe and his Bohemian followers, at whose head stood John Huss. He and his sect had caused much discontent in Bohemia.

At Prague, ever since 1403, it had been clearly seen what dangers lay hidden in doctrines of Wycliffe, and the University resolved to forbid forty-five articles out of his writings to be taught. The examination of his writings in 1410 showed distinct heresy in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Hitherto no stronger measures had been taken against Huss than against any other follower of Wycliffe. Not until 1409 was he summoned to answer for some alleged utterances. The occasion for further steps was given by the appeal of some students, certainly at the instigation of Huss, to Gregory XII. against the decrees of the Archbishop of Prague, by

which every supporter of Wycliffe's teaching on the Lord's Supper was threatened with penalties as a heretic. Gregory summoned the parties before him, but the archbishop had Alexander V. on his side, and he authorised him, at the end of 1409, to act in the spirit of his former decrees, and expressly charged him not to countenance an appeal of the parties concerned. When Huss and his companions, nevertheless, appealed to John XXIII. against the archbishop's measures, John excommunicated him for disobedience on July 18th, 1410. But the question came before the papal court, and an inquiry was made into the breach of church discipline by Huss, without entering into the charge of heresy which was raised at Prague. Wycliffe himself had not yet been declared a heretic.

Huss was now summoned before the Curia; but in the summer of 1411 efforts were still being made to end the proceedings by an agreement between the archbishop and Huss, a proof that until then the charge of heresy had not been raised against Huss. On the complaint of the opponents of Huss at Prague his trial was put into other hands, and the judgment of the archbishop which declared Wycliffe a heretic and Huss his follower was confirmed. Nothing was actually done, but the ban for disobedience was strictly enforced, and in October, 1412, an interdict was suspended over all places where Huss might remain. Nevertheless, he preached in Prague as well as in the country. Up to 1413 neither there nor at Rome had any official sentence been issued against him on matters of faith.

The events in Bohemia were probably well known in the empire. Sigismund, who hardly had any intimate knowledge of them, zealously tried to quiet all disturbances in his own country. He hoped that he would attain this result if he summoned Huss before the council at Constance, in order to put him on his defence. Sigismund, in so doing, did not propose an ordinary trial for heresy, in which the punishment in event of condemnation always amounted to death at the stake, but a declaration of faith before the whole council, when anyone might put questions, and Huss might answer them. With this understanding he promised the defendant his support, and although Huss had already started from Prague on September 28th, drew up for him, on October 18th, 1414, a safe-conduct—that is to say, a simple passport allowing him an undisturbed and fair journey there, as well as a safe return journey.



THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS, THE REFORMER

John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, summoned to attend the great Church council at Constance [see page 3167], travelled thither under the security of a free imperial pass. In spite of this, however, he was arrested, and, on refusing to recant doctrines which the council pronounced heretical, he was burned at the stake on July 6th, 1415.

From a sixteenth century MS. in the Bohemian Museum at Prague

Huss imprudently entered Constance long before Sigismund on November 3rd. The Pope remitted the ban under which he lay, and also removed the interdict and granted him complete liberty until the cardinals, at the instigation of Michael de



REPRESENTATIVES OF BERLIN AND COLOGNE SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO FREDERIC IV. AS KING OF THE GERMANS IN THE YEAR 1415

From the painting by L. Schrader in the National Gallery, Berlin

Causis, the old opponent of Huss, treacherously arrested him without the Pope's knowledge. This took place contrary to the express command of Sigismund and the pledge of the Pope; but the cardinals had gained their point. Then for the first time Huss was charged as a heretic, though the council of John had condemned the writings of Wycliffe in January, 1413, and had even proposed to institute proceedings against his dead person. Sigismund, mindful of his pledge, took instant steps for the liberation of Huss. But he failed, as the council was jealous of his intermeddling, which threatened to bring the members under the emperor's control.

Arrest of Huss, the Reformer

So, at the beginning of 1415, the council, entirely convinced that it had to deal with a heretic, tried to represent the earlier trial of Huss as a consequence of his heresy. All that Sigismund could effect was to insist that the proceedings should be conducted publicly. He gained his point by the end of May, and June 5th and 8th the hearings of did take place in public before the whole council, which gave him the opportunity to declare his beliefs, but otherwise the publicity was wholly unavailing.

Sigismund, however, declared that his promise had thus been kept. He took no further steps for the liberation of Huss, and, without interfering, allowed him to be burnt as a heretic on July 6th, 1415. It had certainly become clear to him, on closer examination, that Huss from the first had been a heretic, and implied a permanent danger to Bohemia. But the rising, in which Czech national feeling was combined with religious fanaticism, when once it broke out, was not suppressed so soon as Sigismund might have hoped. After Jerome had followed his friend to the stake on May 30th, 1416, the Bohemians, sword in hand, began to advocate the heretical doctrines of Wycliffe. For twenty years the "Hussite wars" raged through Germany.

The Hussite Wars in Germany

In the summer of 1415 war between England and France had once more been kindled. These events threatened to be momentous for the council, and the representatives of both countries ought indeed to have been working in common at the solution of the great problems. Sigismund had the best intentions of establishing peace, and with this object went in person to Paris, and then to England to the court of Henry V. Since he did not succeed there in effecting a union between the two hostile powers, he concluded, in August, 1416, a defensive and offensive alliance against France. The French members of the council now went over to the Romance nations, and Sigismund was compelled on his part to declare war against France in the spring of 1417. But the realm was not in a position to lend weight to his words by any armed force.

The proceedings of the council in the important question of reform had come to a standstill during Sigismund's absence; its time was taken up with trifles. The opposition between Germanic and Romance nations made itself more and more felt, and the latter had certainly the predominance. They yielded so far to the Germans as to agree to the resolution that at least the reform of the papacy and curia should be taken in hand before the election of a new Pope. Sigismund and the Germans generally wished for a decision on the whole question of church reform before a Pope was elected; but this was impracticable. Resolutions were hastily adopted in October as to the procedure at a papal election, and some other points.

Germans Deserted by the English

The English, at the command of their king, deserted the Germans, and Sigismund saw his work lost, and left Constance.

On November 11th, 1417, an Italian, a member of the family of the Colonnas and of anti-French sympathies, was chosen by twenty-three cardinals and six prelates of each of the five nations to be Pope under the title of Martin V. (1417–1431). He was a man well trained in the science of the time, and he had been a loyal follower of John XXIII. His personality was hardly welcome to the cardinals, but the members of the council were the more pleased to see him. Sigismund was again in Constance on the day when the election was announced. The existence of a Pope whom he escorted to enthronement and coronation meant much to Sigismund, since such a Pope could not refuse to give his approbation, and place the imperial crown on his head.

The unity of the Church was now restored once more. But there was no Church reform. Martin, indeed, set about discussing with a committee of reform in January, 1418, the programme proposed shortly before his election. But it was

here seen how divergent the wishes and demands of the nations were, and the discussions resulted in concordats which the Pope concluded with each separate nation only for a definite time. The important resolution as to the regular summoning of councils was, however, confirmed. The final sitting was on April 22nd, 1418. The members left Constance, but the world did not see fulfilled the great hopes with which the opening of the proceedings had been regarded. Sigismund's ideal wishes in particular were far from realised. He had wished to obtain peace for the whole of Christendom, and then to lead its united strength into the field against the Turks, but all such plans had to be abandoned.

Sigismund appeared to his contemporaries as the lawful ruler, and great things were expected of him. It is for this reason that the programme of social reform which was formulated in the last days of his reign was called the "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund." He was himself fully conscious of his great duties. He knew only too well how powerless the empire was, but he endeavoured to create imperial cities, and not merely to strengthen the possessions of the house of Luxemburg. He did, perhaps, too little for his own dynasty. He gave away Brandenburg, and granted Lausitz, by way of mortgage, as a prefecture to a knight in 1429. Moravia came into the power of Albert of Austria, the subsequent king, who married Sigismund's only daughter, Elizabeth, in 1422, and so brought the whole inheritance of Luxemburg to the House of Hapsburg.

Sigismund's Successes and Failures

In Bohemia, where Wenzel was still lord, the Hussite insurrection, of which we have seen the beginnings, spread widely and caused the greatest distress in the country. The burning of the teacher roused bitter passions in his home, and the fury of the people was directed mainly against the clergy. The nobility united to protect the liberty of preaching, the university was declared the highest authority in the Church, and all Catholics formed themselves into a counter-league. The religious teaching of Huss had met with response even in the royal family, from the wife of Wenzel; and when social distress as well as fanatism drove the peasants to war, it was too late to suppress the disorders. In the summer of 1419, a few days before Wenzel's death, public disturbances and street fighting occurred for the first time at Prague.

Sigismund was, indeed, the natural heir to the Bohemian crown, but nevertheless he appointed the widow of Wenzel regent. Under her regency renewed uproar and bloodshed prevailed, clearly in connection with the question of the succession, for the multitude loathed Sigismund, who seemed to be the murderer of Huss. The king ordered a large number of Hussites to be executed at Breslau, and thus gave a new proof of his sympathies in matters of faith. Martin V., at the king's desire, issued a Bull ordering a crusade against the heretics, and Sigismund was prepared to conduct a merciless war against the Hussites.

Evil Times for the Hussites

Within the movement itself there were two opposite parties - the moderate Utraquists—also called Calixtins, who differed from the universal Church only in the observance of the Lord's Supper, demanding the Cup for the laity, "Communion in both kinds," *in utraque specie*, whence their name of Utraquists and the radical Taborites, who repudiated every cult, and were also the champions of communistic ideas. The latter had the upper hand by 1420, committed great excesses in the country, and intimidated the Utraquists, who were represented chiefly in Prague.

Towards the end of July, Sigismund appeared with an army reputed eighty thousand strong, and began the siege of Prague. But the fight was attended by little good fortune. After a reverse received on July 14th, the army was broken up without effecting any results. Sigismund, however, was crowned King of Bohemia by the Archbishop of Prague. When the new king left Bohemia in the spring of 1421, the Hussites soon gained the whole country and overran Moravia. The Archbishop organised the "Four Articles of Prague," which comprised the Hussite doctrine, but the cathedral chapter remained loyal to the Church. A Bohemian diet thereupon deposed Sigismund, and there was an idea of appointing Wladislaus, King of Poland, in his stead. Sigismund could not submit to this, and in a diet at Nüremberg demanded help from the

Bohemia's Rejection of Sigismund

empire, in 1421. Since Bohemia possessed an electoral vote, the empire, as such, was interested in these events. The four Rhenish electors shared the same view. They appeared in Nüremberg on the right day, but were compelled to begin the debates without the king. They were afraid chiefly lest the heretical teaching should spread to the rest of Germany, and they tried to guard against this eventuality by a careful search for all heretics. Further measures were settled in May in a diet at Wesel, where a papal legate held out the prospect of a remission of sins to all who took part in the crusade. The king was not present. But the electors for their part announced an imperial campaign, and actually collected a splendid army, which marched into Bohemia from Eger, and lay in September before the town of Saaz.

Crusade Against the Heretics

In October, John Zisca of Trocnow advanced with his forces. The army of the crusaders turned to flight, and Sigismund, who now marched forward from Moravia, was completely defeated on January 8th, 1422, at Deutsch-Brod. This misfortune was increased by the suggestions of his contemporaries that he favoured heretics, while Bohemia was completely lost to him, and the Polish prince, Sigismund Corybut, was chosen regent of that kingdom.

The position of the king was one of extraordinary difficulty. His presence was clamoured for in the empire, and yet it was necessary in Hungary and Moravia. He made an unwilling appearance in a diet at Nüremberg in 1422, when it was decided to support the Teutonic Order against Poland, and to continue the war in Bohemia. It was intended to equip two armies - one for the relief of Carlstein, the other to be stationed for a year in Bohemia. Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg, was to be commander-in-chief. To cover the cost the Jews were compelled to pay a tax which amounted to a third of their property. Before Sigismund again left the empire, he nominated Archbishop Conrad of Mainz to the vicariate of the empire, with unusually full authority, but the palsgrave, Lewis, disputed this position with him. Conrad thereupon resigned the office, but the want of a supreme head was much felt, as neither money nor men were collected. The Margrave Frederic advanced into Bohemia in October with an inadequate force, since he still hoped to be joined by Frederic of Meissen. The war was again temporarily interrupted, as the Poles made peace with the Teutonic Order as well as with Sigismund, and recalled Prince Corybut from Bohemia. The heresy, however, in Bohemia, grew worse and worse, and the different parties began to fight fiercely among themselves.

The Jews Under Heavy Taxation

Since the palsgrave, Lewis, would not tolerate an actual viceregent of the empire, for he thought the office belonged to him alone, the four Rhenish electors, together with Brandenburg and Saxony, began to govern the empire as an electoral corporation, and formed at Bingen, on January 17th, 1424, an "Electoral Union," in order to restore order in the empire, but, above all, to suppress heresy. The "Electoral Union" was undeniably a measure directed against the king, and some provisions of the agreement showed this more clearly, so that Sigismund was justly incensed when the message of the electors reached him. According to the position of things, he could not fail to see in it a conspiracy organised by the Margrave Frederic of Brandenburg, and therefore invited the electors to come to Vienna and to effect a reconciliation between him and the margrave. Although they at first assented, they did not come, and professed only readiness to treat with Sigismund's envoys at Nüremberg.

Enemies of the Emperor

When the king appeared in Vienna at the beginning of 1425, there were only the deputies of a few towns present. A rupture between king and electors seemed inevitable, but the Rhenish princes were not disposed to let matters go so far. Frederic of Saxony, who had just been invested with this electoral dominion, was on the best terms with Sigismund. The margrave of Brandenburg, whose relations to Poland, the origin of the quarrel, had altered, was obliged to come to terms with the king. A diet at Nüremberg in May, 1426, effected a complete reconciliation.

In the interval Prince Corybut had again entered Bohemia. But his prospects did not seem favourable. The elector of Saxony and margrave of Meissen, the powerful neighbour of Bohemia, had already promised to help Albert of Austria, the king's son-in-law, to the Bohemian crown, and to give him his electoral vote. After the death of the leader of the Taborites, Zisca, on October 11th, 1424,



THE HUSSITES AND THEIR GREAT GENERAL, ZISKA, UNDER WHOM THEY DEFEATED THE GERMANS

When John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, was burned at the stake, his enemies may have thought they had overcome the movement which he represented, but they soon discovered that persecution was powerless to quench the great protest. In July, 1419, the great general, Ziska, headed a popular movement in Prague against the Roman Catholics. Two years later, in 1421, the Emperor Sigismund was driven from Bohemia, a German army that came against the Hussites was put to flight, and in 1422 Sigismund was routed at Kuttenberg.

the struggle continued between the Radicals and the Utraquists in Prague, at whose head Corybut placed himself. But, at the end of 1425, both parties came to an understanding. It was not, indeed, completely successful, although the new leader of the Taborites, Procop (the Great), was ready to negotiate with the Catholics, the king, and the Utraquists, if only the substance of faith was not hereby injured. While new war preparations were being discussed in the diet of Nüremberg, an army of Frederic the Warlike was completely defeated at Aussig on June 16th, 1426. Sigismund, now fully occupied with his other duties, entrusted the Bohemian war to his son-in-law. At the beginning of 1427 the Franconian knights dedicated themselves to the war against the heretics, and the electors renewed at Frankfort the Electoral Union of Bingen, while they attempted once more to take the conduct of the empire into their hands, though without any opposition to the king. Archbishop Otto of Treves was appointed commander-in-chief for the Bohemian war, and the troops assembled in sufficient numbers; but the campaign once more ended with a defeat on August 2nd, at Tachau.

Knights at War with Heretics

The year 1427, after the defeat of Corybut, saw the invasion of the neighbouring countries by the Hussites. They were impelled by the ravaging of their homes, and above all by love of plunder. The universal dislike of the clergy felt by the people, which then showed itself in every rising of the urban and country proletariat, had been much intensified by the appearance of the Hussites.

A terrible war of annihilation now began to devastate the countries adjacent to Bohemia for miles around. The Utraquists were not quieted until the Council of Basle in 1433, in the "Compacts of Prague," conceded to the laity the chalice at the Lord's Supper, and the sermon in the vulgar tongue. The Taborites, after the death of the two Procops, on May 30th, 1434, at Lapan, from the effects of this defeat, surrendered on the same terms, and finally, in 1436, recognised Sigismund as king.

The war difficulty was not relieved by imperial armies. But under stress of circumstances a resolution of great significance was passed, through the efforts of Cardinal Beaufort, half-brother of Henry IV. of England, on the occasion of the diet at Frankfort summoned by him in 1427. It had been seen that the constitution of the army, hitherto customary, no longer corresponded to the demands of the time.



A TYPICAL FAIR IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



THE HUSSITES AND THE COUNCIL: ARRIVAL OF HUSSITE DEPUTATION AT BASLE

The Hussite wars were followed by an attempt on the part of council, emperor and Pope to reform the Church, and the Hussite leader, Procop, accepted the invitation of the council to discuss the question. The illustration represents the arrival of the Hussite deputation at Basle, in October, 1433. Although no distinct result attended this conference, a deputation of the council subsequently went with the Bohemians to Prague, and there terms of peace were arranged.

and that nothing could be effected without a paid army which remained permanently in the field. But to obtain soldiers for the empire, money was essential, and this was to be raised according to a dexterous scheme of the cardinal's, by a universal imperial tax, called "common or general pence." Although the whole notions of the age were thus turned upside down, the tax, which was at once income tax, property tax, poll tax, and class tax, was nevertheless decreed. A commission was appointed to administer the funds, and the electors, with three representatives of the towns, were to decide on their application. Hardly anything, indeed, was realised, and the idea was not carried out. Nevertheless the proposal and the shrewdly designed system were of great importance as a suggestion for imperial financial reform in later times.

Sigismund allowed the electors full scope in the empire, for the Turks and the Poles occupied him sufficiently. But for the complete execution of his plans against the Hussites, of whom he never lost sight, he required the help of a greater power, and hoped for the support of Pope Martin V. The latter, according to the resolutions of Constance, had convoked a council in 1423 at Pavia, whence on account of the plague it was transferred to Siena. But the assembly, which was very thinly attended, was dissolved in the spring of 1424, before any results had been achieved, and Basle was fixed as the place for the next meeting in seven years' time. Martin had not realised the hopes placed on him; on the contrary, he tried to develop the papal omnipotence once more, and was personally by no means friendly to the council. Sigismund, notwithstanding, looked for a solution of the Hussite question in the first place by a general council, where the reform of the Church should be treated. England and France also urged that a council should be summoned before 1433. Even in Prague the idea of a council became less repugnant.

How to Reform the Church

After the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, together with the representatives of some towns, had conferred with the emperor at Pressburg in 1429, about the pacification of the empire, the latter came into the empire in the summer of 1430, and held a diet at Straubing. The Hussite question was discussed, but the thoughts of Sigismund were clearly fixed on a march over

the Alps, for the Pope still took no steps to summon the much-desired council. At last, yielding to universal pressure, he nominated Cardinal Cesarini, at the beginning of 1431, president, with full jurisdiction. He died soon afterwards. Steps were quickly taken to hold a new election, resulting in the choice of Eugene IV. (1431–1447), who was forced, however, on his election to swear to comprehensive conditions in favour of the college of cardinals. Sigismund learned of these events at Nüremberg, where a very crowded diet was just debating the vigorous suppression of the Bohemian heretics. When he heard from Cesarini that the council was actually to assemble soon, he wished only to settle the defence of the frontiers, and then to wait for the proceedings of the council.

Hussite Victory in Battle

But the electors were in favour of war; the emperor gave way, and the preparations continued, though slowly, supported by the crusade sermons of Cesarini. On August 14th, 1431, the imperial army met the Hussites at Taus, but, although superior in numbers, it was broken up, and thus all the preparations had been futile.

Without any special opening the council at Basle had actually begun its sittings in the spring. After the failure of the Hussite campaign it seemed to the cardinal himself that the religious troubles of the Bohemians could be solved only by encouraging the council, especially since some princes were already attempting to effect a union with the heretics by private treaties. Sigismund's old wish to start the reform of the Church drove him to an interview with Pope Eugene, in order to treat with him about his coronation as emperor. He thought it indeed prudent to clear up every point before his appearance in Basle. After the Duke of Milan had promised money payments during the period of the stay in Italy, and an escort to Rome, Sigismund started in the autumn with a small following, and was crowned on November 25th, at Milan. The duke now made difficulties, and wished the king to return, especially since there was no prospect of an agreement with the Pope.

Sigismund Crowned at Milan

The latter was emphatically an opponent of the council, and wished that it should sit in an Italian town. When he learned that the council had, on its own responsibility, invited the Bohemians to discuss matters, he hastily decided to dissolve the assembly, and summoned it to Bologna for 1433. But the assembled fathers paid little attention, and remained together mindful of the resolutions at Constance.

Sigismund strongly supported this action; he would rather have renounced the imperial crown, although his position in Italy, without money and without a sufficient following, was very unenviable. The council now sent an urgent summons to the Pope himself to appear in Basle, or to send authorised representatives; but he did not come. Sigismund, meanwhile, was hard pressed by Florence and by papal troops, and could not in any case return to Germany, for there he would have been obliged to surrender himself submissively to the council, and his independent policy would have thus been destroyed.

Eugene was forced to yield in January, 1433, for the whole of Christendom was for the council and against him. He feared that he would lose the papal states, and tried to prevent this by the Bull of February 14th, which permitted the holding of the council at Basle, and contemplated the appointment of delegates. Eugene, moreover, met the wish of Sigismund to see himself crowned. On May 31st the coronation as emperor took place, after the ordinary oath had been administered. But the displeasure of the council was excited because the newly-crowned emperor was now attached by his oath to the person of the Pope.

The Pope's Compulsory Submission

Sigismund left Rome in August, 1433, after he had induced Pope Eugene to recognise the council from the very beginning, on condition that it would repeal all the resolutions passed against the Pope. When the emperor entered Basle, important duties awaited him, for the assembly was seriously threatening the suspension of the Pope. The extremity to which the Pope had been brought by the events of the war in Italy, finally compelled him to abandon his opposition to the council. He declared the dissolution of it, which he had previously proclaimed, to be null and void, and marked out the duties of the assembly exactly as it had itself comprehended them to be.

In April, 1434, the arrangement was completed. Council, emperor, and Pope now worked in common for the reform of the Church; but no progress was made in this direction, and Sigismund left the assembly dissatisfied.

He had, however, done a great work in obtaining a settlement of the Bohemian question. The Hussite leader Procop accepted the invitation of the council to enter into negotiations, and the first conference took place in May, 1432, at Eger.

Widely extended legal protection was granted to Hussites of all denominations, and the permission to introduce motions was also conceded. The deputation finally appeared at Basle in October, 1433, Procop also being a member. Discussions of immense length were now started, naturally without result. At last a deputation of the council went with the Bohemians to Prague, and there drew up the terms of peace—the Compacts of Prague—which were accepted by the council and then ratified by the Bohemian diet on November 30th, 1433. Contests, indeed, were still threatening, for the different Hussite factions began hostilities among themselves, and took warlike measures against the town of Pilsen, which had remained true to the Catholic faith. But in this struggle the moderate nobles won the day, while the Taborites disappeared.

Bohemia's Unsettled Condition

The position in the East was considerably changed by the death of King Wladislaus of Poland, toward the end of May, 1434. There was no longer any fear of a political alliance of the Bohemians with the Poles, even if Sigismund still regarded with distrust the growth of the Polish power and instigated the Teutonic Order to war with it. In the autumn of 1434, the emperor left the empire; in the summer of 1435 there were interminable negotiations over the administration of the Compacts of Prague, and the terms on which Sigismund was to be acknowledged king in Bohemia. Without having come to any real result, Sigismund entered Prague on August 23rd, 1436, after the compacts had been solemnly published and the king had promised not to allow anyone to be forced to receive the communion in both kinds. The disturbances, however, still continued for a long time, but did not any longer affect the empire, being restricted to Bohemia.

Sigismund, did not experience much happiness either there or in the empire; the proceedings in the council, events in the empire, and the threatened war against Burgundy, exhausted him, while gout tormented him. An imperial diet at Eger, in the autumn of 1436, resulted in nothing, and the emperor's hope of seeing his son-in-law Albert chosen king of the Romans was not realised. Sigismund died on December 9th, 1437, at Znaim, leaving no male issue.

At Basle, meantime, an earnest effort was being made to reform the Church and the papacy. But the wielder of the papal power, Eugene IV., was not present to take part in the work; and this led to a bitter feeling among the clergy against the papal absolutism, which could no longer be repressed by pacific means. The resolution of the council, which abolished all the papal revenues derived from the holders of offices, was due merely to this fact, and Eugene naturally refused to acknowledge it. But matters did not come to an open breach until the Greek Church, threatened by the Turkish danger, made proposals in order to effect once more a union with the Roman Church.

Council of Basle and The Pope

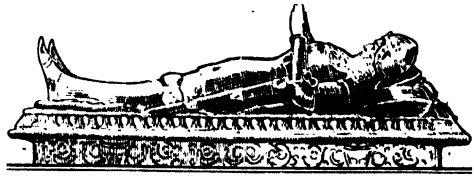
The Pope wished to discuss this point only in an Italian synod, and thus hoped to be quit of the assembly at Basle. But the majority of the council decided to retain Basle, and when Eugene for the second time dissolved the council and convoked a new one at Ferrara for the beginning of 1438, the proceedings against him were opened at Basle. When, however, it was generally known that a large number of attendants at the council were actually in Ferrara, and after February, 1439, in Florence, the best men left the old meeting-place of the council and espoused the papal party. On July 6th, 1439, the union between the Romans and the Greeks was sworn to in the Cathedral of Florence.

Soon no one troubled himself further about the proceedings at Basle, least of all Pope Eugene, who had been deposed there. In the spring of 1443 the rest of the assembly moved from Basle in order to continue their session at Lausanne. There the assembly was dissolved in 1449, after it had been forced to recognise Nicholas V. the successor of Eugene. The German princes, after 1438, kept, on the whole, in the background; they did not wish again to interfere directly in ecclesiastical questions. The "Concordat of Vienna" was promulgated in 1448 under Frederic III. By this the relations of the Curia to Germany were carefully fixed, but at the same time all the results were clearly annulled which the councils had accomplished for Germany.

End of the Council of Basle



THE GREAT PRUSSIAN WARRIOR ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE AGAINST THE NUREMBERGERS



FORTUNES OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA AND THE NEW TURKISH DANGER

THE German throne, which Sigismund left vacant by his death, seemed to the princes so little desirable that this time no one sought it. The electors finally chose at Frankfort, in March, 1438, according to the usual ceremony, Sigismund's son-in-law, Albert of Austria, an excellent man, who at first hesitated to accept their choice. The diet of Nüremberg in 1438 established, as the fruit of the efforts for reform which Albert favoured, a public peace, which formed the foundation-stone of reform in the empire, and only through the early death of Albert failed to have further results for the empire. It provided for a division of the empire into six circles, which were to represent independent constitutional bodies, and for a general improvement in the administration of justice and the total suppression of feuds. Beyond this,

Death of Albert of Austria

Albert did not interpose in the government of the empire, for the internal disturbances in his hereditary dominions, Bohemia and Hungary, and the growing Turkish danger, claimed his entire powers. On the way home, after a somewhat unsuccessful campaign against the infidels, he died at the end of October, 1439, before any reform worthy of mention in the empire can be recorded.

The throne was once more vacant, and no one aspired to it. The electors this time —contrary to the advice of his private secretary, Johann Gert—agreed upon Frederic, who, in common with his brother, possessed Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He was with difficulty induced to accept the duties of sovereign. His character was little adapted to these duties; indecision was joined to dislike of military undertakings. It was therefore an easy task for a man of powerful intellect like Æneas Sylvius, subsequently Pope Pius II., to guide the policy of the emperor according to his views, and this he did above all in the Church question, which, owing to the council at Basle, still violently agitated men's minds. It was due chiefly to his influence that the results of the council's proceedings were completely lost in Germany; for all that had been gained was ultimately abandoned in the Concordat of Vienna. Since Frederic belonged to the poorer princes, the rank of German king was of peculiar importance to him; he could increase his family possessions by it. An opportunity for doing so was presented him at the very beginning of his reign, when he was appointed guardian both of Albert's posthumous son Ladislaus, the heir of Hungary, Bohemia and Austria, and also of the infant Sigismund of Tyrol. In Hungary, after long party disputes, John Hunyadi was chosen governor in 1446 during the minority of the king; but Frederic kept his ward to himself, together with the royal crown.

Germany's Unwilling Emperor

The Bohemians wished to have Frederic himself as king, but he declined the crown, and, in fact, did not wish to undertake the regency for Ladislaus. Two administrators, one a Catholic and the other a Utraquist, were now appointed; but Frederic refused to give up the king even to them. The internal disputes led finally to the result that George of Podiebrad and Cunstatt, with the consent of Frederic, became sole administrator after 1452. And when Ladislaus died prematurely in 1457, George Podiebrad was chosen king of Bohemia on March 2nd, 1458. In Hungary in the same year Hunyadi's son, Matthias Corvinus, was elected king. In Austria, the third of Ladislaus's hereditary dominions, where for a long time, in consequence of an open insurrection of the nobility of the country against Frederic, Ulrich von Eitzing, a powerful noble, had held the government, Frederic's

New Kings in Bohemia and Hungary

brother Albert now governed, while Sigismund himself had ruled in Tyrol since 1446.

Before these unfortunate events in his own house the new king had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in June, 1442. Pope Eugene, before the resolution of the Concordat of Vienna, had promised the king that he would crown him emperor, and would provide funds for the expedition to Rome in the event of his showing himself amenable to his views. But the journey to Italy took place only in 1452, just when the Austrians had risen against the royal guardian, and on March 19, 1452, the last solemn imperial coronation of a German king was celebrated at Rome.

Frederic did not appear personally in the imperial diets, but willingly let himself be represented by Æneas Sylvius and the princes appeared there in correspondingly small numbers. Meanwhile, bitter feuds involving unspeakable devastation of the country raged in the Wettin territories between the brothers Frederic and William, and in Franconia between Albert Achilles and the imperial city of Nüremberg and the strong body of supporters on both sides as well as between the Rhenish princes. Frederic did not once make the feeblest effort to preserve the tranquillity of the land.



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC III.

Called to be emperor in 1440, the reign of Frederic III. covered a difficult period, and thus, though he was fond of peace, he had many struggles to face. He defeated the schemes of his many opponents in Germany.

From the statue at Innsbruck

Archbishop Dietrich of Mainz and Frederic of the Palatinate, who had hitherto been opponents, now united and set about the deposition of the king. George Podiebrad was to succeed him, since he seemed most adapted to support the anti-papal efforts of the archbishop. But the opposition of the other electors, especially Frederic of Brandenburg, prevented the execution of the plan. Dietrich of Mainz was finally worsted in his struggle with the Pope; he was deposed and Count Adolf of Nassau nominated archbishop in his stead. Since Dietrich gave way reluctantly and found support from his ally the palsgrave, a bloody war ensued, in the course of which Adolf conquered, and the town of Mainz, which stood by Dietrich, lost its position as a free city of the empire on October 27th, 1462. At the same time the imperial town Donauwörth was threatened by Lewis of Bavaria-Landschut; the king, therefore, suspended the ban over him and entrusted Albert Achilles with his punishment. Lewis had allies in the emperor's brother, the Bohemian king, and Frederic the palsgrave; twenty-four cities of the empire, which feared for their own existence, opposed them. But the Brandenburger was defeated on July 19, 1462, by the Wittelsbacher at Giengen, and in 1463 a peace was made there.

In Austria the strained relations between the king and his brother Albert continued. The latter roused the city of Vienna to open insurrection against Frederic. When at last the Bohemian king came to his help, a peace was concluded between the brothers at the end of 1462; but only Albert's death in December, 1463, prevented a renewal of the fraternal war.

In Bohemia the religious controversies were still heated. George Podiebrad owed his kingdom to the Utraquist party, and, after he had been recognised in his dignity by emperor and Pope, he had always a foe which, on account of his religious attitude, refused to acknowledge him and do homage—the town of Breslau, which belonged to his realm. The inhabitants were at last, in 1459, induced by the mediation of the Pope to promise that they would do homage to the king in three years. Pope Pius II. (1458–1464) was indignant at the little attention which King George paid to his favourite scheme,



FREDERIC III. RECEIVING HIS BRIDE, ELEANOR OF PORTUGAL, AT SIENA

From the fresco by Pinturicchio in the Library of the Cathedral at Siena

the war with Turkey, and began a war against the Bohemian Utraquists, while he declared the compacts to be void and took Breslau under his especial protection against George. The latter, on the other hand, was driven by the harsh procedure of the Pope to estrange himself more than ever from the Catholics. Pius II. died in August 1464, but his successor, Paul II., continued still more firmly the policy of his predecessor in the Bohemian question. He released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, deposed the king, and preached the crusade against the Bohemian heretics. In the civil war George himself was victorious over the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus. He did not, up to his death in 1471, renounce the Bohemian throne. He had chosen his successor the youthful son of the Polish king Ladislaus, but he had to fight for his throne against the claims of King Matthias of Hungary. The war lasted seven years. Poland kept true to Bohemia, but Hungary found supporters in Silesia, and especially in the town of Breslau. In the Peace of 1478 Ladislaus was obliged to cede Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz to Matthias.

Claimants for the Throne of Bohemia



ALBERT ACHILLES

The third son of Frederic I., Elector of Brandenburg, Albert Achilles succeeded to three principalities, and engaged in successful wars with Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

Matthias Corvinus of Hungary had also to fight with the Emperor Frederic. At the very outset of his rule, in 1458, one party had chosen the emperor as rival king. Frederic was finally compelled to renounce the crown, and to content himself with the prospect of acquiring it in the event of Matthias dying without issue. But while Matthias was fighting with Ladislaus for the Bohemian crown, Frederic provoked him by investing Ladislaus with the electoral vote and Bohemia, and an invasion of Austria by the Hungarian king was the result.

In order to free himself, Frederic was obliged to invest the latter with Bohemia and pay a large indemnity. But Matthias came again with an army, and this time remained for many years, since Frederic wished to place the Archbishop of Graz, who had been exiled by him, on the archiepiscopal throne of Salzburg.

Vienna itself fell into the hands of the Hungarian in 1485, and Frederic was compelled to ask the help of the empire. It was only in the diet of Nüremberg in 1487 that the princes agreed to send help, and in fact a small army was collected under the command of Duke Albert of Saxony. A treaty was concluded by which Matthias retained all conquests until full compensation was given, which Frederic was absolutely unable to do. Fortunately, Matthias died in 1490, and thus released the emperor from his unpleasant position.

On the western frontier of Germany a new danger was threatening from Charles the Bold of Burgundy. It was a natural consequence of the feebleness of the German king that Charles the Bold caused the greatest uneasiness in the parts of the German Empire adjacent to his land; he had, indeed, little to fear from the empire. The district of electoral Cologne seemed mostly endangered, and the emperor was disposed to begin an imperial war there against Charles. Archbishop Rupert, little beloved by his subjects, had been deprived of his office by the Pope, but naturally did not wish to resign the archbishopric, or, above all, to recognise the authority of the chosen administrator, Hermann von Hesse. Since the whole country, and especially the towns, supported Hermann, he had no other recourse than to appeal to the Burgundian for help. Charles gladly complied, and began, in the summer of 1474, the siege of the strong archiepiscopal town of Neuss. He met, however, with unexpected resistance, and had to invest the town for ten months. A strong imperial army appeared in the spring of 1475 under the command of the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg: Charles abandoned the siege and retired to Burgundy. He declined any further support of Rupert, and the administrator Hermann became Archbishop of Cologne.

Failure of the Siege of Neuss

While the possessions of the house of Hapsburg in Bohemia and Hungary, and even in Austria, were shrinking, and the incapable King Frederic hardly made



IN THE DAYS OF THE INDEPENDENT TOWNS · HANS THOMAS OF APSBERG AT WAR WITH THE SWABIAN LEAGUE

any attempt to maintain for himself and his house their proper power in the German east, his son Maximilian, with youthful energy, was taking a prominent part in the relations with Burgundy on the western frontier. In his whole character a complete contrast to his father, eloquent and liberal, endowed with the most varied interests, he became the idol of the people, and lived long in the memory of the masses as the "Last of the Knights." Indeed, his personality cannot be better characterised than as the embodiment of chivalry. His marriage with Mary of Burgundy had been repeatedly the subject of diplomatic relations between Frederic and Charles the Bold. But when the latter died, and Mary was actually left heiress of her father's dominions, the marriage of the heiress, aged twenty years, with Maximilian, who was a year younger, was soon celebrated at Ghent in August, 1477.

Maximilian the Idol of his People

Louis had already begun the war against Burgundy, and internal disorders were rife, especially in the towns of Bruges and Brussels. The first task, therefore, of the new ruler was to subdue his land by force of arms. Fortune favoured him; he defeated the French on August 17th, 1479, at Guinegatte, and was then able to regard himself as lord of the country.

Two children, Philip and Margaret, were born of the marriage with Mary, and when the duchess died in 1482, Philip, then four years old, was the heir of her dominions. Maximilian was recognised indeed in the north as guardian of the boy, but the town of Ghent got Philip into its power, and Flanders, Holland, and Brabant formed an alliance with France. An understanding with France was finally brought about, without further fighting, by the Peace of Arras at the end of 1482, according to which a part of the Burgundian kingdom was restored to France, and the marriage of Margaret, a child of two years, with the Dauphin Charles was arranged. But Flanders still professed a sympathy with France, with which Maximilian had difficulty in contending. First and foremost, the province demanded an independent administration under a council of regency—that is, a government by states. Not until the conquest of Sluys in 1485 did Bruges and Ghent acknowledge the guardianship of Maximilian.

Flanders in Sympathy With France

But in Februrary, 1488, Maximilian himself was taken prisoner at Bruges, and kept prisoner nearly four months. Since public opinion in the other provinces sided with Maximilian, and the emperor also was approaching with an imperial army from Cologne to the relief of his son, he was at last liberated, when he had promised the appointment of the required council of regency and the withdrawal of the foreign soldiers. These promises were, however, disregarded after his liberation, and the imperial army, now under the leadership of Duke Albert of Saxony, advanced to besiege Ghent, which it took in the autumn of 1489. From this time Maximilian was really master in the lands he had inherited. He had won for his house by the acquisition of Burgundy the territory which ensured the Hapsburg ascendancy in the sixteenth century.

The inactivity of Frederic, which had been deeply felt by the princes, and had since 1462 suggested the thought of his deposition, led men once more to entertain such ideas, as Maximilian by his acquisition of Burgundy attracted the attention of all. Against the will of his father, chiefly at the instigation of Bishop Berthold of Mainz, he was chosen king of Romans in February, 1486, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in May. Since 1489, when the possession of Burgundy was assured, Maximilian had become the pillar of the house of Hapsburg. Sigismund of Tyrol renounced his lordship in his favour in 1490; and after the death of Matthias, king of Hungary, Maximilian reconquered Austria and enforced the old claims of the Hapsburgs to the crown of Hungary. He acknowledged in 1491 Ladislaus, who was disputing the crown with his brother John Albert, as king of Bohemia, but obtained on his side recognition of his own claims to succeed to Bohemia and Hungary in the event of the new king dying childless.

Maximilian as King of the Romans

The Emperor Frederic had also promoted a new alliance in the summer of 1486, with the object of securing the Hapsburg power against the Wittelsbachs in South Germany. In February, 1488, the so-called "Swabian League" was founded at Esslingen, which united princes, towns, and nobles, and was able to place a strong armed force in the field. Since the chief aim of the league was to conquer the too powerful Wittelsbachs, it amounted to a very decided protection of the Hapsburg

interests, which it actually afforded in the sixteenth century.

When the Emperor Frederic died, on August 19th, 1493, his house held a position totally different from that occupied at the outset of his reign. This was in no way due to his action. Maximilian, on the contrary, had helped to realise this object in latter years, especially since he proved himself a general. Owing to his family possessions, it was possible for him, although chosen in order to support the empire, to influence the destinies of the nation more decisively than any king for many years.

The political events of Germany in the fifteenth century were not only determined by the ordinary forces which had worked together for centuries, but an external power gained decisive influence over the destiny of the European West, which it filled with a nameless dread. This was the Turkish Empire, which arose on the Lower Danube in the place of the self-contented Byzantium, and thence penetrated into the sphere of German interests. The circumstance that here a non-Christian foe was in the field turned this rivalry into a religious question. The whole idea of Crusades, therefore, revived, although the measures taken in carrying out the idea were far from corresponding to those of the twelfth century.

Success of Turkish Invasions

As far back as 1396, Western Europe had advanced in arms to check the torrent of the Turkish invasion. On this occasion, the Turk was completely victorious. But the devastating onslaught of Tamerlane and his Mongols from the East was more effective in staying for the time the progress of the Ottomans in the West.

But in the time of Sultan Murad II. (1421–1451), on the breaking up of the Byzantine empire into separate states, the ultimate victory of the Turkish power must have seemed certain to the intelligent observer. Only the West could bring help in this case. Albert II. made the attempt in 1439, but lost his life in the campaign. So long, indeed, as the schism in the Church lasted, there could be no idea of a serious warlike expedition of Roman Catholic Christianity against the unbelievers in support of Greek Byzantium. At this juncture, therefore, in 1439, the union of the two Churches at Ferrara was announced, but only on paper, for the gulf between the two confessions could not be bridged over. Pope Eugene IV. now took up the matter, and ordered a Crusade to be preached in the West. The Prince of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, had conquered Turkish armies superior in numbers at Belgrade in 1441 and in 1442 at Maros-Szent-Imre and at the Iron Gates; the Turk was not, therefore, invincible. The next year the same prince led a large army, in which all the nations on the Danube immediately concerned were represented, as far as the Balkans. In every part of the West, men were professing their readiness to share in the coming campaign, when in the summer of 1444 the Sultan Murad concluded a truce for ten years with King Ladislaus of Poland and Hungary, in which the advantage distinctly was on the side of Hungary.

The Sultan's Ten Years' Truce

War was hopeless without the participation of Hungary. Nevertheless, at the instigation of Cardinal Julian, hostilities were again begun; even Ladislaus was persuaded to take part in them. This time a fleet was to co-operate with the land army. However, the Hungarian army alone met Murad. Genoese ships had been bribed to transport the enemy across the Bosphorus and a battle was fought at Warna on November 10th, 1444. Ladislaus was slain, and the whole Hungarian army turned to flight. Hunyadi was also defeated by Murad in a bloody battle on the Amselfeld, near Cossowa in Servia on October 17–19th 1448.

When Murad died in 1451, his son Mohammed II. Bujuk (1451–1481) succeeded. He was firmly resolved to sweep away entirely the decayed Byzantine Empire and to make Constantinople his capital. The Emperor Constantine would not consent to surrender, and so the siege of his capital was begun in autumn, 1452. There was no prospect of help from the West, although the emperor formed an alliance with Pope Nicholas V.; for among the Greeks particularly the people were most bitterly opposed to a union with the Roman Church. The sultan, with an enormous host, invested the city, which could muster only an insufficient garrison. No substantial help was sent to the emperor, except by the republic of Genoa whose ships were really far superior to the Turkish fleet. Constantinople finally

Siege and Fall of Constantinople



KNIGHTS AND PIKEMEN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY ON THE MARCH

fell before the assault of the Turks on May 29th, 1453. The Emperor Constantine was slain in battle, and the Christians were mostly massacred: the survivors were sold into slavery, and the town was pillaged. Mohammed did not permit the buildings to be injured, for he wished to reside in the city at once. He provided a population for it by forced immigration from Asia Minor, and the transformation of "St. Sofia" into a mosque announced to the world that Islam had made its entry into the city on the Bosphorus.

The terrible news of the fall of Constantinople spread with rapidity through Europe. In vain the Popes Nicholas, Calixtus, and Pius II. tried by assiduous preaching of war to stir up Christendom to a Crusade against the dread foes of Christianity. Although no secular ruler except Hunyadi prepared himself for resistance, an enthusiastic crowd, composed of every section of the population, streamed to the standard of the Cross, and, led by John Capistrano, a zealous preacher of war, defended Belgrade, to the siege of which Mohammed had advanced in 1456. They actually succeeded in driving back the sultan's army and in winning rich booty, especially the siege artillery. Unfortunately, John Hunyadi, the only man hitherto who had offered serious resistance to the enemy, died a few days later—on August 11th, 1456—of the plague. But Mohammed's lust for conquest was temporarily diverted by various insurrections of conquered tribes. With Venice alone, on account of the possessions of the Republic in Greece, he waged war for more than fifteen years, only to appear soon after the peace of 1479 in Italy, where he occupied Otranto. On his death, in May, 1481, the Ottomans were obliged to abandon this base of operations.

Smaller inroads into the Austrian domains and Hungary had also been made at this time, but the empire had taken no steps against them. In fact the princes saw in the incursions of the Turks only a danger for the hereditary lands of the Emperor Frederic. He himself understood only too clearly that this was imminent. He had summoned an imperial diet to Regensburg on the news of the fall of Constantinople in order to organise a crusade against the Turks. The decree

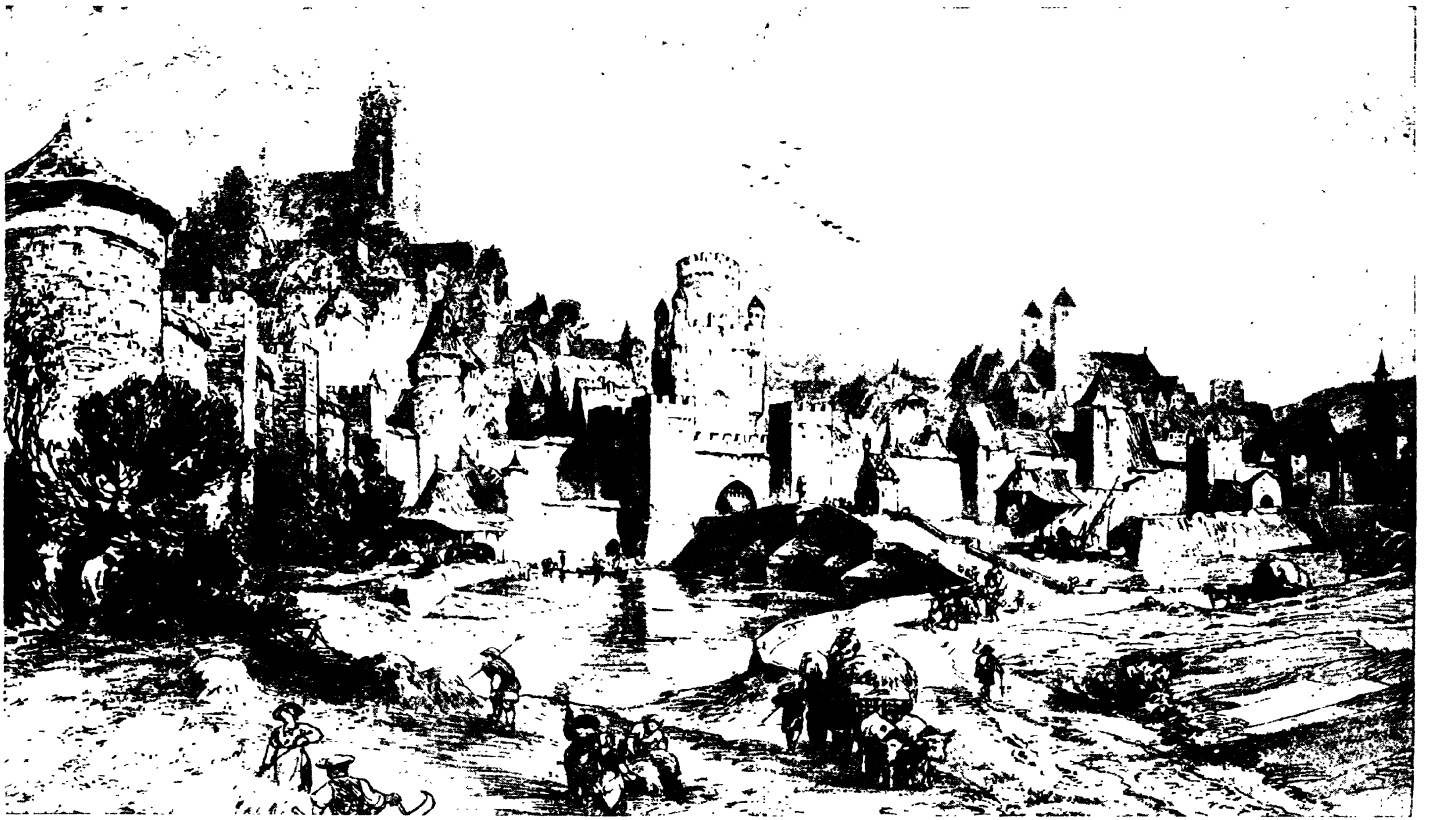
was there deferred to a later date. The princes at Frankfort did, indeed, promise to send 10,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, but nothing was done. Pius II. took all imaginable trouble, and summoned a meeting of the princes to Mantua in 1459 in order to discuss the question of a Crusade. The princes did not appear in person, but only their representatives. He then sent Cardinal Bessarion to Germany in order to work upon the princes, but fruitlessly.

In the diets of 1466 and 1467 there was again much talk about a war with the Turks, but no results followed. No progress was made until the diet of Regensburg, in 1471, which was attended by the emperor himself, and was otherwise well represented. The emperor asked for 10,000 men at once to guard the frontiers of his hereditary lands, and the princes were willing to grant them; only the towns opposed it. After a discussion on the method of starting a great expedition in the next year the matter was allowed to drop. In spite of all speeches and resolutions, no sort of action was taken against the enemy of Christendom. The result was similar in 1474, when the diet of Augsburg was expressly summoned for this purpose. Bajazet II., son of Mohammed II., who died in 1481, was, as it happened, less warlike than his father, and allowed the much-exhausted border-lands some respite. His successor, Selim (1512-1520), had also more to do in the east, and could think less about inroads into Germany. The danger nevertheless existed for the German empire, and became greater than ever under Suleiman, who appeared before Vienna in 1529.

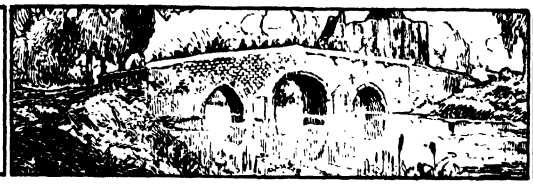
In the sixteenth century a war might really have been better undertaken, since a "Turk tax" was available, which, although it was not paid with punctuality or completeness, still placed certain means at the disposal of the empire. In any case, the concession of that property tax of ten per cent. was a fundamental acknowledgment on the part of the states that the war against the infidels was the duty of the German Empire and people, and not merely the concern of the neighbouring princes and their territories.



THE FASHIONABLE SPORT OF FALCONRY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull



THE EXTERIOR WALLS AND BATTLEMENTS OF A GERMAN TOWN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



GERMAN TOWNS AND TERRITORIES

THE ORIGINS OF THE PRINCIPALITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE IMPERIAL POWER

THE imperial power in the early Middle Ages, although amply provided with economic means and represented by great personalities, had very few duties to perform in comparison with the tasks of the modern state. The administration of justice and the maintenance of peace at home, the full exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the protection of the borders of the empire from external foes, comprised almost all its official duties.

In principle, even in the fourteenth century, these were still the spheres where the royal power was felt, but in every respect the prerogatives as well as the powers of the empire had diminished. At the period when natural products were the medium of exchange, the German king of the time was the greatest landowner, the richest man in the empire. Even if the imperial estates and the profitable rights had not diminished, the empire, after the introduction of coined money as the medium of exchange in the twelfth century – a system from which any advantages gained by the royal power must have been due chiefly to privileges of coinage and taxation—would not have been able to maintain its more prominent position as regards the other powers.

Germany's First Coined Money

But now during the interregnum the property and privileges of the empire had been lost to the crown through reckless gifts and wholesale pawning, so that the imperial power possessed only slender means. It could not be supposed that the new economic development would be sensibly influenced by the empire. All that actually was done in that respect was the work of the two younger constitutional organisations, the territories and the towns. Both of these represented the standard economic units of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and on their side followed out that which in modern times is called an economic policy. An hereditary monarchy existed in France and England. There were a family succession and well-defined crown lands, of which the extent, in France particularly, was steadily increasing. The number of independent princes and counts as vassals of the crown appreciably diminished in both countries. If a fief after its conversion to the crown was granted afresh, it was usually conferred on a member of the royal house, and so strengthened still more the royal influence. The conditions were quite different in Germany, the electoral empire. The princely electors were anxious to hinder the formation of a firm imperial constitution which would bar the expansion of their own territorial power. It could be only to the advantage of the electors if they chose an unenergetic emperor, and as a reward for their vote repaid themselves out of the imperial possessions. The emperor on his part endeavoured to build up the territorial power of his own house. The imperial crown was a great factor in this territorial aggrandisement. The Luxemburgs as well as the Hapsburgs realised this, and both strove earnestly for imperial sway. In this struggle the Hapsburgs succeeded by right of survivorship.

How German Princes were Enriched

The Roman imperial crown had lost its splendour after the interregnum. All German kings had, it is true, thought it an honour to cross the Alps and have themselves crowned in Rome. But the last expeditions to Rome were little calculated to produce flattering impressions, even if they did not all turn out so lamentably as that of Rupert, in 1401-1402. The empty glory of the imperial crown had gradually died away. Charles V. was the last German king who wished to be crowned Roman Emperor. The kings after

The Empty Glory of the Roman Crown

him assumed the imperial title immediately on their election, and concealed by the brilliancy of the name the paltry value of German majesty.

Wide Stretch of Germany's Dominions

As on the one side the royal prerogatives, coinage, customs, safe-conducts, protection of Jews, mining and salt monopolies, courts, etc., were transferred to the territorial princes, so externally also the empire lost in extent. Everywhere large strips were detached on the frontiers and became independent, or actually fell to the neighbouring states.

The imperial dominions stretched nominally westward as far as Flanders and Burgundy and the Rhone land, southward to Upper Italy, and eastward as far as the borders of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. The eastern countries themselves continually formed closer relations with the empire. They were indeed governed partly, in theory at least, by the German ruler, but they did not become real members of the empire. In the west the imperial dominions were actually diminished. Charles IV. had, in 1365, received the crown of Burgundy at Arles; but as compensation to the French dauphin, for having renounced his claim on Mary, heiress to the throne of Hungary, and to avoid the double papal election, he conferred on that prince the vicariate of the empire in Burgundy.

The reversion of Burgundy to France was thus settled. The course of affairs in the north-west was similar. When, after the founding of the new Burgundian power in 1363, Flanders was allied to Burgundy by the marriage of the heir with the heiress, Margaret, in 1384, it withdrew quietly from its dependence on the empire, and the Flemish towns ceased to be members of the Hanseatic League.

Switzerland Asserts its Independence

Switzerland also became independent, for the Hapsburgs, who struggled to build up their sovereignty there, were compelled to yield to the confederation of city burghers and free peasants. An imperial army made an ineffectual appearance before Zürich in 1354. The peace of the next year clearly implied the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from their old possessions. When, then, the towns of Swabia, in 1358, formed an alliance with Berne, Zürich, Zug, Solothurn, Mülhausen, and even with the Hapsburg town of Sempach, the struggle of the Hapsburgs to protect their last rights was inevitable. Leopold of Austria advanced with an army of knights, but was completely defeated in 1386 at Sempach by the "peasants." The permanence and the strength of the confederation were thus secured. The battle of Naefels, in 1388, had equally unfavourable results for Leopold's sons.

In the peace of 1389 the house of Hapsburg had to renounce its rights of territorial sovereignty, especially its jurisdiction over Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus. The confederates, however, renewed their league, Solothurn joined it, and the "Sempach Letter," in 1393, became the starting-point for the later development of Switzerland. The threatening territorial sovereignty was shaken off, but the empire lacked the power to enforce its rights.

The free united Swiss communities from the end of the fourteenth century were quite independent. They did not share politically any more in the common destinies of Germany, but in the sphere of intellectual life the connection became more marked. Basle especially became a seminary of German humanism and a centre of the artistically complete German printing trade. The renewed attempts of the Emperor Maximilian to maintain the alliance of the mountain country with the empire miscarried. After an unsuccessful struggle he was compelled to consent in 1499, to the liberation of Switzerland from imperial taxation and jurisdiction. Thus the nominal connection with the empire was dissolved. For the future the confederates were designated with the distinguishing name "Kinsmen of the Empire," until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, fully recognised the confederation as an independent constitutional organisation outside the empire.

Where Maximilian Failed

Within Germany itself the imperial power had a very varied influence. In the South German districts, where large imperial towns lay close together, where there was a large number of knights of the empire, its importance was distinctly more felt than in the plain of North Germany. The imperial power had never found there, even in previous centuries, support so firm as in the south. With the increasing importance of the trade on the German coast, a separate confederation of the towns, the Hanseatic League, governed the political life. This started with an association of German merchants

for the protection of their common interests in foreign countries; but after the beginning of the fourteenth century this association acquired even at home the admitted headship in politics.

A similar position to that of the Hanseatic League in the north was held by the Teutonic Order in the north-east. It had inserted itself between the Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians, and had cut them off from communication with the sea. The land of the order on the Baltic became an important outpost of Germany. Up to the battle of Tannenberg, in 1410, so momentous for the constitution of the order, ninety-three German towns and 1,400 villages were founded there. Dantzig, the most important place in the country, belonged to the Hanseatic League, and was a rival of Lübeck. But the constitution of the order existed only for Germany, not for the German Empire; it formed a separate body, and in the end helped to support the power of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns.

Decaying Revenues of the Empire

In the heart of the empire the districts which as yet saw no sovereign over them were anything but supports of the imperial power. The imperial towns paid their taxes, and in other respects occasionally entered into nearer relations with the emperor, as when a diet was held within their walls. Some, however, were freed from the regular yearly taxation, and were therefore styled "free" towns. And where tracts of land, now fairly numerous, remained without a lord, this signified absolute independence. It was far less possible in their case to bring them under the imperial taxation than in the case of the princes, who on their side, sometimes at least, had a keen interest in the aggrandisement of the empire. The strength of the imperial power thus varied much in different parts of the empire, and found a corresponding expression in the services rendered to the empire by the separate districts.

Rudolph I. and Albert I. devoted much pains towards putting the decaying revenues of the empire once more on a better basis, but they were not far-sighted enough to make the commercial aspirations, which were the foundation of the new economic conditions, profitable to the imperial coffers. They contented themselves with a reorganisation of the governorships in the imperial provinces and of the imperial exchequer, which, together with the fixed taxes imposed on the imperial towns according to the agreement, represented the actual revenues of the empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The work done by the imperial power in its own peculiar sphere, the maintenance of peace in the country, corresponded in fact to its resources. Quite apart from the fact that no imperial executive existed capable of punishing offenders against the order for general peace, there are no more instances of an "Imperial Peace," that is, a penal enactment, published for only a definite period against disturbers of public order, and enforceable throughout the whole empire. The imperial peace edicts from the time of Rudolph to Henry VII. were practically renewals of the "Public Peace" of Mainz in 1235.

Imperial Peace Edicts

After Lewis of Bavaria, even these renewals fell into disuse, and only on the important law of Albert II., in 1438, revived the old thought of peace for the whole empire. Ordinarily provincial peace edicts were issued, and show to what extent on the most essential point the conception of empire had given way to that of territory. King Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, in 1383 once more attempted an "Imperial Peace," but could not carry it out, for he failed to break up the existing confederations of the towns.

Now, when the empire could not enforce its power, another path was taken in order to secure the necessary peace, especially in the interests of the towns. The towns concluded "unions"—that is, leagues, for a definite period—and pledged themselves to make common cause against anyone who should disturb the peace of one of the members. Princes were occasionally parties to such leagues, among which that concluded between the Rhenish and Swabian towns in 1381 stands foremost. As early as 1331 the Public Peace of Ulm included, in addition to twenty-two imperial towns in Swabia, the lords of Upper Bavaria and Brandenburg, as well as the Bishop of Augsburg. The Golden Bull had expressly permitted the unions for the maintenance of the public peace, while it forbade all coalitions for other purposes, and had thus proclaimed that the empire for its part was no longer able to secure the tranquillity of the land. A number of peace edicts were issued in the fourteenth and fifteenth

Purpose of the Town Leagues

centuries, and a series of unions formed for the preservation of peace until the "Perpetual Public Peace" of the imperial diet at Worms in 1495 forbade as a fundamental principle every feud and all recourse to self-defence. This was, of course, possible only at a time when the territorial lords had mostly acquired sufficient strength to punish rebellious nobles unaided, and an energetic interference of the imperial power was no longer necessary. The emperor was supreme judge. The counts and all other authorities judged only in his name, and in every place where the king appeared the court was open to him. This, in principle, was the case even in the later Middle Ages; but the "counties" had long become hereditary, and their holders had acquired various other powers, so that they were mostly present as territorial lords. Aulic privileges had long since infringed the old constitution of the tribunals, and the king had only little left of his sovereign jurisdiction.

Where the Emperor was Supreme

Although he had from the first the right of "evocation," in virtue of which he could at pleasure give judgment in any matter not yet legally decided, yet he was obliged comparatively soon to renounce this claim as regards individual princes. The Golden Bull of 1356 made the privilege "de non evocando" the legal right of all electors; and in 1487 the royal prerogative of "evocation" was universally abolished.

The old constitution of the courts had presupposed a free people; but freemen in large numbers were found only in Westphalia, and there the royal courts, called "Vehmgerichte" ("Vehmic tribunals"), for the trial of crimes existed practically unchanged. They were courts of freemen to try freemen under the presidency of the count. But since in the greatest part of the empire nothing was known of freemen and the count's court, the condition of things in Westphalia seemed to contemporaries a remarkable anomaly. Charles IV. wisely, in the public interests, made full use of this remnant of Germanic jurisprudence in the Public Peace for Westphalia of 1371, since he entrusted his administration to these Vehmic tribunals, and by so doing contributed greatly to the respect, or rather superstitious fear, with which they were everywhere regarded. Their constitution was such that in the circuit a judge nominated by the king with seven free jurors from the "free seat" held a court always in the open air and by broad daylight. According as others than the jurors might or might not be present, the matter was called "public" or "secret." The extreme penalty was death by hanging, carried out immediately if the accused was present; or, if he did not appear, wherever he was met by three free jurors.

The Wise Action of Charles IV.

The result of this jurisdiction was in the fourteenth century thoroughly beneficial, since grave defects in the criminal law were thus remedied. In the next century the Vehmic tribunals certainly degenerated; the diet at Nüremberg in 1431, and the reforms of Frederic III. in 1442, were forced to take measures against the encroachments of the "secret tribunals." Gradually, therefore, they forfeited their importance.

The need of a complete body of law for the empire as a whole was then keenly felt. The imperial towns and the country districts still belonging to the empire seemed to be almost independent constitutional bodies. The person of the emperor was usually unknown to the people, and no proper representation of the imperial rights existed. There was, in fact, in the imperial chancery no register of the constituent members of the empire. Not a single list of the towns and princes was forthcoming, when in 1422 preparations had to be made in hot haste by the empire for the "daily war" in Bohemia. The town of Düren, which from 1242 had been pledged to the count and subsequent duke of Juliers, and had long regarded itself, in fact, as a provincial town, was after 1578 repeatedly summoned to the imperial diets, and called upon to pay the Turks' tax. The chancery was actually unprovided with any proofs by which it might reconcile asserted privileges and actual facts.

Germany's "Daily War" in Bohemia

The want of an imperial executive machinery was not less bitterly felt. Anyone who obtained a legal title by the imperial law had usually to fight for it first. Even if the ban of the empire had been published, there were no means of executing it. When, for example, Charles IV. pledged the imperial town of Weil to Count Eberhard of Württemberg, it joined the Swabian League, existing since 1376, and the emperor suspended the ban over the fourteen towns. Eberhard wished to fight for

his claim to the town of Weil; but his son was completely defeated by the towns at Reutlingen in 1377, and the emperor found himself compelled to retract the ban and to cancel the pledge. The towns had in this case conquered the imperial authority and the princely sovereignty.

Where the empire wished to exact penalties it was dependent on the goodwill and the contingent means of the states of the empire charged with the executive. In the sixteenth century, when the division into circles already existed and considerably facilitated matters, an imperial executive system was arranged in 1555; but it came too late, for all political power had already passed into the hands of the princes.

The German empire, at any rate after the Golden Bull, formed a federal union. Hitherto, it is true, the imperial vassals had advised their sovereign in weighty matters, but the decision lay with him. Now in all decisive questions the assent of the electors was a necessary condition,



GOLD FLORINS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

At one time there were no fewer than six hundred different mints in the German Empire, and the exchange of money was, in consequence, very difficult. By the middle of the fourteenth century the German golden florin had acquired great importance for wholesale trading. The first two coins in the above illustration are gold florins of the period of Lewis IV., from 1313 till 1317; the gold florin of John I. of Bohemia, from 1309 till 1346, occupies the centre; while the two remaining coins are gold florins of Frederic III., Archbishop of Cologne, from 1370 till 1414.

and the imperial assembly was raised to a judicial institution, although the intended annual assemblies of the electors were not carried out. The princes became "estates of the empire," just as under them "estates of the country" were developed. These took a share in the imperial government, and came more and more prominently forward. The position of the emperor had now been entirely changed. The formalities of his election were carefully settled; and the selection of seven princes of the empire, in whose hands the election now lay, was an additional cause of weakness to the monarchy, since each elector strove to obtain a compensation for his vote in the shape of imperial lands and privileges. If the electors could choose an emperor, it was a natural consequence that they reserved to themselves a right to interfere during his reign, and sometimes gave expression to their approval in so-called *Willenbriefe*, or "Letters of Consent," usually with some personal aim, and in fact they often claimed the right to depose the king, which was actually exercised in the case of Wenzel in 1400. The Electoral College soon grew to be representative of the empire, and those "Letters of Consent" took the place of the assent of the imperial assembly. The number of princes of the empire, who in 1350 included in their ranks more than seventy spiritual and forty temporal lords, steadily grew; for, on the elevation of an imperial fief to a military fief, the position of a prince of the empire was easily acquired. In the fourteenth century, among others, Pomerania, Juliers, Guelders, Luxemburg, and Berg, and in the fifteenth century, Cleves, Holstein and Würtemberg had become military fiefs.

The Changed Position of the Emperor

Growing Power of the Princes

The division of inheritances, customary since the thirteenth century in the princely houses, by which the owner of any portion might retain the position of prince of the empire, increased the number of lay princes and shifted the balance of power in the empire in their favour. The authority of the individual prince within his own district varied according to its origin. Since the emperor gradually abandoned in favour of the princes all supreme rights still remaining to him—the Golden Bull conferred on the electors the right of coining gold, the emperor renounced his right of "evocation" and the exercise in the ban fell into disuse—the power of the local prince became a complete sovereignty. In the fourteenth century, above this ordinary sovereignty came the still higher territorial dominion of the electors.

The modern independent states of Germany grew up out of the territories of the Middle Ages, and in the end Austria and Prussia had to fight for the supremacy. The sovereignty, the distinctive mark of which was the superior jurisdiction,

was acquired by counts and lords, as well as by the princes. All these territories, at first only private possessions conferring civil rights, had, in contrast to the empire, the advantage that the distinctly smaller extent and essential similarity of conditions within the district allowed the lord to exercise a uniformity of administration which had always been wanting in the empire. The territorial civil offices, which at first were granted to the officials concerned with the seignorial rights of the princes, became the foundation-stone of the system of sovereignty which, notwithstanding the very various personalities of the rulers, has, in consequence of an administrative tradition, continuously developed in the direction it once for all took at this time.

How the Princes Ruled

The titles, on the basis of which a prince ruled over the separate parts and parcels of his territory, were extraordinarily diverse. By the side of an old allodial holding might be found an imperial fief, in virtue of which the rights of a duke, a margrave, or a count had been conferred on the owner, or a district in which the prince as warden of a small church possessed penal jurisdiction. In another place he was only lord of the manor, in yet a third again he was only trustee of the revenues of the law court. The age, still little adapted to abstract thought, could not always dissociate these different offices, which only by chance were united in a powerful personage, from the idea of that personage. It did not appear surprising if the princes allowed their heterogeneous rights to sink into the background, but in return put their territorial power in the foreground throughout the whole sphere of their authority, and on that basis exercised a new kind of sovereignty previously unknown in Germany.

From the way in which territorial power originated it naturally follows that considerable tracts of land were only exceptionally held by one lord, and that ordinarily the "territorium" was made up of very various ownerships. This arrangement was very cumbersome both for the administration and for the execution of any measures, as well as for cases when the refractory power of the knights had to be quelled. The case could easily arise where the territorial lord, through the hostility of his neighbour, might be hindered by force from entering great portions of his domains. The more prominent princes had early tried to remedy this evil by obtaining a territorial symmetry. The prince looked for a favourable opportunity to acquire as a gift from the emperor any crown lands lying in the vicinity, or to take them over from an impecunious monarch in return for a large sum as a mortgage security, which neither party ever intended should be redeemed. An enclosed strip was obtained in exchange for the surrender of a remote estate, or an entire district united to existing possessions through a diplomatic marriage.

Refractory Power of the Knights

Sometimes the land of small independent lords was annexed to the territory, and these latter saw themselves reduced to the status of provincial knights. Where large imperial towns lay within a territory, their acquisition was not less desirable from the point of view of territorial compactness than it was from regard to their taxable value. This is the meaning of the attack of the Archbishop of Cologne upon Dortmund in 1368 and Soest in 1447, and of the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg upon Nuremberg in 1449. In the fifteenth century the imperial cities of Donauwörth and Mainz actually became tributary to Duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut (1458) and Archbishop Adolphus (1462) respectively. Archbishop Baldwin of Treves was the most successful of the princes of the fourteenth century in carrying out this territorial policy in the west.

Success of Archbishop Baldwin

In the east Charles IV. had attained wide and compact dominions, especially as opposed to the Wettiners, partly by unexceptionable feudal methods, partly by cunning and force. His marked business capacities and the comparatively large pecuniary means which stood at his disposal greatly aided him in obtaining these results. In addition to this need of compactness the want was universally felt of a uniform administration, which might be supreme above all existing seigneurial and similar institutions.

The want of a fixed system had made itself appreciably felt in the empire after the break up of the old counties, and was an important factor in the decay of the imperial authority. In the much smaller territories, whose rights were partly resting on civil law, the question of organisation was solved in the following way.

The division into circles of jurisdiction was retained, but, for practical convenience, excessively large circles were subdivided and unnecessarily small ones were amalgamated. In the fourteenth century such an arrangement of offices prevailed everywhere. At the head of the circle designated as "Amt," "Vogtei," or "Pflege," stood the "Amtmann," "Vogt," "Pfleger," "Landrichter," "Gograf," or "Schultheiss"—according to his title, which varied in different localities—who was usually a member of the lower nobility and represented as an official all the sovereign rights of the territorial lord. often nothing else than a formerly independent lordship. There was no idea of separating administrative and magisterial functions. The amtmann was therefore in his own person a judicial, administrative, magisterial, fiscal, and military official; in fact, he was often president of a seigneurial district belonging to the territorial lord, and had a staff of inferior officials under him. It is easy to see the important bearing of such an organisation, with its capabilities of special development, on the growth of a territorial state, if we consider that every individual residentiary official was familiar with the



OUTSIDE THE CROWDED WALLS OF A GERMAN MEDIÆVAL CITY

This representative of the territorial lord was a removable official with extensive legal authority and fixed pay, even if the outward form of enfeoffment of office was no longer observed. Since the machinery of the supreme authority, which was identical with that of the princely court, of which the seat was not fixed, often worked irregularly, the amtmann had to act on his own responsibility in his lord's interests. He was thus closely identified with his circle, in the middle of which he usually lived in a castle, and seemed almost an independent lord, just as his district was person of the amtmann, who was daily before his eyes as the vicegerent of the territorial lord.

The essential character of the "territory" was emphatically rural. As a rule the primitive economical condition of exchange in kind still prevailed, and the town institution of exchange in money seemed strange. The peasant insurrections, which showed themselves long before the fourteenth century, especially in the south-west, were directed chiefly against the exorbitant interest required by town capitalists, and, above all, against the

Jews. The territories prima facie comprised rural districts, the taxable value of which the territorial lords continually tried to raise in correspondence to the larger requirements necessitated by increased cost of living and war expenses. The territorial towns, more or less important from trade and industrial enterprise, and often mere agricultural towns, were still independent formations, with their own constitutions and government. They were not completely part and parcel of the territory. Their relations to it were often limited to the financial support of the territorial lord by taxes. But the town as a whole paid the sum demanded from it, and the princely administration was not concerned with the manner in which this taxation was met.

Towns of Independent Government

The towns often acquired different profitable privileges from their territorial lords—just as the princes formerly from the empire—either by lease or as a pledge. The most profitable source of revenue, the excise, usually lay in their hands. The financial support lent by the towns was of infinite importance to the princes, and they therefore assented, voluntarily or by force of circumstances, when the towns on their side desired information as to the application of the money and other administrative concerns, and made the execution of every sort of measure dependent on their consent.

The declaration of the country towns that they were willing to guarantee the debt of their lords became after the fourteenth century a regular event, and finally led to their forming one of the states of the country, that is, they were regularly represented at the diet. Thus the interests of the towns came into contact with those of the country nobility.

The partition of the princely houses, by which the princely title and court establishment were retained by each of the sons, was a great drain on the princely treasuries, and necessitated larger demands from the country. The right of the prince to levy taxes was absolutely unrecognised. A one-sided tax exacted by him was called *exactio violenta*, or tyrannical impost; and the old term "Beede" was retained for the taxes obtained by an arrangement with the persons liable. By feudal law the knights were tax-free; they were bound only to render three kinds of services, namely, to ransom their lord from captivity, to dower his daughter and to make his son a knight. Since the knightly vassals of the territorial lords in other cases also aided their lord with money, they formed the germs of "Constitutional States," since the religious bodies already existing in the country, though by nature tax-free, furnished the prince on special occasions with money, and at the same time pressed their advice on him, just as much as the towns and the knights.

Partition of Princely Houses

There were many opportunities for extraordinary pecuniary aids. The new system of warfare, which had been regarded as necessary since the Hussite disturbances, demanded a supply of waggons and artillery, and large sums for the payment of the foot soldiers. It was then that the working of silver mines gave some princes, particularly those of Saxony and Tyrol, an advantage over their neighbours. In general, however, the increased demands were met by indirect taxes, and thus opportunity was given to the "states"—that is, to the knights, religious bodies and towns—to exercise influence on the government of the land by their assent. A confederation of states was formed in order to counterbalance the power of the princes.

A New Confederation of States

This new constitutional body, with the three divisions of states, finally completed the conception of the territory. The diets now lost their character of a convention based on civil law; they appeared as a constitutional organisation. The states became the representatives of the land, and, as in Cleves and in the county of Mark, took an energetic part in the administration of the country and achieved many financially good results.

The development of the states was an advantage to the territorial lords, in so far as a systematised financial administration was established under the control of the states, and the lord's right of taxation could no longer be denied as a principle. But, besides this, a multitude of semi-constitutional powers, which in the fourteenth century had become dangerous rivals of their later territorial lords, but at the end were reduced to membership of the states, disappeared for the future as independent bodies in the empire, and were able to contribute to the financial strengthening of the territories.

The constitutional nature of the territories was strengthened from another side. The partition of inheritances, which created petty dominions, was not favourable to the formation of important territories. Even if the parts, after one or two generations, had been reunited in one hand, there was always the fear that in the long run large territories, uniformly organised, might again break up.

To avoid this danger, the family law of Pavia in 1329 declared for the first time that no system of alienation should exist for the lands of the house of Wittelsbach—Upper and Lower Bavaria with the Rhenish Palatinate. In cases where partition was made, special stipulations were introduced to avoid, if possible, the disintegrating effects. Frederic II., margrave of Meissen and landgrave of Thüringen, partitioned, it is true, his lands on his death, in 1349, among his four sons, but at the same time ordered a joint government under the guardianship of the eldest brother, and so combined the constitutional advantage of political unity with the concession of equal private rights to each son. The Golden Bull of 1356 absolutely forbade the partition of the electoral territories, if not of all the domains ruled by an elector, and the Hapsburgs, in 1364, decreed the indivisibility of Austria, including the privy purse.

The Decrees of the Golden Bull

A corresponding regulation for the house of Brandenburg followed in the "Dispositio Achillea" of 1473, which established the Frankish system of the rights of the younger son, and prohibited the partition of the mark. Even where no law forbade partition, efforts were made to avoid it, and at the same time to effect the concentration of larger domains in one hand by the so-called treaties of reciprocal succession; that is, compacts between two ruling families by which on the extinction of one branch the other should succeed to the inheritance. Hapsburg Austria alone of the great territories attained this end. All the former possessions of Luxemburg, owing to the treaty of reciprocal succession in 1364, finally fell to the lords of Austria.

The increasing use of money as the medium of exchange, a custom which, originating in the towns, prompted the princes, on the other hand, if they wished to have any political position at all, to increase and assure their revenues. Only thus was it possible finally to outstrip the towns, whose power in the fourteenth century seemed actually greater than that of the princes. Nearly everywhere there was a marked increase in the income from imperial prerogatives which had been transferred to some prince. The custom-houses, particularly on the Rhine, became considerably more numerous. Archbishop Siegfried of Cologne, who died in 1297, had already erected a new customs fortress at Worringen, and others soon followed. But the increasing traffic made the receipts from customs grow rapidly. In 1377, Ehrenfels returned from its customs 20,000 golden florins, that is to say, £10,000 worth of gold. In Coblenz the takings increased from 30,000 pounds of silver in 1267 to 100,000 pounds in 1368.

Germany's Increasing Traffic

Although Albert I. in 1301 abolished all new Rhine tolls, this was only a temporary measure. The princes drew their best revenues from the increasing traffic; indeed, from ignorance of economics, they often overburdened it with imposts. The administration machinery, besides, was so clumsy and costly that comparatively little flowed into the central treasury. But by means of reorganising the administration, large revenues could easily be obtained, as is seen from the financial reforms of Hans von Mergenthal in electoral Saxony after the middle of the fifteenth century. The coffers of the princes had been, indeed, mostly drained. The sums for which privileges were pawned seem to us often ridiculously small, and the rate of interest at which the towns lent money was very high. The towns, although almost alone affected by the taxes on traffic, had still the most favourable financial system. What money they, as states, granted to the princes was usually found by them without difficulty.

The case was different with the nobility and the spiritual estates, who, as seigneurs, received an income paid chiefly in kind, and could only within narrow limits bring themselves to sell it in the town markets. They personally regarded themselves still as tax-free, and the taxes which they were bound to pay to their territorial lord were shifted on to the dependent folk, the peasants. The position of the peasants had been very favourable even in the thirteenth century. The rents payable to the lord were fixed, and with increasing profit from the ground this implied a

Unhappy Condition of the Peasants

considerable addition to the produce of labour. The overflow of the population was taken away by the colonisation of the east and by the towns, and the village "march" still amply provided everyone dwelling near with wood for building or burning and pasture for the cattle. But when there was no longer any place where the superfluous population might find a livelihood, a continual partition of the hides of land began, and poor people settled in huts, with, at most, a diminutive piece of ground, and, as a rule, merely trusting to the inexhaustible wealth of the common march.

What the Lords might Have Done

Pasture had to give way to agriculture; there was no other way for averting the threatening distress. But for this not merely the capital, but, more than all, a comprehension of the demands of the age, was wanting, especially among the lords of the manor, who might have done a national service by an opportune improvement of agricultural methods. But nothing of all this was done. The position of the peasants became more and more deplorable, for the lord now claimed a superior ownership in the common march itself, and regulated its use at his own discretion.

The old class of manorial lords greatly diminished, and the petty lords were eager to exercise sovereign rights in imitation of the great lords. This, owing to the pettiness of their condition, led to a systematic and irritating oppression of the peasants. We see this in an increase of forced tasks, in the discontinuance of the measures which had been taken to change burdensome rents in kind to money payments, and, above all, in the collection of the poll-tax, which threatened to reduce the peasant population to serfdom. This is particularly true of South-west Germany, but not less of Flanders, where as early as 1324 a sanguinary peasant insurrection broke out, and in 1404 the sovereign of the country himself opposed the tyranny of the manorial lords. The peasant no longer took part in the greater intellectual questions of the age, in the administration of justice, and in political life. He remained stationary and stunted, while the citizen population of the towns made great progress, and with increased earnings usually found leisure for higher intellectual training. The thriving burghers came into quite intimate relations with the peasants, for the latter, being completely fleeced by their lord, had only too often to fall back on town loans, and 50 per cent. interest was not infrequent.

Insurrection of the Peasants

Whole districts were impoverished, and peasant risings followed. These risings were the precursors of the great movement which broke out in the sixteenth century in connection with the new teaching of the gospel. Although the men of the time had not generally a very profound comprehension of social conditions, still, it had become clear to the public mind what the hopeless condition of the peasant population really implied for the nation at large. The imperial legislature indeed took up this question at the diet of Augsburg in 1500, but nothing was done to grapple with the evil.

We have already become acquainted with the towns in their relations to the empire, the territories, and to each other; but our attention must now be given to their internal economy, political, financial, and administrative.

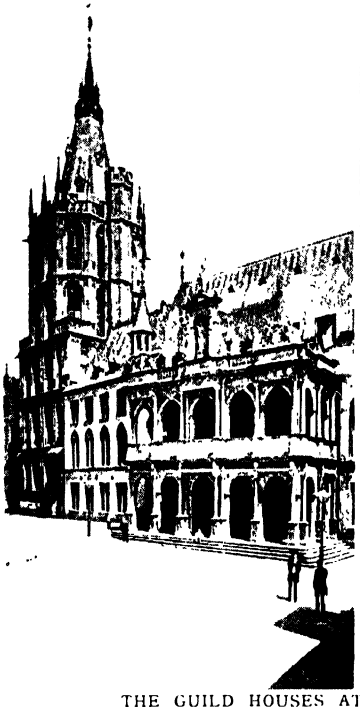
In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the use of money as a medium of exchange was spreading, and affected the towns exclusively, the municipal council, a corporation of rich merchants, greatly extended its power to the prejudice of the town rights of the bishops and princes. In most of the towns of South and West Germany this council had acquired, either by peaceful purchase or by stubborn struggles with the actual lord, as in Cologne and Strasburg especially, the rights of the town lord; that is, supreme jurisdiction, right of coinage, and the right of indirect taxation. Under such conditions the council became omnipotent. It had under its control the amount of taxation payable by the burghers, as well as their liability to military service, and was considered both at home and abroad the fully authorised representative of the town. This corporation was at first filled up by selection from the wealthy families, but it gradually became exclusive, and only the members of some few patrician families were able to reach the council.

How the Masses were Oppressed

The town population was thus split into two classes—the ruling patricians and the unprivileged community. The condition of things produced by the wanton oppression of the masses was bound to lead to revolt. In the existing industrial organisation of the guilds, in which the

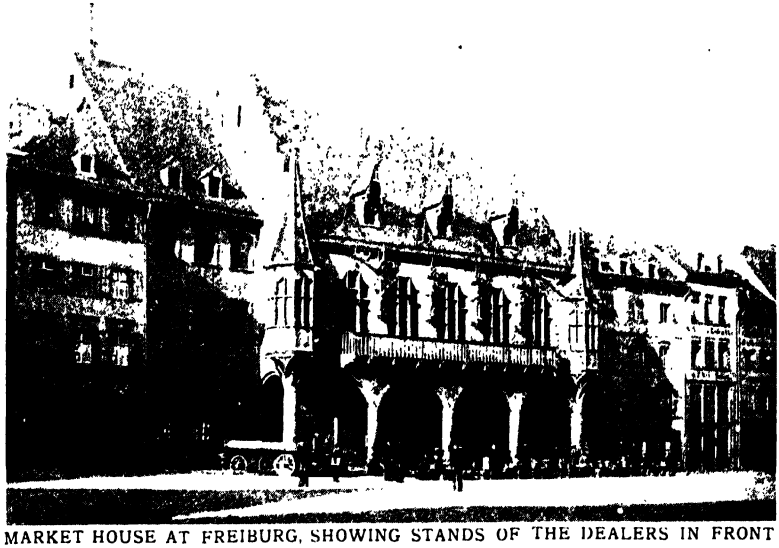


ULM'S ANCIENT GUILD HOUSE





THE GUILD HOUSES AT COLOGNE AND REGENSBURG



MARKET HOUSE AT FREIBURG, SHOWING STANDS OF THE DEALERS IN FRONT

THE OLD GERMAN GUILD HOUSES AS MODERN TOWN HALLS

population united their efforts for economic reform, a power was discovered which the council did not venture to resist, at least in the south and west, the old German soil. In the north and east, the colonisation districts, where the principal towns all belonged to the Hanseatic League, the corresponding movement began considerably later. The guilds, showing a vigorous and progressive economic development, invested by the council with a commercial jurisdiction, and thus raised to a public institution, now included the mass of taxpaying citizens, who, at the same time, in time of war were answerable for the town with their lives. Were those who made the greatest sacrifice for the town to be permanently unrepresented in the government? As early as the thirteenth century the artisans in the most progressive towns, Cologne and Ulm, tried by a rising to force the council to acknowledge their importance. They wished to exercise a control over the financial system of the great houses. But the attempts were attended with little success, for the rebels were suppressed by force, partly with the help of the town lords, and their guild organisation was dissolved.

Artisan Revolt Crushed

The artisans in Ulm were the first to reach their goal, in 1292. Speier, Mainz, Regensburg, and Zürich, followed between 1330 and 1336. Soon Berne and Rothenburg were the only important towns in the south where the patricians could still assert their power. Nüremberg by 1348 had yielded to the guild movement. In most places the struggle raged more or less openly for a century, but only in Flanders did it lead to terrible scenes of violence. Terms were finally agreed upon in Cologne in 1396 and in Strassburg in 1419, and thus a new permanent municipal government was established.

The solution of the disputed questions was excessively complicated, and the influence of the guilds in the prevailing town government very varied. In many places the old families were completely ousted. The guilds had conquered, and now governed in appearance exactly as the council. In other localities the council remained, but its character was altered by the admission of councillors representing the guilds. Again, in other towns the family organisation as well as the guild disappeared as a political body, and the council was for the future elected out of the general community of burghers. The artisans in the fifteenth century had everywhere acquired some share in the town government. Their industrial organisations, which repeatedly seemed too dangerous, and had accordingly been dissolved, but always re-established, saw themselves now confronted by political duties, and their industrial character grew fainter and fainter. The members of the guild now took part in public life, in the government and administration. It was the council which provided the machinery for both, as it selected certain of its members for the discharge of definite business.

When the Guilds were in Power

The North German towns, which all belonged to the Hanseatic League, were, according to the whole tenor of their past history, occupied mainly with commerce. Industries were of less importance. We do not therefore hear of such violent guild disturbances there as in the south and the west; in any case, they occurred much later. In Lübeck indeed the guilds gained a preliminary success in 1408, and about the same time in Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund. But in 1416, Lübeck, the leading town, succeeded in restoring the old council, and, by threats of "Verhansung," that is, exclusion from the Hanseatic Union, in maintaining the patrician rule in most towns. At any rate, the disputes between families, guilds, and the community continued there. But in many towns they were non-existent or arose only later in the sixteenth century.

Patrician Rule Restored

The desired object was the same in the north as in the south, namely, an alteration of the constitution in favour of the poorer classes. Facilities for the acquisition of the franchise, and a democratic municipal government, by the side of which the council should continue to exist as an executive body, were especially demanded. This object was fully realised in Germany only by Strassburg, where the whole population actually adopted a monetary system of exchange, and a constitution in the modern sense had grown up on this basis.

The municipal community, like other corporations in the German constitutional system, rested on the "personal principle," that is, under certain antecedent conditions members widely separated in locality might belong to the same association.

The idea of acquiring a territory of great extent locally, belonging politically to the town, within which the municipal council—naturally only in imperial towns—exercised the rights of the sovereign, was still far from being realised in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Attempts, however, had long been made to attach individuals from the surrounding districts to the town under the name of "Ausbürger," or outburghers and "Pfahlbürger," or burghers of the pale. The wealthy citizens, although enjoying full rights in the town, began to invest their surplus money in landed property. They acquired manorial rights in the vicinity of the town, had tenants in copyhold, and lived mostly outside the town walls. In this way, naturally, the interests of the country were interwoven with those of the town.

The Rise of Municipal Government

When disputes arose with a neighbouring lord or knight, the town supported its citizen and his dependants; and imperceptibly the town extended its sphere of interest to the entire possessions of these "outburghers." On the other hand, the country lords, princes, and religious houses had property in the towns, either as dwelling-houses or as warehouses for their surplus crops which were to be put on the market. They saw themselves compelled in the interests of their possessions and their own security to profess friendliness to a powerful council, and to promise their armed assistance as noble burghers in event of a war. Besides this, many wealthy countrymen, indeed whole villages in the neighbourhood of large towns, put themselves under their protection; they became "burghers of the pale," and thus voluntarily submitted to the municipal government, naturally to the prejudice of any imperial governor or of a neighbouring territorial lord.

The Golden Bull of 1356 in its sixteenth chapter had prohibited in the interests of the princes the reception of "burghers of the pale," but in vain. From the close community of country and town interests arose the town territories, since places which possessed in the town "Burgrecht," namely, a claim to shelter behind the walls in times of need, formed to some degree closer relations with the town itself, especially when the council held also the supreme penal power. Eighty-two localities had the "Burgrecht" in Frankfort, while in Mainz even earlier some forty villages for fifteen miles round enjoyed this privilege. The district of the imperial town of Aix-la-Chapelle was smaller, while in Cologne the power of the council extended only as far as the town walls.

Spreading Industries of the Artisans

The foundation for the power of the towns was their peculiar position as commercial centres for the country at a time when the state was badly fitted by organisation or policy to foster trade or to secure the profitable pursuit of business. The source of wealth in the towns was at first the itinerant traffic, prosecuted mostly by firms, which gradually became a fixed trade. The small town of Ravensburg was the home after 1450 of the most important trading company of the time, that of Hundbiss, Muntprat, and Mötteli, a precursor of the Fugger business. To this was soon joined the money-lending and exchange business. But the industries of the artisans, now organised in guilds, soon gained in importance, and some members of the foremost guilds could compete with the commercial lords.

Miseries of the Lower Classes

Together with the accumulation of the great fortunes which now quickly multiplied, a town proletariat was formed—a crowd of indigent people, whose ranks were filled with journeymen with no prospects of ever becoming masters, musicians, porters, and a vast number of mere beggars. These were the people who on many occasions, especially in the fifteenth century, interfered decisively in political disturbances, and sometimes, in common with the country proletariat, fought the common oppressor. The misery of these lower classes was all the greater, since the remedies sought and applied were quite unfit, and in many instances full of mischief. Many of the charitable institutions of an ecclesiastical character, which were intended to mitigate poverty, were, on the contrary, calculated to bring up the proletariat to pauperism. The social distress had certainly often occupied the serious attention of the town councillors; but their treatment of the malady was as great a failure as were later on the plans for human improvement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The policy of the towns rather favoured the growth of capital and strengthened its omnipotence. Corn speculations and the formation of commercial rings were no longer rarities in

the fifteenth century. The so-called Reformation of the Emperor Sigismund spoke of them in moving language.

Whatever the towns chose to do for the maintenance of the country's peace, they acted always in a narrow spirit of self-interest, often unconsciously fighting against themselves in the rival town. The external security of intercourse was especially preserved by "unions" of the towns. But the foremost of all the duties which the towns undertook was the regulation and simplification of economic intercourse, the new foundation on which the existence of the town rested. One important task was to resist the debasement of the coinage practised by the princes in their own interests, and to introduce a currency circulating in larger districts.

Six Hundred Mints in the Empire

Owing to the 600 different mints in the empire, the unavoidable exchange of money which the towns mostly transacted in their own banks in Ulm as early as 1300, and in Frankfort after 1402 - implied an almost incredible obstacle to intercourse. In place of the prevailing light silver coinage, which had been sufficient in an uncommercial age, larger coins were urgently required for trade purposes, and this want was met by the Bohemian florins, which King John caused to be struck in 1325, after the Florentine pattern. These acquired an international importance.

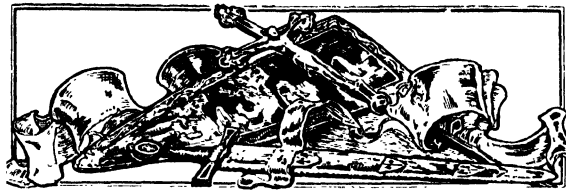
Except the emperor, Bohemia alone had from the first the right to coin gold. This, however, had been conceded to all the electors by the Golden Bull. Even before that, four towns, Lübeck, Frankfort, Treves, and Cologne, had acquired the same privilege. The German golden florin after the Florentine pattern had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, acquired an importance for wholesale trading, and after the monetary convention of the four Rhenish electors in 1386, became the universally recognised coin which, in the district of the Rhenish trade and beyond, kept a fixed ratio of value to silver. If the princes were the first to coin gold chiefly, the trading towns remained the first to use the gold pieces. In the monetary convention of 1402, even imperial towns were included, and soon the coinage of the towns of Frankfort, Nüremberg, and Ueberlingen was esteemed of equal value with the golden florin of the four electors. The Rhenish florin, however, was the first coin struck in Germany which passed throughout the whole empire and beyond. It is true that finally, owing to the "Imperial Mint Regulations" of Essling in 1524, issued at a time when the increasing silver-mining industry, especially in Saxony and Tyrol, permitted the coinage of heavy silver pieces, the silver coinage alone had currency. But the florin was employed for a long time as the coin of commerce, although the prosperity of the towns, the foundation of political power, decayed with extraordinary rapidity when once the political victory of the princes was finally assured, and the German towns lost their importance for international trade.

Monetary Convention of 1402

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and also the first half of the sixteenth, are in Germany taken up by the towns. With comparatively small populations—in 1449 Nüremberg had a little over 20,000 inhabitants, Frankfort-on-Main between the years 1350 and 1500 never more than 10,000, and even Cologne itself in 1575 had only some 37,000 the towns as the commercial centres led the nation both in progress and in politics. The imperial policy was always forced to take into consideration the money of the small city republics. Wenzel had already once in 1389 - contemplated the formal admission of the towns to the imperial states. And after Nicholas of Cues in his programme of political reform had expressly demanded this position for the towns exactly one hundred years later, the admission of the imperial towns to the diet by chosen deputies was finally settled.

Where the Towns Led the Nation

The imperial assembly then was composed of three colleges: the first consisted of the electors, the second, of the remaining princes, counts, and lords, and the third, of the towns. The towns first appeared as a united body in the diet of Frankfort in 1489. After that they are divided into a Rhenish bench with fourteen members, and a Swabian bench with thirty-seven members.



MAXIMILIAN: 'LAST OF THE KNIGHTS' AND HIS ATTEMPTS AT IMPERIAL REFORM

THE decay of the German monarchy had gradually destroyed the old traditional constitution of the empire, which was based on the forms of feudalism. The "Golden Bull" had attempted to establish the conditions existing at the middle of the fourteenth century, and had, in principle at any rate, done good service by the codification of the laws of the empire. But the constitutional conditions developed themselves independently of the wishes of the legislation, which itself only too soon became antiquated.

In the struggle between princes and towns, which was still undecided at the end of the fourteenth century, victory rested with the former in the fifteenth century, and they were for the first time really lords as regards the monarchy. The goal, so far as the imperial constitution was concerned, was the formation of a federal union, within which the king should retain little beyond the title and honorary presidency. But the weaker the monarchy became, the more jealously it watched over its few remaining privileges, and it was in no way disposed to concede the proposals of the princes. Yet a reform was admittedly essential with regard to the completely helpless military system of the empire.

Germany's Weak Military System

These problems had been repeatedly discussed in the imperial diets; but king, princes and towns were indisposed to sacrifice even the most modest part of their rights in favour of the community. Nicholas of Cues met the statesmen with the practical system of an imperial constitution, for which he tried to interest the king at the council of Basle; but all in vain.

Even the anonymous "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund," with its proposals of reform, which disclose a subtle comprehension of the phenomena of the age, passed away without a trace. The diet of Frankfort, in 1334, at least faced the serious problem. They were agreed to sixteen chief points, which were to lead to the improvement of the imperial constitution; but the execution of them was indefinitely postponed. The efforts of Albert II. have already been mentioned. His proposals for the restoration of the Public Peace, which were put by his chancellor Caspar Schlick before two imperial diets at Nuremberg in 1438, did not meet the approval of the princes, who thought that they were prejudiced as compared with the towns.

Nation's Hopes Buried with Albert

If Albert's life had been prolonged he would certainly have succeeded in carrying out some reforms, for he possessed the peculiar abilities for doing so. With him, therefore, the hopes of the nation sank into the grave.

Under Frederic III., as under Lewis the Bavarian, the princes occupied themselves with the reforms of the empire, and naturally in their own interests. They brought the direct charge against the emperor that he would do nothing for reform, and in a memorial of the Electoral College of 1453 the electors were described as the "ex-officio councillors and co-adjutors of the emperor." They wished to co-operate not only in the council, but in the execution of the decrees, and hoped by this means to revive the prestige of the empire. The emperor naturally opposed this with all the energy of which he was capable. The adoption of such a proposal would have been tantamount to his deposition. A further attempt, made by King George of Bohemia, was similarly defeated through the resistance offered to it both by emperor and princes. The question of the Public Peace was more hopeful. Since all parts of Germany had been harassed by the most bloody and devastating feuds in spite of the proclamation of the Public Peace, it must have been clear to the dullest intellect

Reforms Opposed by the Emperor



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN IN ARMOUR

that the most important point of the discussion must not be legislation, but the introduction of an executive authority. In the diet at Nuremberg in 1466 the plan had been already adopted of creating for separate districts some such executive power on a federal basis. A return was made to the former division of the empire into circles for the restoration of the Public Peace. This plan had been contained in the Public Peace proposals of King Wenzel in 1381 and of King Albert II. No immediate steps were taken; but in the "Swabian League," founded in 1488, there appeared, for the first time in Upper Germany at any rate, a power which possessed sufficient means to enforce the Public Peace in its district even against the most powerful opposition.

This was the state of imperial reform at the death of Emperor Frederic III. All the hopes of the nation were now directed toward his youthful and magnanimous son, from whom the whole world thought that some extraordinary results might be expected. The task was indeed difficult, and perhaps harder for so energetic a personality as King Maximilian than it would have been for a prudent head, who might have persuaded himself to sacrifice a portion of the practically vanished regal prerogative theoretically on the altar of patriotism. King Maximilian found in Berthold of Mainz—to begin with, at any rate—an adviser who possessed sufficient insight to support him in his work. And so far as there was no question of resigning any legal power and authority, the princes and towns were ready to share in it.

But for the moment these duties lay far from the king. He had formed the mighty plan of energetically confronting the advance of the Turks; then, decked with the laurels of victory over the Turks, he would obtain the imperial crown, and so with greater authority carry out the reform of the empire. That is doubtless the thought which underlies the policy of the emperor to the end of the year 1494.

The idea of a war with the Turks had occupied him from his earliest youth, and only a few weeks before Frederic's death father and son took steps in common to effect a league against the infidels. Their exertions were fruitless; the enemy was in no way intimidated, but invaded Croatia and returned with rich booty before Maximilian could come up. The king vainly tried with the help of his hereditary lands to raise an army primarily



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

The son of Frederic III., Maximilian succeeded his father as German Emperor in 1493. While his fame is due chiefly to his efforts to reform the Imperial and Austrian administrations, he achieved success in other directions and his general policy made him popular with the people



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FAMILY

From the painting by Strigel in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna

for the protection of Hungarian Croatia. A new Turkish invasion followed in August, 1494. It was now only too clear that without vigorous help from the empire Croatia would be alienated from the Christian faith, and that its embodiment into the Turkish Empire would constitute a serious menace to Germany. Notwithstanding all the king's exertions, no serious measures were taken, and so, in April, 1495, Maximilian joined the three years' truce which Ladislaus of Hungary had struck with the sultan.

Maximilian had during the lifetime of his father betrothed himself in second marriage with the princess Bianca Maria of Milan, and had secured to her uncle, Lodovico Sforza, his investiture with the Duchy of Milan. The dowry of three hundred thousand ducats, which this matrimonial alliance would bring, induced him to take this step not less than the hope of Lodovico's help in the impending Turkish war. The marriage of the king with the Milanese princess took place after the death of the Emperor Frederic in November, 1493. Maximilian actually conferred the duchy as an escheated crown land on Lodovico Sforza and his male heirs in September, 1494, and the solemn investiture followed, in November, 1495.

Maximilian, immediately after he had come into the empire, in order to show himself as sovereign for the first time, made it his most earnest duty, in the interests of the intended Turkish campaign, to suppress by his fiat the long threatening war between the electors of

Mainz and the Palatinate. He was, in fact, successful, in August, 1495, in bringing about a reconciliation between them. Before this the Public Peace, proclaimed in 1486 for ten years, was prolonged for three years more, that is to say, until 1499. The idea of a lasting Public Peace was thus by implication not entertained by the king. The affairs of Italy now occupied him afresh; Lodovico Sforza found himself hard pressed by France, and desired Maximilian's help to negotiate a peace between Charles and Naples. The two kings agreed to do so; conferences were repeatedly arranged but never held, since Maximilian precisely at the suitable moment was detained by the dispute with Charles of Guelders.

Marriage of Maximilian's son Philip

Connected with this was the entry of the king into the Netherlands, where the Archduke Philip, a youth of fifteen years, now took over the government at the wish of the states. The more unpopular Maximilian himself was in the Netherlands, the more the people hoped to be able to guide his tractable son Philip. His matrimonial alliance with the Spanish Infanta Joanna, which afterwards acquired such importance for the destinies of Europe, was celebrated in October, 1496. Father and son thought less of obtaining the Spanish crown by marriage than of creating a counterpoise to the mighty crown of France by an alliance between the royal families of Spain and of the Hapsburgs.

In the year 1497 Margaret, daughter of King Maximilian by his first wife, was married to John, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella. But the heir to the Spanish throne died after a very short wedded life, and Margaret returned to Germany two years later as a widow.

Although the German ruler and Charles VIII. of France had no direct personal relations, they had frequent communication by embassies. The result of the negotiations was that France should have a free hand in Naples, but in return was to allow Venice, so important for the Turkish war, to fall to the Hapsburgs. The idea of a war against the Turks was very prominently before the two kings, and Venice had not shown the least friendliness to Maximilian, but had absolutely refused to take part in the Turkish campaign. However, when Charles VIII. entered Rome towards the end of 1494, and there was talk of his intentions of winning the imperial crown, Maximilian sought an alliance with Venice, meaning thus on his side to gain an open road to Rome in order to assume the imperial style.

France's Free Hand in Naples

The coronation journey to Rome, which Maximilian had at first wished to postpone until after the victory over the Turks, had thus become more urgent. But an imperial assembly was required to settle the preparations, and was also imperatively demanded by the schemes of reform which were floating in the air. It met at Worms at the end of March, 1495. The king demanded for the protection of Milan an "urgent aid," and besides that a "permanent aid," that is, an army which was to be permanently under arms for at least ten years; in return for this he was prepared to treat about the reform of the constitution. The states, for their part, were willing to discuss the permanent military system of the empire, but would not hear of an immediate expedition to Rome.

The majority of the princes were interested chiefly in a radical reform of the system of law and legislation which culminated in the appointment of an imperial standing chamber or council nominated by the states; this was equivalent to a complete change of the imperial constitution in the direction of the federal state. The Elector Berthold of Mainz was the soul of these efforts. He was the author of the practical proposals which in the interest of the empire increased for the time the influence of the electors, but appeared in essentials acceptable to the other princes and the towns. The Wittelsbachs and the Landgrave of Hesse alone adopted an unconciliatory attitude.

Change of the Imperial Constitution

By the end of April the assembly learned of the proposal of the Elector of Mainz, according to which an imperial chamber was to be entrusted with the entire government for a definite period. Only such commands of the king as were given through it were to be legally valid in the empire. Its main duties were the restoration of peace and order in the empire, the administration and expenditure of the imperial revenues, and the charge of the imperial military system. Since the power of pronouncing the ban was assigned to the Supreme Court of Judicature, then called into existence, the king was left with only honorary privileges, while the electors were in important cases to have

a hearing in the imperial chamber. The king kept silence for a considerable time when the proposals had been communicated to him. It was clear to him that his "supremacy" had not been reserved for him in the form in which he thought he ought to have claimed it.

When he appeared in person, towards the middle of May, and explained the "urgent aid" to the effect that he demanded from the states within six weeks one hundred thousand florins—he was willing to raise 50,000 himself from his hereditary dominions—the princes informed him that no grant of money could be contemplated before the establishment of order and peace in the empire. Finally, in view of the conditions in Italy, the states showed their readiness to grant the money.

A committee from the states was, however, to superintend the application of it. But the money was not forthcoming, chiefly through the fault of the towns, which would not pay until first of all they were assured of the acceptance and execution of the proposals for changing the constitution of the empire. The emperor had not yet made any official statement about the reform programme; this was not given

Emperor's Reform Programme

proposals which he unfolded that day to the assembly meant almost the opposite of those laid before him by the states. However welcome the raising of the "Common Penny" might be to him, impecunious as he always was, he saw too clearly an infringement of his "supremacy" in the formation of an imperial chamber. He was willing to recognise an imperial chamber only during the period of his absence from the empire. Wearisome negotiations now began between the states and the king; the former saw that something at least could be obtained from the king, and they wished to have it. His assent was given to the Public Peace and the Supreme Court, with some slight changes; in return the states renounced the institution of an imperial chamber.

On July 27th the king gave his assent to the renewed separate proposals as regards the Common Penny, the Public Peace, and the Supreme Court, and on August 7th he signed the four documents which related to the institution of the Supreme Court, the Public Peace, the administration of the Public Peace, and the Common Penny. In return Maximilian received, in addition to the 150,000 florins already granted, the guarantee of the states for a further loan of a similar amount.

Undoubtedly the most important of the decrees was that as to financial reform, the provision of money for the Supreme Court, and the expeditions of the imperial army. It did not seem clear how much the "Common Penny" would really bring in. The system of collection—the parish clergy appear to have been the controllers of country taxes—was not remarkable for its simplicity. The collection was provisionally sanctioned for four years. It was confessedly an experiment, but on the expiration of this period the method of its collection, and not the tax itself, was to be discussed afresh. No money at all came in at first. The territorial lords were first obliged to come to an understanding with their states; the elector of the Palatinate refused his assent absolutely, and in the case of other princes who were absent from the assembly, as well as of the unrepresented knighthood of the empire, it was necessary to ascertain their willingness to pay.

Tax of the "Common Penny"

The commissioners, who were to hand over the money received to the seven imperial treasurers, had not even been nominated for the various territories by the summer of 1496. The money could not be collected in any case so quickly as the emperor expected, through the defective administrative organisation of the empire and the complete ignorance of the principles of taxation which prevailed at the time.

In Burgundy, however, and in other districts, there was absolutely no intention of exacting the tax. The Knights of Swabia, united in the "Shield of St. George," declined to do so, as did also the Swiss Confederacy, which did not wish to recognise the Supreme Court, and in consequence actually abandoned all connection with the empire after the war of the year 1499, so feebly conducted by the emperor. The promises made in 1495 with respect to the money were not observed by the states, and still less by the emperor. He carried out his foreign policy on his own responsibility, and tried, very ingeniously, without appearing in the imperial diets, to spend as much as possible of the public money without the control of the states.

Independent Policy of Maximilian

The condition of affairs in Italy at the beginning of the year 1496 showed little change. Milan and Venice both urgently wished for Maximilian's appearance in person. He eventually crossed the mountains in August, after England, in July, had joined the Holy League. Maximilian did not come as emperor, but as a mercenary of Venice and Milan.

The Weak Army of the Emperor

They had both invited him in May and each had promised him 30,000 ducats, for which he was to put 2,000 horsemen and 4,000 infantry into the field for three months; there was, in addition, an extended extra payment for 2,000 Swiss.

Notwithstanding all this, his army was excessively weak; by the end of August he had not more than 600 men, and the enlistment of the Swiss had only just begun. Venice was not yet ready to pay, and in fact would rather not have seen Maximilian come. But he was there already, and endeavoured after the beginning of September to suppress by military occupation the western districts of Italy, which were subject to France, and to bring them over where possible to the league of France's enemies.

The most suitable plan by which to assert any power would have been to bar the passage of the Alps and thus to prevent the concentration of the French. But Venice and Milan, which finally gave way, opposed this scheme, and thus the selfish policy of Venice hindered the full employment of the strategically advantageous position in the interests of the league. Maximilian, instead of returning to Germany, dreamed of great military enterprises to be carried out simultaneously in Italy and Burgundy, for which, unfortunately, money and troops were completely wanting. On the other hand, there was no longer any talk of taking serious measures to obtain the imperial crown, although the diet at Worms had expressly promised its assistance. In October the king came to Pisa in order to besiege the important town of Leghorn. But toward the end of the month the French fleet, so eagerly expected by the besieged, arrived, and a favourable wind allowed it to enter the harbour of Leghorn, while Maximilian's attempts to repel it were totally unsuccessful. The attempt on Leghorn finally failed, the siege was abandoned in the middle of November, and since the three months' term of service was over, the force went back over the mountains, although just then a renewed expedition of Charles VIII. was threatening, and even Venice itself would have been glad to see the king longer in Italy. The promise, however, of better success in a war against Burgundy decided his policy.

French Fleet to the Aid of Leghorn

On December 26th, 1496, Maximilian was again at Mals in Tyrol. But he did not go, as might have been expected, to the diet at Lindau, where Berthold of Mainz was busied in closely examining the position of the sovereign towards the empire; the discussion of such questions now seemed to the king almost high treason. The diet at Lindau was unsuccessful, owing to the small attendance, and it finished its sittings on February 9th, 1497, whereupon another, equally unsuccessful, was opened at Worms. The only result of it was the actual assembling of the Imperial Supreme Court at the end of May. Notwithstanding every effort, the "Common Penny" was not collected from most districts. Other expedients for raising money failed signally. At last, when Maximilian had given a definite promise that he would appear in person in the next diet at Freiburg in Breisgau, the states granted him immediately 4,000 ducats on account. But the sovereign, far too much occupied with his hereditary lands, did not go to Freiburg; the states waited for him from October, 1497, to the summer of 1498. He remained in Innsbruck, where the news reached him of the death of Charles VIII., and he set about levying an army to fight against France.

The Broken Promise of Maximilian

Some 7,000 troops actually entered the enemy's land. But since neither the league nor the princes—not even his son Philip—thought of sharing the struggle, Frederic of Saxony was selected to conduct negotiations, and the war was broken off. Archduke Philip had already allied himself with Louis XII., and on August 15th he promised, as a final compromise, to take the oath of fealty for Flanders and Artois. The simultaneous renunciation by Philip of his claims to Upper Burgundy roused the wrath of his father, who had distinctly hoped for a more favourable result, in the event of his diplomatic representative having brought matters to a settlement. Maximilian at length appeared on June 18th in Freiburg,



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN SURROUNDED BY THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

with the declared intention of taking the field against France at once. After heated explanations the states were at last prepared to pay the balance of the 150,000 florins if the king would furnish them with an account of what he had already received. With regard to France, they promised to safeguard the interests of the empire; but the king must provide for the collection of the "Common Penny" and the establishment of peace and justice. The first attempt was now made to survey the receipts from the tax. Fourteen abbots and twenty-seven towns had paid, and of the princes only the Elector of Mainz, so far as any money had been received by the king.

Who Paid the "Common Penny" Tax

The knights of the empire alone raised open objections; with this exception, all were ready for payment. Some important decrees were passed concerning the administration of the empire, as a sort of supplement to the reforms of Worms. The final decree of August 24th signified a distinct advance, although a new diet at Worms at the end of September was destined to crown the whole work.

A treacherous attack of the French, in spite of the truce and the pending negotiations, now drove the king to vigorous action. With the force that stood at his disposal he reached Montbéliard by September 12th and advanced after the retreating enemy, but was unable to come up with them. He remained a short time at Metz on the way back, as the attempts to effect a longer truce with France came to nothing. The king was equally unsuccessful in dissuading his son from the treaty with France. When, then, at the beginning of the year 1499, Louis entered into an alliance with Venice it was impossible for Maximilian to make any terms, although he was distracted both by the recent outbreak of war with Guelders and the events in Switzerland.

Philip's Fealty to France

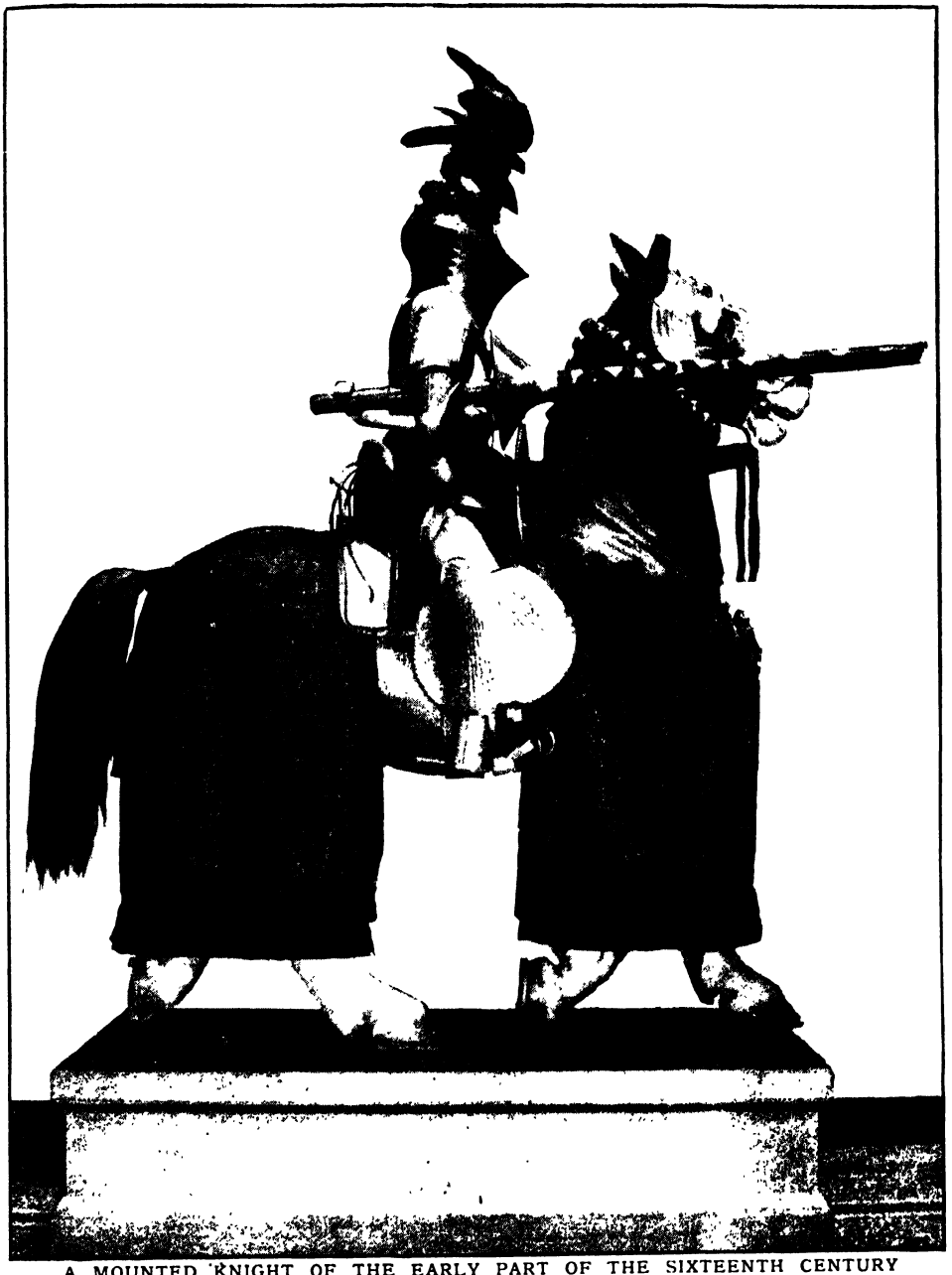
In addition to this, the diet summoned to Worms did not meet. The king transferred it to Cologne, on account of the quarrel with Guelders—but did not appear himself—and thence to Ueberlingen on account of the confederates. Meanwhile, Archduke Philip actually took the oath of fealty to the French king, as promised in 1498. Louis XII. was now prepared to act as arbitrator between the Lower Rhenish territories of Juliers, Cleves, and Guelders; and in spite of the grave protests of the German king, who threatened the princes with loss of their privileges, peace was ratified by his influence.

Before Switzerland was lost to the empire in 1499, the old peasant freedom in Friesland had been ended. In the diet of Freiburg Maximilian had nominated Duke Albert of Saxony governor of Friesland on July 20th, 1498. The Frisians thus received a territorial lord, but obstinately rebelled against him, so that lasting wars followed. The counts of Cirksena had always to suffer in later times from the ambition of their neighbours; at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War Mansfeld came to an understanding with the States-General. But at last Prussia received from the Emperor Leopold the reversion to the land, and took possession of it after the death of the last count in 1744.

The sea-coast was a great acquisition for Prussia, but the commercial companies, which were immediately founded, did not fulfil their brilliant promises of success. Before his election Maximilian had been famed as an efficient general, but after his accession he was defeated in every campaign which he undertook. All the internal reforms hitherto recorded were in reality only concessions forced from him by his endless need of money. But the work was now begun, and the imperial diet summoned for February, 1500, was to advance it a stage farther. Although the king had been present some considerable time, business did not begin before April. The most important question for Maximilian was that of auxiliary troops, and he came forward with proposals on the point. The "Common Penny" was universally disliked; it had proved nothing but an abortive scheme. For this reason the attempt was made to raise a permanent imperial army of 34,000 men on the basis of the proposal made in 1486. At the same time, for the relief of the assembly of the empire, a standing committee, the Council of Regency, was to be appointed, and the Supreme Court once more established.

Maximilian's Defeats in Battle

The arrangements for the council were completed in July, and the committee itself met at Nuremberg in 1500. But the king's plan with regard to the army did not meet with the approval of the states; on the contrary, the princes, at Berthold's advice, insisted that the requirements of



A MOUNTED KNIGHT OF THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
From a life-size reconstruction in the Arsenal at Berlin

the empire should be supplied by every member of the empire. One trooper should be furnished by every 400 persons who had any property, while the lords were to furnish one for every 4,000 florins income. The towns were to pay 2½ per cent. of their revenues, the Jews to pay one florin poll tax. They thus hoped for an army of some 30,000 men; and the special duty of the Council of Regency was to be the administration of these funds. On this head Maximilian for once agreed with the states. The assembly, besides treating these questions, was also occupied with the foreign policy, especially the attitude of France, from which an attack long seemed imminent. An imperial embassy to the court of Louis XII. was certainly unsuc-

cessful in its demands, but war was temporarily avoided. Louis was now the real master of Milan, and no one could easily dislodge him from that position. It therefore seemed most prudent to the Council of Regency to offer him for a large sum of money the investiture by the empire. The king, indeed, was not quite sincere with his words; but in order to outbid the princes he agreed with Louis in October, 1501, as to his investiture with Milan on condition that Louis would assist him in his expedition to Rome for coronation.

The Real Master of Milan

The Council of Regency resisted the preaching of indulgences by the papal legate, Cardinal Peraudi. At first the cardinal hardly ventured to put foot on the soil of the empire. He did so later, when a pledge had been given that the money should remain entirely in Germany. Maximilian hoped for the fulfilment of his wish, that in this way the means for the campaign against the Turks would be forthcoming. The Council of Regency was forced in the end to allow preaching and collecting; but it interfered in the matter, and hindered the enriching of the papal treasury by German gold. Indeed, the treasury of the empire was to be benefited by the proceeds.

As far as the Pope was concerned, the loudly expressed demand that the papal Curia should give back annates already paid, and the revenues from earlier indulgences, was quieted by this undoubtedly large concession. The German princes naturally thought only of the money itself. On no account was the Curia to be enriched at the cost of Germany; but nothing suggested the idea that the states had attacked the indulgence itself as an institution of the Church.

The preaching of indulgences had doubtless revived the idea of crusades, and a diet was summoned to Frankfort to deliberate on the question. But the king did not appear; the procedure was too troublesome for him. On the other hand, he summoned the princes on his own authority as a feudal lord to a campaign against the Turks; but this was the most direct violation by the king of the newly created constitutional arrangement. Berthold, from whom Maximilian had demanded the surrender of the imperial seal, summoned, as a counter measure, an electoral diet, after the old style, to Frankfort in May. The assembled princes attacked the king with vehement speeches, but expressed their readiness to join in the Turkish war, although only after long and careful preparations.

Proposed War Against the Turks

Meanwhile, Maximilian tried to get possession of the money derived from the Jubilee Indulgence, but the legate remained firm to his compact to hand over the amounts raised to the council, which seemed to be nearly ignored through the turn of events. The king's attempt to invite the electors to his court in order to discuss the matter was ineffectual; in fact, on July 4th, 1502, a formal combination of the electors took place, the object of which was to oppose the king and protect the constitution created at Worms and Augsburg. A diet, to which the other princes were to be invited, was settled for November in Gelnhausen, in order to deliberate about the Turkish expedition. Maximilian summoned a "strengthened Council of Regency" to the same town for August, but countermanded it when he was certain that no one would follow his orders. The assembly of the electors did not take place, since the king summoned for the same date an imperial diet to Gelnhausen, on which the electors wished to remove to Würzburg.

Differences Between King and Electors

In the end Maximilian, for his part, relinquished the plan of an immediate war upon Turkey, and did not temporarily contemplate calling an imperial diet. Indeed, he once more set into operation the high "imperial chamber," with its undefined powers in law and legislation. Permanently strained relations existed between the king and the electors, but neither side took any action, and the king's financial position was improved, since after the year 1503 really considerable portions of the jubilee funds flowed into his coffers. In October of this year the electors once more met at Frankfort, but consented to an imperial diet only if Maximilian himself would appear. But Maximilian was now bent on the journey to Rome and the expedition against the Turks.

While all Upper Germany was being agitated by the dispute as to the succession in Landshut, which broke out after the death of Duke George of Bavaria, and was settled in the summer of 1505 by the "award of Cologne," Maximilian achieved

a certain success in his foreign policy by the treaty of Blois in September, 1504, which was followed by a final accommodation with France at Hagenau, in April, 1505. Louis XII. was to be invested with Milan, and Charles, son of Archduke Philip, grandson of King Maximilian, who was betrothed to his daughter Claudia, was to be regarded as his heir. In this way the Hapsburgs might again hope to gain Milan; besides this, Louis paid a large sum to Maximilian for the investiture.

The two Hapsburgs, father and son, and the king of France, now stood in close alliance; their spheres of interest in Italy were marked out. And although the treaty was broken by Louis, the international position of the house of Hapsburg was nevertheless more favourable than in previous years, especially since fairly cordial relations existed with Henry VII. of England.

Maximilian turned his steps from Hagenau down the Rhine to Cologne for the diet, and now, encouraged by the issue of the Bavarian War of Succession, as well as by the success of his foreign policy and the conquests of Charles of Guelders, he tried to give his attention once more to imperial reform. He may have seen that reform was impossible without an administrative body, and therefore demanded a new Council of Regency, which was not to trench on royal prerogative, but was to be merely advisory. The old idea of a government by the states was completely abandoned in the proposal. But the princes would not consent to this, and withdrew from the task of reform. A renewed establishment of the Supreme Court was determined, but remained on paper, for it would have been impossible to keep it up. The king now asked for 4,000 men from the empire for one year in order to make good his claims to the Hungarian succession, and his request was granted. The means were raised in the old way, by "register contributions"; thus the idea of a direct imperial tax was abandoned.

But this time also the plan was not carried out, and Maximilian entered into closer diplomatic relations to Ladislaus, as a result of which an arrangement was made in March, 1506, that the Hungarian princess Anne should be married to a grandson of Maximilian. But the danger



A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF A COURT BALL AT MUNICH IN THE YEAR 1500

This quaint picture represents a court ball at Munich in the year 1500. Several of the dancing couples occupy the floor of the ballroom; at the table in the background Duke Albert IV. is playing cards with a lady, while the orchestras in the balconies play alternately, one set of musicians resting while the other is providing the music.

was not thus ended, since there was the fear that such a marriage would be vigorously opposed by the Hungarian nobles. The demand of the Hapsburgs, that the nobility should renew their guarantee which they gave in 1491 as to the Hapsburg succession, actually conjured up the war. King Maximilian entered Hungary in June, 1506, with an imposing force. Oedenburg was captured and Pressburg fell. The struggle was interrupted by the birth of a Hungarian prince, who received the name of Lewis; he was now the only legitimate successor of Ladislaus. But in the Peace of Vienna, on July 19th, 1506, Maximilian's claims to the succession of Hungary were nevertheless expressly established.

Germany at War with Hungary

Meanwhile, it appeared as if the occasion was finally suitable for the expedition to Rome that had been settled at Cologne in 1505, for Pope Julius II. had completely quarrelled with France and Archduke Philip had won military successes in Spain. But Julius suddenly turned round, and in the autumn Rome and Milan, Naples and Venice combined in order to hinder the coronation journey of the German sovereign. All details of the march over the Alps had been arranged in August, and notwithstanding the gloomy tidings as to the turn of politics in Italy, Maximilian had formed the bold plan of forcing an entry into Rome, when the news reached him of the death of his son Philip, on September 25th, 1506. The idea of an aggressive war against France in combination with him had, therefore, to be abandoned. But, in order to carry out the expedition to Rome, which had not been abandoned, Maximilian assiduously sought the advice of the princes, and could hardly wait for the imperial diet convened for the beginning of 1507.

The relations of the Pope to France had again become cooler towards the end of the year 1506; in fact, he tried to mediate between Maximilian and Louis while the latter was preparing to conquer Genoa. The diet, which was eagerly desired in Germany, finally met towards the end of April at Constance. The work of internal reform was actually concluded by a new system of supreme judicature, but unfortunately the important question of the executive was inadequately met. The Supreme Court of Judicature met in Regensburg about the end of the year, and was transferred two years later to Worms. The states granted the funds for the journey to Rome, and fixed the amount of the register contributions, which then remained permanently in force. Maximilian, on his own initiative, advanced into Italy from Tyrol during the winter, and assumed, on February 4th, 1508, the title of "Roman Emperor Elect." Since for the moment, owing to the complications with Venice, an entry into the eternal city seemed to lie in the remote future, a vigorous campaign was now undertaken against the great trading republic which had seized Istria.

The Pope's Coolness to France

After a preliminary success at Trautson, the Germans were completely defeated in March near Pieve di Cadore, while the emperor, far from the army, tried to get reinforcements from Germany. The Venetian commander, Alviano, had still further successes; he took the town of Görz in April, and attacked Trieste, which surrendered on May 6th. All the ports fell into the hands of the republic, and a land army threatened Carniola. Maximilian repeatedly tried to obtain money from the states; but the "urgent diet" summoned to Worms was several times adjourned. So he had to consent, on June 6th, to a three years' truce with Venice.

Maximilian's Truce with Venice

This truce, which did not take into consideration the interest of the French king on the frontiers of the German Empire, made Louis dissatisfied with his former allies, the Venetians, and drew him into closer relations with the emperor. The latter, since the death of his son Philip, was guardian of his infant grandsons, Charles and Ferdinand, and had assigned the regency of the Netherlands to his widowed daughter, Margaret, a woman of great practical ability. The English king, Henry VII., was a suitor for her hand, since he hoped in this way to win influence over the Netherlands, but being rejected, made proposals to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of France.

Such a reconciliation between England and France would have been fraught with great danger to the Netherlands and Germany, and it was necessary to avoid this at all costs. Margaret, therefore, induced her father to resume the former negotiations with France. The result was the arrangement made in December,



MAXIMILIAN AFTER THE OCCUPATION OF VERONA, WHICH SURRENDERED TO VENICE FOR THE SUM OF £30,000

From the painting by C. Becker, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London

1508, at Cambray, which became possible only through the provisional adjournment of the question of Guelders. In the so-called "League of Cambray" the kings of France and Germany had combined with the Pope in common action against Venice, and on the terms that the Venetian territory was divided in advance between the three parties. Louis on his part was enfeoffed with the kingdom of Milan on payment of 100,000 crowns, and the prospect of investiture held out to him so soon as the French campaign against Venice had actually begun.

Division of Venetian Territory

While France placed an army in the field against the republic, and won a victory in May near Agnadello, Maximilian in vain sought the means for carrying on the war. Pope Julius and the French king took possession of the parts of the country guaranteed to them. Maximilian could not co-operate, but appeared in the middle of August for the siege of Padua. But he abandoned the attack at the beginning of October, and was by the end of the month once more in Tyrol, while the imperial army broke up, and Louis retired from the seat of war, having gained his desired object. Although Maximilian was convinced that the struggle must be continued during the winter, he could not induce his allies to adopt suitable measures. In fact, the strength of the league was somewhat relaxed during the winter, so that the war in 1501 was carried on unenergetically.

A new imperial diet met at Augsburg in March. The emperor demanded military support, and was now prepared to come to an agreement in the matter of reform. But the princes held back; they agreed to nothing, in the conviction that there could be no permanent settlement with this king on the basis of a constitution. The influence of the Pope also was clearly felt; he was now desirous of a peaceful arrangement, and had freed the Venetians from the ban in February. His efforts were directed towards reviving a new league to crush the excessive power of the French. It was impossible for Maximilian in his financial weakness to follow a policy of his own. Driven by necessity, he continually drew closer to France, and made an agreement with Louis in November that renewed the Treaty of Cambray for the two powers who now alone participated in it. This alliance was really directed against the Pope, and the effective weapon in this war was to be a stoppage of supplies to Rome. A new council, which eventually met at Pisa in November, 1511, was intended to deliberate afresh about Church reform.

League to Crush the French

In consequence of these events, Pope Julius was anxious to enter into relations with each one of the allies, ostensibly in order to restore peace in Italy—in reality, to break up the coalition. However, these attempts miscarried in the spring of 1511. But after the illness which made his life precarious, he was allied with Spain and Venice, and soon found a hearing with Maximilian. He was already inclined towards the "Holy League," especially as England had joined it. In June, 1512, the peace negotiations between Venice and the emperor were concluded. The Swiss, also, in return for the assurance that Massimiliano Sforza would be put in possession of Milan, were ready to strike a blow at France.

The Bishop of Gurk was the emperor's envoy to the Pope; the latter, on the understanding that the council at Pisa should be abandoned, and the Lateran Council acknowledged, made the most valuable concessions, since he depended entirely on the emperor for his position towards Venice. The former, even in the winter of 1512–1513, had not completely broken with France until the death of Pope Julius, in February, 1513, gave a new turn to the matter.

Death of the Pope Julius

Giovanni de Medici was elected as Leo X. so rapidly that Maximilian could not exercise any influence over the election at all, and his plan of becoming himself master of the states of the Church after the death of Julius was thus finally frustrated. Leo remained apparently loyal to the Holy League, but soon released King Louis from the ban, while Venice formed a direct alliance with France in March. A little later, King Maximilian, at his daughter's instance, allied himself with Henry VIII. of England. The new Pope and Ferdinand of Spain were certainly privy to this agreement. A joint attack on the French territory was a preconcerted arrangement. But neither Leo nor Ferdinand was thoroughly sincere in the matter. Ferdinand, indeed, concluded a truce with Louis at the same time. The situation was cleared up only when the confederates, at the beginning of June, 1513, won a decisive victory over the



THE GREAT BATTLE OF MARIGNANO, IN WHICH THE SWISS WERE DEFEATED
At Marignano, now Melegnano, on the Lambro, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1515, Francis I. of France defeated the famous soldiery of the Swiss, and Milan thus came into the possession of the French.
After the painting by Fragonard in the Museum of Versailles

French at Novara and forced them to evacuate Italy. Ferdinand now showed himself more amenable.

Henry VIII. appeared on French soil in August, and the Swiss were ready for an attack on Burgundy. Maximilian himself appeared in the English headquarters, and shared as a general in the victory of the English army over the French, on August 16th, 1513, near the selfsame Guinegatte, where thirty-four years before he had already distinguished himself. The fortress of Terouanne, on the frontiers of the Netherlands, surrendered a few days later. The Swiss at the beginning of September were before Dijon, but retired home again without having made the least use of their favourable position. At the beginning of October the allies gained a victory in Italy over the Venetians, who were now prepared to open negotiations with Pope and emperor.

Although the royal house of England formed more intimate relations with the Hapsburgs through the betrothal of Archduke Charles with Mary, sister of Henry VIII., and although the English made further preparations against France in the winter of 1514, still King Louis succeeded by skilful diplomacy in ridding himself of his foes. In April, 1514, King Henry, affronted at the breaking off of his sister's marriage, went over to the side of France. In August a peace was struck on the terms of the cession of Tournay to England, and Mary, the king's sister, was given in marriage to King Louis.

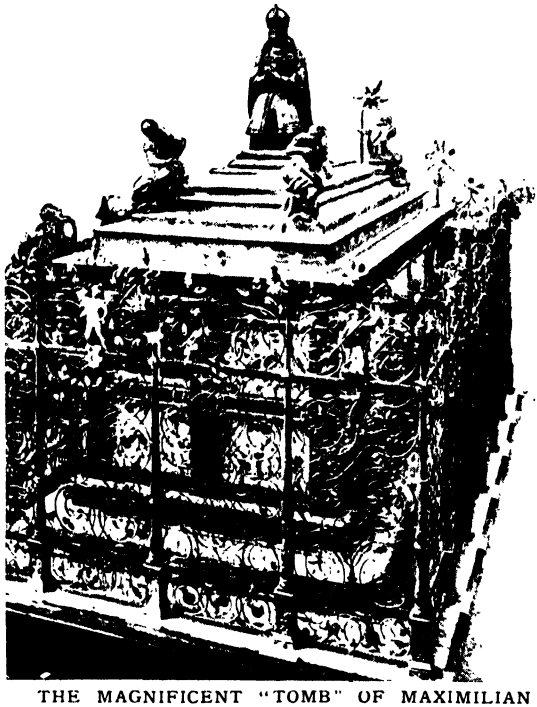
Under these conditions the emperor had only the support of Ferdinand left. At his advice he approached the Pope, and offered him the imperial fief of Modena. But the negotiations were still in suspense when, on January 1st, 1515, Louis XII. died, and his son-in-law, Francis of Angoulême, followed him on the throne.

The new king, who planned the marriage of Archduke Charles, now of age, with Rénée, the surviving daughter of King Louis, did not wish in the least to renounce the French dominion in Italy, and made immediate preparations to defend his rights. An army was soon in Italy, and

won a victory in the two days' fighting at Marignano, now Melegnano, on the Lambro, on September 13th and 14th, 1515, over the famous soldiery of the Swiss. Milan thus fell to the French. Massimiliano Sforza had for the future to live in France. The unexpected death of Ferdinand, in January, 1516, prevented a plan of alliance with the English king, who was willing to lend his help to defend Naples. Venice greeted Francis as her protector.

Francis the Protector of Venice

Venetians and French marched together against the Swiss, who were won over by English gold, but were compelled in March, 1516, to retreat from the Mincio to the Adda, and thence to Milan. Maximilian delayed to strike a decisive blow, and could not afterwards recover the lost opportunity, since his Swiss mutinied. He still hoped, it is true, for a renewal of the struggle by help of English gold. Henry VIII. was to receive Milan in return. But Henry drew back, and Maximilian, indignant at this behaviour in his ally, began to take part in the negotiations pending between his grandson Charles and King Francis, which led, in December, to an alliance between them. The basis of this was the surrender of Verona to Venice for the sum of 200,000 thalers in gold (£30,000), while Riva and Roveredo, together with Friuli, remained to the emperor. The treaty, which, in the form of a five years' truce, was finally renewed on August 26th, 1518, continuously added to the extent of the emperor's power in his hereditary land of Tyrol.



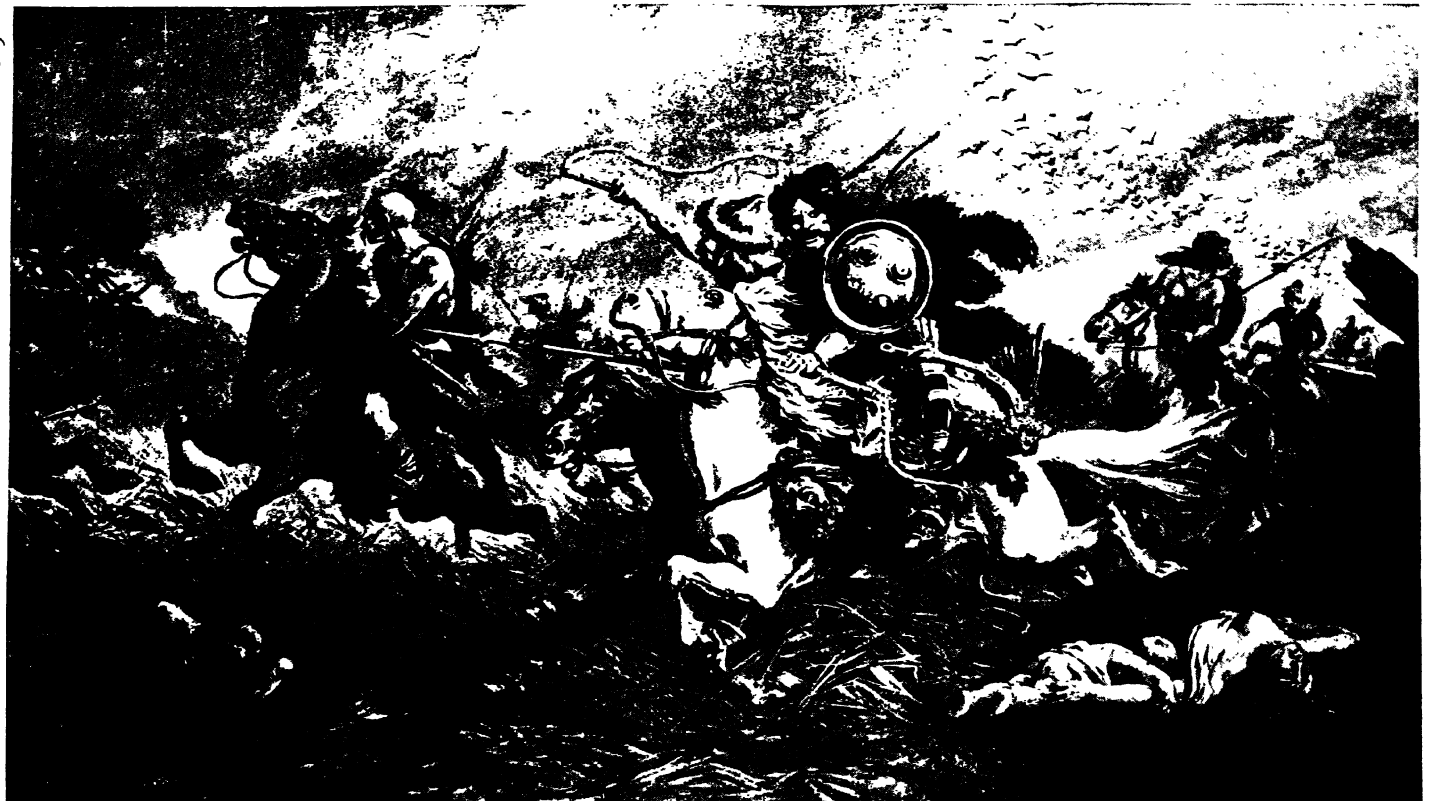
THE MAGNIFICENT "TOMB" OF MAXIMILIAN

Maximilian died in 1519, and was buried in the church of St. George in Wiener-Neustadt. The magnificent structure shown in the illustration designed after Maximilian's own idea, was raised in the royal chapel at Innsbruck, and not, as he had desired, over his actual grave.

While foreign policy took up the emperor's attention, he had not been inactive in other matters. A continuance of imperial reform was impossible from the attitude of the princes. But the diet of Augsburg in 1512 passed the constitutionally important decree that all measures adopted in the diets should be binding on all the states. On the other hand, in order to execute the judgments of the Supreme Court of Judicature and to protect the public peace, ten circles with separate organisation had been established. The renewal of the Swabian League in 1512 was of importance for the maintenance of internal peace; but the simultaneous formation of a "counter league" lessened in many respects the effect of this excellently designed institution. The impoverishment of the German people by the financial practices of the papal Curia was discussed in the diet of 1517: and in 1518 a new Turks' tax was claimed on the part of the Pope, although it was proposed to leave the collection and application of it entirely to the nation. But the states refused to hear of a tax in any form whatever, and raised against the papal extortions well-founded complaints, which were no longer irrelevant to the doctrines beginning to be expounded in those days at Wittenberg.

The States and Papal Extortions

The Emperor Maximilian had always been inspired with the wish to increase the power of his family. But the older he grew, and the less pleasure he could find in the empire and in his foreign policy, the nearer to his heart must have lain the arrangement of the succession. His grandson, Charles, had attained his majority on January 5th, 1515, and had taken



THE DEVASTATING ONSLAUGHT OF THE PLUNDERING MAGYARS

The Magyars were a Finno-Ugrian people who loved fighting and plundering, and when they burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube they left desolation in their track. They ravaged the civilisation of Europe at the close of the ninth century, a period during which the resisting power of the countries attacked was at its very lowest.

the government of the Netherlands into his own hands.

In the year 1517 the succession in the empire, about which Maximilian had already entertained the most varied views, became an important question owing to his failing health; and just before his departure, Charles, on an understanding with his grandfather, came forward as a candidate. Indeed, the choice of a Roman king during the emperor's lifetime was most important if the Hapsburg succession was not altogether to become doubtful. Some concessions to the electors and payment of old debts soon made them compliant, and the election was fixed for January, 1519, in Frankfort. Maximilian promised at the same time to have his own coronation as emperor completed, and the Pope, according to all appearance, was ready. But the monarch died on January 12th, 1519, at Wels, before he could carry out all these plans. He had not made any definite settlement as to his successor or appointed the provisional government necessary in the absence of both grandsons, and so his reign closed abruptly, leaving all important issues unsolved. His body was buried in the church of St. George in Wiener-Neustadt, but his magnificent tomb, designed after his own idea, was raised in the royal chapel at Innsbruck, and not, as he had wished, over his actual grave. When Maximilian, on December 28th, 1518, signed his will, twenty-eight of the great bronze statues and 134 of the smaller figures were ready. The masters of the plastic arts at Nüremberg, Landshut, and even in the Netherlands, worked at those statues, the grouping of which, as finally carried out by the grandson, was certainly not according to the idea in the mind of the monarch who gave the original order.

Death of the Emperor Maximilian

How Posterity Regarded Maximilian

During the reign of King Maximilian, many thoughts were born which afterward obtained a tangible form, and many practical improvements sprang from the creative brain of the king himself. But his changeable nature, with the rapid alteration of plans and intentions, prevented him from carrying out systematically purposes when definitely formed. However little results his exertions in the field of imperial reform may have finally given to the nation, still the nation showed itself grateful. His contemporaries admired him; posterity celebrated him as the "last of the knights." It was, indeed, the chivalry of his nature that won him the affection of his people, notwithstanding the many evils from which, during his reign and partly through his mismanagement, the German nation suffered.

ARMIN TILLE



THE MEETING OF MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FIRST BRIDE, MARY, HEIRESS OF BURGUNDY
After the painting by Anton Petter



GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE early settlements of the Teutons in prehistoric times lay between the Elbe and the Vistula, the Kelts being their western neighbours. When the Teutons proposed to migrate westwards and to settle in the Keltic districts to the west of the Rhine, the advance of these barbarians was checked by the fortifications which Julius and Augustus had added to the natural barriers of the Rhine and Danube. Three or four hundred years later the Teutons broke through the Roman frontiers they had often threatened.

While the East Teutons were advancing on their path of victory and death amid mighty conflicts, an event hardly less important was in progress on the frontiers of Middle and Eastern Europe, noiselessly and almost unobserved; this was the occupation by Slav races of those districts which the Teutons had abandoned. They entered the empty space between the Vistula and the Elbe, and, crossing this latter river, settled on the Frankish ground of Thuringia. They also seized modern Bohemia, which had been abandoned by the retiring Marcomanni, spread over the Sudetic and Carpathian Mountains, established themselves in Pannonia and Noricum, and overran the eastern slopes of the Alps, the districts from the source of the Drave to the Adriatic, and considerable portions of the Baltic peninsula.

The Slavs in Possession of Bohemia

This Slav migration, which followed the Teutonic migration, was accomplished during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. So early as the sixth century their oppressors and pursuers, the Avars, pushed forward along the Theiss and Danube into the territories occupied by the Slavs. To this movement were added immediately afterwards a backward Teutonic wave, and, at a later date, a wedge-like advance of the Magyars, with the result that the Slavs were permanently divided into a northern and southern group.

The occupation by the Slavs of these wide territories which had belonged to the Teutons brought the two nationalities into relations providing material for endless conflict. Such conflicts broke out to some extent during the reconquest by the Germans of the original Teutonic settlements, but led to no definite result any more than the conflict between the Germans and the Romance peoples of South-west Europe, with their constant alternations, which were begun by the struggle for territory, supremacy, and material or moral power, and have continued for some fifteen hundred years.

Slavs and Teutons in Conflict

The history of the struggles between the Slav and the Teutonic military forces and civilisations centred round two regions, which must be separated geographically and historically, one to the south-east and one to the north-east. The line of demarcation between these two coincides almost exactly with the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia. The state of Austria was the result of the conflict in the south-east, and the monarchy of Brandenburg-Prussia was produced by that on the north-east frontier.

A movement eastward at the expense of the Slavs began in the seventh and eighth centuries, and emanated from Bavaria, the duchy of the Agilolfings which was but nominally dependent upon the Frankish Merovingians and Carolingians. Availing themselves of the decline of the power of the Avars, the Bavarians extended their influence over the Slavonic Carentanians, the ancestors of the modern Slovenians, or Wends, of Central Austria. At the same time Christianity advanced from the Bavarian bishopries of Salzburg, Regensburg, and Passau over the frontier districts. The country as far as the Enns and the upper Drave was already thrown open to the German nationality, when a far greater

The Line of Christianity's Advance

power prepared to intervene in the struggle which was going on.

After the death of Tassilo, the last of the Agilolfings, Charles the Great began his struggle against the Avars in 791, which ended with the destruction of their kingdom in 796. As elsewhere, the Frankish king founded margraviates on the Central Danube, apparently two in number, the East Mark, including the land on the right bank of the Danube, from the Enns beyond the Vienna forest and extending southwards to the Drave; and the Mark of Friuli, the land to the south of the Drave, including Istria. Passau and Salzburg, which had been an archbishopric from 798, occupied themselves with converting the inhabitants of the former provinces of Noricum, Rhætia, and Pannonia, who were chiefly heathen; Salzburg and Aquileia obtained metropolitan rights over the conquered districts.

Conversion of Heathen Peoples

Constitutional and ecclesiastical organisation were accompanied by immigration and settlement. Lower Austria and Western Hungary, Styria, and Carinthia, received the main bulk of their German population between the eighth and ninth centuries. Bavarians and Franks made their settlements side by side with Slav inhabitants and also with Slav colonists.

The Carolingian system of government by no means aimed at the extermination of the peaceful Slavs who had become Christians; at the same time the inhabitants of the Slav marks continually became dependent upon German territorial lords, and as early as 828 the word "Slav" (*sclavus*) acquired the significance of slave. There was nothing oppressive in this arrangement, as the land was divided chiefly into large estates belonging to ecclesiastical corporations or secular nobles who appreciated the scattered population at their full value. Thus from the outset the German territories of the Austrian Alps were brought under cultivation, primarily by large territorial lords, and to a less extent by a class of peasantry. The process of Germanising and Christianising the south-eastern frontiers of the German kingdom is connected with the Bavarian campaigns of Charles the Great against the Avars; similarly his Saxon wars brought him into collision with the Elbe Slavs on the north-east. The attacks upon Bohemia occupy an intermediate position. Charles overran this country from the south-east and north-west, until he had made it tributary to himself, though he did not throw it open to German colonisation or to Christianity (805-806). The complicated campaigns against the Elbe Slavs forced the conquered tribes to make a nominal acceptance of Frankish supremacy, but left them in other respects independent and so dangerous that the great organiser founded several frontier counties—the marks of Thuringia, Franconia, and Bohemia—and created a connected line of defence, strengthened by fortresses, along the Elbe, the Saale, and the Böhmerwald.

Campaigns of Charles the Great

Here were situated the frontier marks, in which peaceful intercourse with the Slavs was developed, such as Bardowick, Magdeburg, and Erfurt. In the north-west Saxon, Danish, and Slav territories, the frontier of the empire was pushed across the Eider; however, Charlemagne left to the federated tribes of the Abodrites East Holstein, or Wagria, which was not conquered until the bloody conflicts of the twelfth century. After the death of the great emperor in 814, his disconnected empire naturally fell to pieces, and the Elbe Slavs, together with those of the south, with the exception of the Carentanians, broke away from French influence. New Slav states were formed of which the great Moravian kingdom was the most important and the most hostile to the Germans. In Moravia and Pannonia the Slavs voluntarily accepted Christianity about 870, without obliging the Germans to make much effort for their conversion. Bohemia and Moravia remained untouched by German influence for another century.

Foundation of New Slav States

The great Moravian kingdom had been hard pressed by the Emperor Arnulf, and was already in process of dissolution when the South-east German marks of the Carolingian period came to ruin; the Magyars, a Finno-Ugrian people, burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube, and, like the Huns and the Avars, ravaged the higher civilisation of Europe, the morality and resisting power of which had never sunk so low as at the close of the ninth century, the age of devastation.

German supremacy was thrown back beyond the Enns; the more accessible districts of the Carolingian Mark became deserted; and the remnants of the

colonial population remained scattered in mountain and forest valleys, surviving two generations of this terror. The inhabitants of the Pannonian plains, who were chiefly Slavs, became serfs, and the Slovacks were reduced to pay tribute; only the Slovenians or Carentanians remained free. A protracted frontier war was in process, which brought forth new royal families, and in particular a new Bavarian ducal house.

The conditions in Saxony were similar. The conduct of the uninterrupted frontier war against the heathen Elbe Slavs brought the ducal family of the Ludolfings to the front. This house—the Saxon emperors—continued the frontier war, which was imposed upon them by tradition and necessity. The second period of successful struggle against the Elbe Slavs began, and Henry I. started by attacking the Hevelli in 928, with the Saxon army, which had been reorganised for the Magyar war.

Elements in the Fall of Brandenburg

In the year 928 Henry I. attacked the Hevelli and captured their main fortress, Brennaburg, or Brandenburg, after pitching his camp on the frozen Havel. "Ice, steel, and hunger, these three brought Brennaburg to her fall." In the same year the king stormed Gana, or Jahna, the town of the Daleminzii, and founded the fortress of Meissen on the conquered territory. Here, again, the defeated population was subjected to pillage, while the warriors were put to death and the remainder sold into slavery. When Henry, in 928 and 929, invaded Bohemia, which had been united for a generation under a duke of the Premyslid house, Wenzel I., the later martyr and patron saint, offered no resistance, but accepted the land as a tributary fief from the hands of the German king. Although Bohemia several times shook off the German supremacy, the feudal suzerainty was upon the whole maintained, so that the duchy and the later kingdom became a permanent portion of the empire, and belonged to the German federation until its end in 1866. By the further subjection of the Redarii, Abodrites, Wilzes, and Liutizi, all the land on both sides of the Elbe as far as the Oder obeyed the first king of the Saxon house.

The civil wars, which fill the earlier years of Otto I., were accompanied by wars upon the Wends. The successor of Henry I. had made over the frontier of the Saale and Central Elbe to the Margrave Gero, and the district on the lower Elbe to the Duke Hermann Billung. Gero waged war with fearful vigour and with reckless choice of means. In 939, when informed that the Wends had planned a surprise attack, he invited thirty of their chiefs, made them drunk, and killed them.

How Gero Ruled the Slavs

He thus ruled the Slavs to the Havel as Hermann ruled the Baltic Slavs; but he was constantly supported by the king, and the Wendish wars of the Saxon period thus assumed a character of imperial enterprise.

Between 950 and 970 the Wends were constantly revolting. After the death of Gero, in 966, the king divided this district into five marks, from which were gradually formed the Northern Mark, or Old Mark, the Eastern Mark of Lausitz, or Saxony, and the Thuringian Mark the Margraviate of Meissen. Otto's wars with his German rivals, the Danes, for the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic territories, and the mark organised in 934 by his father and occupied by the Germans between the Eider and Schlei—afterwards the Mark of Schleswig—are legendary achievements.

Throughout this time German merchants and German missionaries, those historical pioneers of military and constitutional supremacy, had been visiting the marsh and forest districts occupied by the Wends; German missionaries had also come face to face with the obstinate heathenism of Scandinavia. In these frontier territories Christianity did not secure its hold until the ecclesiastical institutions of the Saxon period were established. The bishopric of Hamburg, founded in 831 an archbishopric after 834 and the seat of St. Ansgar, who first secured the title "Apostle of the North"—was united with Bremen in 847, and remained under the Saxon kings the starting-point for missions to the north. Otto I. made the bishoprics of

The First Wendish Bishoprics

Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhus, founded in 948, subordinate to the metropolitan see of Bremen. At that time, in 946 and 949, the king founded the first bishoprics upon Wendish soil, Havelberg and Brandenburg, to which the subject Slavs were obliged to pay tithes and tribute. To these must be added the bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagria—East Holstein—known to the Wends as Stargard. In 968 Otto succeeded in his favourite

project of making Magdeburg an archbishopric, independent of Mainz; and to this the sees of Havelberg and Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, and Zeitz, were subordinate as suffragan bishoprics. Thus Christianity had secured a firm foothold in the marks, and the missions prospered among the refractory Wends.

The Wends Back to their Old Gods

However, when Otto II. was defeated on July 15th, 982, by the Saracens in Apulia, the Danes and Slavs renewed their attacks in 983, and the patient achievements of fifty years' policy collapsed amid this wild disturbance. Havelberg and Brandenburg were destroyed; Hamburg was reduced to ashes; and the Wends returned to the service of their god Gerowitt and the three-headed Triglav, at the places of sacrifice. Tithes and tribute were no longer paid.

The German nationality became powerless between the Elbe and the Oder. The only true method of securing Germanisation had not yet been discovered. Germans had entered the fortresses which the Slavs had already built or reconstructed, and German wardens had replaced the Slav castellans or Zupans. Only under the shelter of the fortresses had the land been cultivated here and there, and it was impossible for such a colonisation to put out strong roots in the territory east of the Elbe.

Under the regency of Theophano some campaigns against the Wends were undertaken between 986 and 990, but under Adelheid (991-996) the frontier was barely defended. The Emperor Otto III., whose sympathies were wholly foreign, and who was absorbed by the dream of a universal monarchy, was sufficiently ill-advised to diminish German influence in the east. It was at that period that the duchy of Poland emerged from the deep obscurity of the time, and Christianity made its way here under the dukes Mesko and Boleslav Chabri. About this time Hungary and Russia were also Christianised, while Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Iceland and Greenland, followed in the eleventh century. Inspired by sincere reverence for the Bohemian Adalbert, his personal friend, who had been murdered by the heathen Prussians in 997, Otto III. made a pilgrimage in the year 1000 to Gnesen, where a memorial was erected to this saintly martyr, whose corpse Boleslav had covered with gold.

Hungary and Russia Adopt Christianity

At the wish of Duke Boleslav, and with the emperor's consent, a special archbishopric for Poland was organised in Gnesen; seven suffragan bishoprics were to be subject to the new metropolitan, including the bishops of Cracow, Breslau, and Kolberg, all to the disadvantage of the metropolitan chair of Magdeburg, to which the Poles had been hitherto subordinate. Only the Bishop of Posen protested against this new organisation of the Polish Church and adhered to Magdeburg for the moment. In that same year Hungary was for ever separated from the German Church, after Stefan I. had made Gran the seat of a primate for the whole kingdom.

From that date Poland and Hungary continued a separate ecclesiastical and political existence, but the Germans never ceased to transmit their own civilisation and that of the west to their eastern neighbours. The kingdoms of the Piasts and of the Arpads resisted German supremacy, which they recognised only under the immediate pressure of German military force; none the less the time approached when German migration no longer trickled, but flowed, into the two countries: after that date agriculture, mining, trade, manufacture, and town life were stamped with German characteristics. The Saxon emperors were more successful in the south-eastern mark than upon the Wendish frontier; the former had been shattered by the Magyars at the beginning of the tenth century, but had been restored in 995 after the victory on the Lechfeld.

Where the Saxons were Successful

Once again the rulers gave large tracts of land to secular nobles, churches and monasteries; and again a strong German and especially Bavarian immigration began. Like the East Babenberg mark, the frontier of which had been definitely advanced to the Leitha since the Hungarian wars of the Emperor Henry III., so also the Carentanian or Styrian mark gradually broke away from the Bavarian duchy. In view of the extraordinary independence of these south-eastern frontiers and their princes, it was possible at a later period that larger independent states might be developed there.

In the time of the Salian emperors the imperial policy paid no special attention to the Slav districts on the Elbe. Colonisation and missionary activity came to an end. It should have been the task of



THE BETRAYAL AND SLAUGHTER OF THE WENDISH CHIEFS BY THE MARGRAVE GERO

Wars with the Wends occupied the earlier years of the reign of Otto, these people being frequently in revolt. The Margrave Gero, none too particular in his methods, hearing, in 939, that the Wends contemplated a surprise attack, invited thirty of their chiefs to meet him, and when they responded he made them captives and then killed them.

the territorial princes and bishops to continue the work which the empire had ceased to perform. However, even the Saxon dukes of the family of Billung confined themselves to exacting taxation from the Slavs, but made no attempt to foster colonisation or Christianity. For a short time the archbishopric of Bremen, especially under the ambitious Archbishop Adalbert, who died in 1072, whose diocese included the whole of North Europe, revived the missions to the Slavs; he seems to have been the first to induce the Netherland colonists to bring the peat districts on the Weser under cultivation. He was supported in 1046 by the alliance of the Abodrite prince, Gottschalk, who had voluntarily accepted Christianity.

The Huge Diocese of Adalbert

Christianity under the Wends soon made such progress that it was possible to found the bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg. But in a few years the reaction set in. The Liutizi attacked the Abodrites, who reverted to their old gods and obeyed the heathen prince, Kruto, after Gottschalk had been killed in 1066, and Bishop John of Ratzeburg had been sacrificed before the idol Radegast.

No fundamental change took place until the Saxon duke, Lothar of Suplinburg, became German king on August 30th, 1125. The Elbe Slavs were again made tributary; the sanctuary of Radegast in Rethra was destroyed; and even the Polish duke, Boleslav III., did homage to the emperor for Pomerania and Rügen. Christianity had secured a hold in Pomerania in 1124; a pious German bishop, Otto of Bamberg, was an apostle of this heathen country. German customs and language crossed the Elbe in force, extended over the wide river-valleys, and advanced towards the shores of the Baltic.

These districts at the present day are thoroughly German, and are, indeed, the centre of German strength and power. The time had come when the nation was in possession of that superfluous strength which felt the need for conquest and colonisation. The age also brought forth those leading personalities required by every great movement, the heroes of the German expansion beyond the Elbe. These were the Ascanian Albert the Bear, the Schauemburger Adolf II. of Holstein, and Henry the Lion.

Heroes of German Expansion

In the year 1134 the Ascanian Albert of Anhalt, the son of Otto the Rich of Ballenstedt, was invested with the fief of the Saxon Nordmark, a barren and swampy district then inhabited only in the west. There were no actual settlements in the Wendish territory to the east of the Elbe, and only historical claims to this imperial fief. In rapid succession, however, Albert conquered Prignitz, together with Zauche, restored the episcopal chair of Havelberg in 1136, and concluded a treaty of inheritance with Pribislav of Brandenburg, so that this district, the later Middle Mark, came into his hands in 1150.

The bishopric of Brandenburg was then revived, and it was finally possible for the titular bishops of the marks, who had been driven from their dioceses for a century and a half, to resume residence. Together with Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg (1152–1192) the Ascanian now devoted himself to the colonisation of the Slav districts on the Elbe. The conquests of the sword were secured by the work of the ploughshare. As Ranke says: "The sword, the cross, and the plough co-operated to secure the land on the right of the Elbe for Germany." The colonisation on the right bank of the Elbe, which is most characteristic of Germany, originated, however, not in Brandenburg, but further north, in Wagria. Count Adolf II. of Holstein, of the family of Schauemburg, had almost exterminated the heathen Slav population of this district in a series of massacres. He then sent out messages to the Lower Rhine, to the Flemings and the Dutch, to the effect that all who wanted land might come and receive arable and pasture land, cattle and fodder, in abundance.

Massacres of the Slav Races

The colonists came and settled in small villages. Adolf II. also built a town; in the neighbourhood of Buku, which was destroyed in 1138, rose the new town of Lübeck in 1143, which was destined afterwards to secure the supremacy of the Baltic and the commercial predominance of the whole of Northern Europe.

For fifteen years German colonists continued to enter Brandenburg. Since the Wendish revolt of 1157 the property and the rights of the Slav population seem no longer to have been recognised. The margrave distributed the land, where he did not keep it for himself, to noble lords, chiefly coming from the Altmark, who

had helped in the process of conquest, to bishoprics, churches and monasteries, and also to his *ministeriales* and knightly adherents. In some cases the Wendish nobles who had submitted were left in possession of their property, and amalgamated with the immigrants to form a new race. Christianity seems to have begun in this quarter with the summons to the colonists from North-west Germany; Bishop Anselm of Havelberg and the Premonstratensian Order were transplanted to the mark from the neighbouring town of Magdeburg, where the founder of the order, St. Norbert, had been archbishop in 1126 and had died in 1134.

The popular Cistercian Order did good service in the colonisation and Germanisation of the north-east. The work of Albert the Bear was continued by his successors in those parts of Brandenburg which were acquired about 1260, the Ukermark and the Newmark, Lebus and Sternberg.

The third of the royal colonisers of the twelfth century was the most powerful of them all; this was Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Originally he contented himself with the tributes of the Wendish princes, including the Abodrite Niklot. Purely territorial interests induced the Guelf to initiate an aggressive policy against the Elbe Slavs. After the foundation of Lübeck by Adolf II., the customs revenue of Bardowick, the chief commercial town on the Lower Elbe, belonging to Henry the Lion, began to dwindle, and the duke, by the right of the strong hand, deprived the count of Schauenburg of his new town (1157–1158).

The Powerful Henry the Lion

This action redounded to the advantage of the people of Lübeck, for the Guelf overwhelmed this productive source of imposts with privileges. In order to free the town on the Trave from the molestation of Slav pirates, Henry attacked the Abodrite prince, and made his territory, which had hitherto been tributary, a component part of the duchy. Following the example of Albert the Bear, he divided the conquered district among his noble comrades, among squires and knights who had joined in the expedition, and among bishops and monasteries. The three new territorial bishops of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin were invested by him personally, and not as were the bishops of Brandenburg by the emperor. In addition to the territory of the Abodrites, the modern Mecklenburg, he also subjugated Pomerania, though the princes, who were already Christians, were not deprived of their power. On the other hand, the Danes overpowered the last refuge of piracy and heathenism, the Island of Rügen. In the summer of 1168, King Waldemar I. and Bishop Absalon of Roskilde conquered the strong defences of Arkona. A deep impression was made upon the conquered by the action of the Danes, who broke the four-headed idol Swantewit in pieces, and threw it into their camp fire. It was only by secret intrigues that Henry the Lion could secure from the Danes the cession to himself of half the temple treasures of Arkona and half of the tribute of the island.

The Danes Destroy a Great Idol

The colonisation of the lowlands on the right bank of the Elbe displays certain features which recur in the German settlements of Silesia and Prussia, also in Bohemia and Hungary. The margrave, the monastery, the noble, or anyone who possessed a superabundance of land, called in colonists, who were chiefly Saxons of the Rhineland, Flemings, and Netherlanders, though here and there Central and Upper Germans made their appearance. A contractor, known as the locator, divided the land appointed to him among the settlers who had come with him, and now became village companions. Again, some Slav township might be divided among the new comers when the former population had been expelled. These new settlements generally took the form of villages with one or more streets, according as the houses were built in one or two rows; the land belonging to every house formed a connected strip extending to the wood or marsh. Generally speaking, individual allotments did not exceed the average size of thirty acres.

While the German colonists of the Elbe and Oder district had taken possession of the mainland in the twelfth century, and had founded a countless number of villages, the thirteenth century was especially the age of the foundation of towns. The process of Germanisation was not concluded, and did not show its full power until the foundation of German towns endowed with German rights—chiefly modelled upon those of Magdeburg. In the founding of towns a general plan was also followed, and we discern an

The Age of German Expansion

increasing technical power of arranging detail. One or more locators stand at the head of the enterprise proposed by ecclesiastical or secular nobles. At a suitable spot, which is already inhabited in part, a market-place is marked out, which is of large size, square and level, and is generally known as the "ring-platz."

Spaces are marked off for the council house and exchange, and sites are then measured along the market-place for the settlers; these are neither broad nor deep, in order that as many as possible may share this privileged position. In addition to this, a few parallel streets of approach are marked out, and the whole is surrounded by a circuit wall of considerable strength. In some cases new towns and suburbs are formed, which are united upon occasion with the old town. The locator ranks as mayor of the town, in possession of privileges of every kind.

The town annually pays the land-owner or territorial lord, after the lapse of the stipulated period of exemption, a lump sum, which is contributed by the individual families, and becomes a smaller burden as the wealth of the community increases. Whenever German municipal privileges are introduced, the process of development does not cease until complete independence is secured. The mayor is assisted in his judicial functions by assessors; the affairs of the town are in the hands of a town council, and the mayoralty is finally transferred from the lord of the town to the community. When the community has thus become entirely free, the usual struggle begins between the mercantile patriciate and the industrial classes to secure admission to the council and the state offices. This stage of development, however, was undergone by every town in the mother country, and reappears in the colonial towns, though in abbreviated form.

Together with the agricultural village and the commercial or manufacturing town settlements, the mining colony forms a third kind of settlement. After the discovery of the silver mines of Freiberg,



THE STOCKADED HOUSE OF A GERMAN FARMER IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY



THE HOMESTEAD OF A TEUTONIC CHIEF IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL TIMES

Town life was unknown among the early Teutonic races, who dwelt in village settlements around which were fortifications of earth and wood that served as a refuge for the population. The chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, swamps and other natural boundaries, their own headquarters being stockaded as shown in the illustration.

the half Slav Erzgebirge attracted not only German miners, whose first starting-point seems to have been the Hartz Mountains, but also other colonists. These completed the Germanisation of the modern kingdom of Saxony. Such colonies developed codes of their own capable of expansion, and in Moravian Iglau and Bohemian Kuttenberg the mining industry soon formed centres similar to that of Saxon Freiberg.

All these institutions which arose upon the old Slav territory are also found in Silesia, which was entered by German colonists at a later date than Brandenburg. Their invasion was directed by the power of the Church and the princes.

In Poland, which was regarded as belonging to Silesia until the thirteenth century, Christianity had become predominant so early as the tenth century. The Polish Church retained the traces of its German origin, and in consciousness of this fact an attempt was made to counterbalance German preponderance by the introduction of French clergy. Circumstances, however, brought it about that in the twelfth century not only the Church, but also, and to a greater extent, the ducal power facilitated the general triumph of German nationality throughout Poland, and secured the complete Germanisation of the larger part of Silesia. The dukes enjoyed almost unlimited power and property, while the Church and the growing order of the nobles shared the privileged position of territorial lords. In consequence the peasant class, originally free, gradually dwindled, and was replaced by a disorganised mass of occupants, subject to tribute, burdened by forced service, and bound to the soil. There were no free towns, although we can detect traces of an early Polish town constitution, which bears some similarity to the old Russian town system.

After the time of Boleslav III., who died in 1138, Poland was broken into petty principalities, and Silesia also acquired a kind of independence. The neighbourhood of Germany, the connection of the dynasts with German princely houses, the influence of German women and mothers, and of princes educated in German schools, secured the advance of the Germans to the central districts of the Oder in the twelfth century. As in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, this

movement was a bloodless one, completed under the protection of princes of Slav origin, without the slaughter or expulsion of the non-German previous and present occupants—a peaceful contrast to certain proceedings in Wagria, Brandenburg, and Prussia. Where the authorities failed to support the movement and the Polish nationality was able to maintain its ground, as in Upper Silesia, the Slavs were also left in possession. In the rest of Poland, whither the Germans advanced in the thirteenth century, with no less success than in Silesia, an irresistible national reaction took place forthwith.

German Advance in Poland

The peasant colonisation of Silesia by the importation of German immigrants was begun by the German Cistercians—who were first called in by Duke Boleslav the Long—to Leubus in 1175; these were soon followed by Premonstratensians and Augustinian Canons. The Germans settled in new or old villages—the latter were, however, in ruins—under the same favourable conditions as in Brandenburg. From the first moment the settlements of the tenant peasantry struggling with the swamps and primeval forests formed a salutary contrast to the scattered villages of the Polish serf population, who were both incapable and disinclined to work.

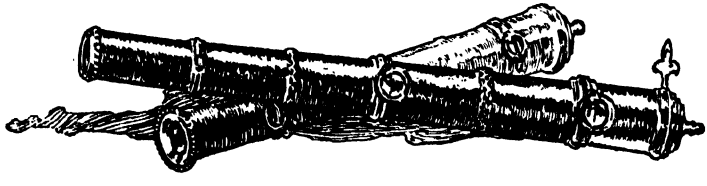
It was not surprising that princes, bishops and lords began to found villages "of German right" both in Greater and Lesser Poland. As Schiemann observes, "The privileges of the German peasant colonies consisted in the fact that they enjoyed immunity from the princely jurisdiction except in criminal cases, while they had free markets, freedom from imposts and military service, and were relieved from the manifold forms of forced service which oppressed the Polish peasant."

Of the Silesian dukes none performed greater service for the Germanisation of the country than Henry I. the Bearded (1202-1238). Under him were founded such towns of German right as Neumarkt, Löwenberg, Neisse, Goldberg, Oppeln, Ratibor, etc. Especially after the great invasion of the Mongols and the bloody battle of Liegnitz on April 9th, 1241, the process of colonising and founding of towns received a greater impulse. At that time Breslau began its development and secured the privilege of Magdeburg in 1261, while Liegnitz, Landshut, Brieg, Glogau, Beuthen, etc., were also prosperous. The Duke Henry IV. Probus, after the battle of the Marchfield in 1278, received Silesia as a fief from the German king, Rudolf I., and thus the political separation of Silesia from Poland was completed. United with Bohemia by the last Premyslids after 1291, it became in 1327 "feudatory to the crown of St. Wenzel." During the time of Charles IV. it was once more prosperous, but upon the whole it remained a mere appendage of that kingdom. As such it passed to the Hapsburgs in 1526, with whom it remained until Frederick II. in 1740 asserted the hereditary claims of the Hohenzollerns to Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf.

The German element in Silesia suffered no diminution by the union with Bohemia, though its eastern expansion came to an end. The Polish clergy declared against German colonisation in 1260, and from the time of Vladislav I. Lokietek (1320-1333) the Polish crown generally displayed a spirit hostile to the Germans. This spirit predominated among the powerful nobility until German influence was entirely broken down under the Jagellons, and the kingdom of the national Polish Schlachta began to decay.

Nobles as Professional Robbers

At the close of the fourteenth century the general culture of Silesia was at a low ebb. The nobles had degenerated, and were professional robbers; the towns were impoverished, especially the smaller of them, and the peasants were overwhelmed by a stupefying servitude which was very little more tolerable than that of their Polish and Bohemian equals.





THE KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

HENRY THE LION seemed to have assured the position of the Germans on the Baltic. The Osterlings, the German Baltic navigators, sailed the sea as far as Gothland and the Gulf of Finland. German factories existed before the end of the twelfth century in Wisby and in Great Novgorod. The Germans began to vie with the Scandinavians and the Slavs for the possession of a world that had hitherto been inaccessible to them. The ecclesiastical or secular conqueror and coloniser was now joined by the merchant, who had been a somewhat insignificant figure in the expansion of Germany until the end of the twelfth century.

The prospects of further advance suddenly became extremely gloomy; the all-protecting power of Henry the Lion collapsed, and Frederic Barbarossa divided the remnants of the Guelf possessions among his adherents in 1181. The barrier was now torn away which had hitherto checked the advance of Danish conquest. The Danish king, Waldemar II. (1202–1241), overpowered Holstein, forced Mecklenburg and Pomerania to do him homage, brought Lübeck under his supremacy, and received the confirmation of his possession of all lands beyond the Elbe and Elde from the Emperor Frederic II., who, in 1214, at seventeen years of age, had come to Germany. In Esthonia the Danes also established a footing, and thence they menaced the new colonies of the Germans.

Conquests of the Danish King

Suddenly, however, fortune changed. Duke Henry the Black of Schwerin captured the Danish king and his eldest son, who bore his name, to satisfy a private quarrel, at the little island of Lyö, near Fünen, in May, 1223, and brought them in safe custody to Danneberg. While Waldemar II. was confined in the "king's hole," the Germans again secured possession of all the territory to the east of the Elbe with the exception of Rügen. The king, when set free on November 17th, 1225, attempted to recover what he had lost by force of arms, but was defeated at the battle of Bornhövede on July 22nd, 1226. The German imperial forces had no share in this great victory over the Danes. As affairs in the country on the Elbe and the Oder had developed without their interference, so also upon the Baltic coasts the advance of German nationality continued without their aid. Their interference, as a rule, was a hindrance rather than a help, and their lack of interest, upon the whole, proved a benefit.

German Advance on the Baltic

At the time of Waldemar II. a remarkable colonial settlement had been formed upon the shores of the Baltic on the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude. Nations of foreign tongues inhabited the country south of the Gulf of Finland—Esthonians, Livonians, Courlander, and Oeseles—who belonged to the Finnish branch of the Mongolian races; to the south-west of them were settled Indo-Germanic peoples—Letts, Lithuanians, Semgallians, and Prussians. The ethnical characteristics of this region were complicated, even from primitive times, by the infusion of Finnish and Lettish elements and by the influence of Scandinavian immigrants. These races were, without exception, still in a state of barbarism, and none rose to any form of constitutional organisation. Chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, stockades, and swamps. Apart from village settlements there were also fortifications of earth and wood which served as refuges for the population when revenge or the instinct of piracy led to raids upon the country. Town life was unknown. While the Letts were occupied in cattle-breeding and agriculture, and also in hunting, the Finns

How Small Districts were Protected

were fishers and mariners or pirates. The religion of the Finns was allied to Shamanism. As regards the religion of the Letts we know that the old Prussians had a national sanctuary in Romovo, in which the high priest, Kryve-Kryvejto, tended the everlasting fire in honour of Perkunas and offered the sacrifices of victory. All the Baltic peoples believed in a life after death, as is clearly shown by the objects found in their tombs.

Religion of the Baltic Peoples

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Baltic districts were repeatedly ravaged by the Russians, who were unable, however, to secure more than a temporary payment of tribute. In the year 1030 the people of Novgorod built the fortress of Vurieff to overawe the district; this was destroyed by the Esthonians thirty years afterwards. The modern Russians have, however, given the old eleventh-century name to the German town of Dorpat, which rose on the same spot.

It was not, however, fated for the Russians to bring Christianity and the elements of civilisation to the Baltic territory; this was the work of the Germans, especially of the Low Germans, who extended their linguistic area to the Gulf of Finland, while it touched the allied district of the Dutch and Flemings on the west. German merchants first came from Gothland (Wisby) to the gulf at the mouth of the Dvina. Sailing up the Dvina they came to Polcck and Witebsk, whence an overland route led to Smolensk in the district of the Dnieper. It was, indeed, possible to reach Smolensk from Novgorod, but the road was longer, and in Novgorod the Germans were exposed to the hostile rivalry of the Scandinavians, who were older settlers in that town. Thus, the Germans, and especially the sailors of Lübeck, gained a trading district free from rivalry by this "passage of the Dvina." They left their country in the spring, pitched their booths on the Dvina in the summer, and returned home in the autumn. Individuals even then began to pass the winter among the Livonians and among the Esthonians.

Missionaries to the Livonians

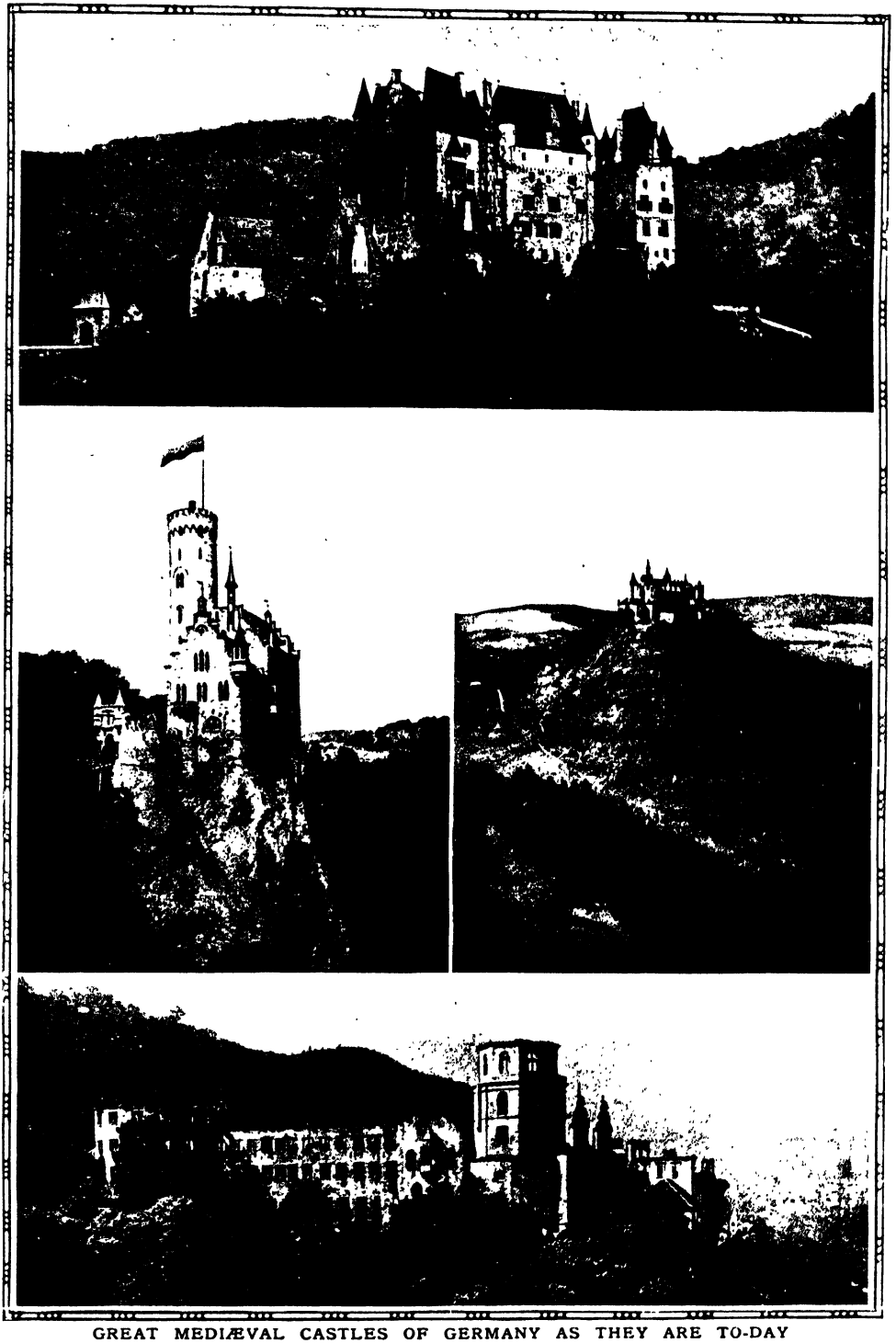
Missionaries soon ventured to Livonia; among these were the Augustinian canon Meinhard, who built the first stone church at Uxküll, and was consecrated bishop in 1186 by the Archbishop of Bremen, Hartwig, and the Cistercian, Theodoric. The Germans gathered about their settlements, clearing the forests and setting an example of higher morality to the natives. But neither Meinhard nor his successor Berthold, who summoned the crusaders into the land and was killed in battle in 1198, was ever more than a mere pioneer. After the retreat of the first crusaders the Livonians adopted so threatening an attitude that priests and merchants fled from the country.

At this critical moment the right man appeared to found the predominance of the Germans in the Baltic territories. This was the canon of Bremen, Albert of Buxhövede—also called Albert of Appeldern—who had been consecrated third bishop of Livonia. Before entering his new sphere of work, he secured the favour of the Danish ruler by a personal visit, gained the protection of King Philip of Swabia, and was granted a crusading bull by Innocent III. In 1200 he sailed up the Dvina with twenty-three ships to the settlements of Uxküll and Holm, which had been founded by Bishop Meinhard. He chose, however, a more suitable spot for his residence; at the mouth of the little river Riga, at its confluence with the Dvina, where a considerable bay appeared likely to invite merchants, he began the construction of the town of Riga in 1201. In the following year citizen settlers came out from Bremen and Hamburg, and even at the present day the civic shield of Riga combines the armorial bearings of Bremen and Hamburg.

Founding of the Town of Riga

The Cistercians entered the new monastery built at the mouth of the Dvina in 1208. The Order of St. Bernard was followed by the Premonstratensians, and within a short time, in the extreme north-east, the two spiritual corporations were rivals in the work of colonisation. It was never possible, however, to bring a sufficient number of German peasantry to Livonia and to the territories on the far side of the Niemen; the peasantry would not go by sea, and it was quite impossible to reach this remote district by land without crossing hostile and inhospitable districts.

The German plough was thus unable to conquer Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia as thoroughly as Brandenburg and even Prussia. Hence the difference between the history of this Baltic land and that of the territory between Lübeck and Memel.



GREAT MEDIÆVAL CASTLES OF GERMANY AS THEY ARE TO-DAY

In the late Middle Ages all Germany was a land of splendid princely strongholds, as witness the castled Rhine. Many of these castles are still inhabited, like that of the Counts of Eltz, shown at the top of this page, the picturesque Schloss Lichtenstein on the left, and the ancestral castle of the Hohenzollern on the right None excelled in grandeur or beauty of site the Castle of Heidelberg, which is to-day a splendid ruin of its past

The struggle with the Finnish and Lettish peoples did not begin until the moment when the Livonians were regarded as subjugated and baptised—shortly after 1200. An occasional body of crusaders was then no longer enough to guarantee the protection necessary for colonial expansion. Hence, about 1202, the knightly Order of the Brothers of the Sword was founded by Bishop Albert, and confirmed by the Pope in 1204. This ecclesiastical and military brotherhood was organised upon the same principles as the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, who had originated in the Holy Land. Like these Orders it was divided into three classes—the priests, the knights, and the serving brothers—among whom the squires were to be distinguished from the artisans. The uniform of the "Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia" consisted of a white coat and cloak to which a red cross was sewn, formed from two swords crossing each other, hence the name "Brothers, or Knights, of the Sword." On service the heavy armour then in use was naturally worn, though covered with the cloak of the Order.

"Brothers of the Sword"

At the head of the Order was the Master, who was chosen by the Knights from their own class, and all the authorities of the order, the Commanders, Bailiffs, etc., were unconditionally subordinate to him. In important cases the Chapter was summoned, which, however, could only advise, and not decide. The number of the Brothers was never great; like the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, they rather formed a kind of official or general staff corps, to officer the local levies and reinforcements of Crusaders. The Order was recruited chiefly from the North German nobility as long as it remained independent.

Hardly had Bishop Albert been invested by King Philip with Livonia, and elevated to the position of an imperial prince in 1207, when the Order, in return for its services, took a third of all the land that was conquered or was to be conquered thereafter. Forthwith the destructive opposition of the episcopal power began; the bishop wished to secure sole authority in the country while the Order was struggling for independence. Innocent III. did not wish to institute any new metropolitan power, and decided that the Order should pay no other service to the bishopric of Riga, in return for the third part of the land, than that of providing security against the heathen.

The Knights' Struggle for Independence

Meanwhile the Order had advanced to Esthonia in 1208, and in about nine years had nominally conquered the country. Among the Livonians and Letts a state of ferment had prevailed for a considerable time, a sign that Christianity and German civilisation had gained no real hold of the country. In the year 1218 Livonia was threatened by a great Russian invasion. Bishop Albert then applied in his necessity to Waldemar II. of Denmark, who promised help if the Germans undertook to cede to him all the territory he might conquer.

To this they agreed, and the Danish king landed in 1219 with his naval and military power at the spot where the town of Reval afterwards arose. A surprise of the Esthonians at the castle of Lindanissa was successfully repulsed. It was this battle in which, according to legend, a red flag with a white cross descended from heaven to lead the Danes to conflict. This was the "Danebrog," afterwards the imperial banner of Denmark. A war between the Danes and Germans for Esthonia was inevitable, as the Order of the Sword had by no means surrendered its old claims to this district. For the moment the Order made an arrangement with Waldemar in respect to Esthonia, without the knowledge of the bishop, so that the presumptuous Dane now claimed the supremacy of Livonia.

Danes and Germans at War

This danger united the Order, and King Waldemar then, in 1222, renounced his claim to Livonia, for the reason that he had never had that country in his power. In January, 1223, a revolt of the Esthonians broke out, the castles of the Knights and of the Danes were reduced to ruins, and in May, the Count Henry of Schwerin captured the Danish king, who, more than all others of his nation, had threatened the German supremacy of the Baltic.

The Order of the Sword now secured the whole of Danish Esthonia in the course of their struggle with the rebels. More important was the fact that Waldemar's blockade of Lübeck came to an end, so that crusaders, merchants, and Knights could advance eastward from this point of Baltic emigration. With their help it was possible to reconquer the castle of Dorpat, which the Russians had taken



KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD AND KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

The Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia, wearing on their white cloaks the device of crossed swords in red, came to be distinguished as the "Knights of the Sword." Those of the Teutonic Order, which eventually absorbed the former brotherhood, wore the symbol of the Cross. The above shows military and priestly members of both orders.

from the Knights. The Russians were now reduced to impotence for a considerable period by the Mongol invasion. The Germans were thus able to subdue the island of Oesel in a winter campaign across the frozen sea, and to force Christianity upon the inhabitants. The subjugation of this piratical state concluded the political foundation of German Livonia. Before the death of Bishop Albert, in 1229, the German king, Henry VII., the son of the Emperor Frederic II., had conferred Esthonia upon the Brothers of the Sword as a permanent fief, and permitted the Bishop of Riga to coin money and to grant municipal liberties. After the death of this great ecclesiastical prince hard times came upon the land and the Order. Waldemar II. again secured possession of Northern Esthonia, including Reval.

Death of the Great Bishop Albert

The Order of the Sword was oppressed by the bishops, who were jealous of its power. It possessed, indeed, a territory of 730 square miles in extent, whereas the five bishopries of Riga, Dorpat, Oesel, Semgallia, and Courland had only 870 square miles between them. The Brotherhood, therefore, applied for union with the Teutonic Order, which had meanwhile entered Prussia. Probably the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, would have refused this request had not the Master of the Order of the Sword, Volkwin, met his death with fifty Knights in battle against the Lithuanians on September 22nd, 1236.

Thus, under Pope Gregory IX., an amalgamation with the Teutonic Knights was concluded. The Master, Hermann Balk, came to Livonia and took possession of all the land of the Order of the Sword in the name of the Teutonic Order. The claims of Denmark and Northern Esthonia were recognised for the moment, and it was not until 1346-1347 that the Danish territory passed into the hands of the German Order.

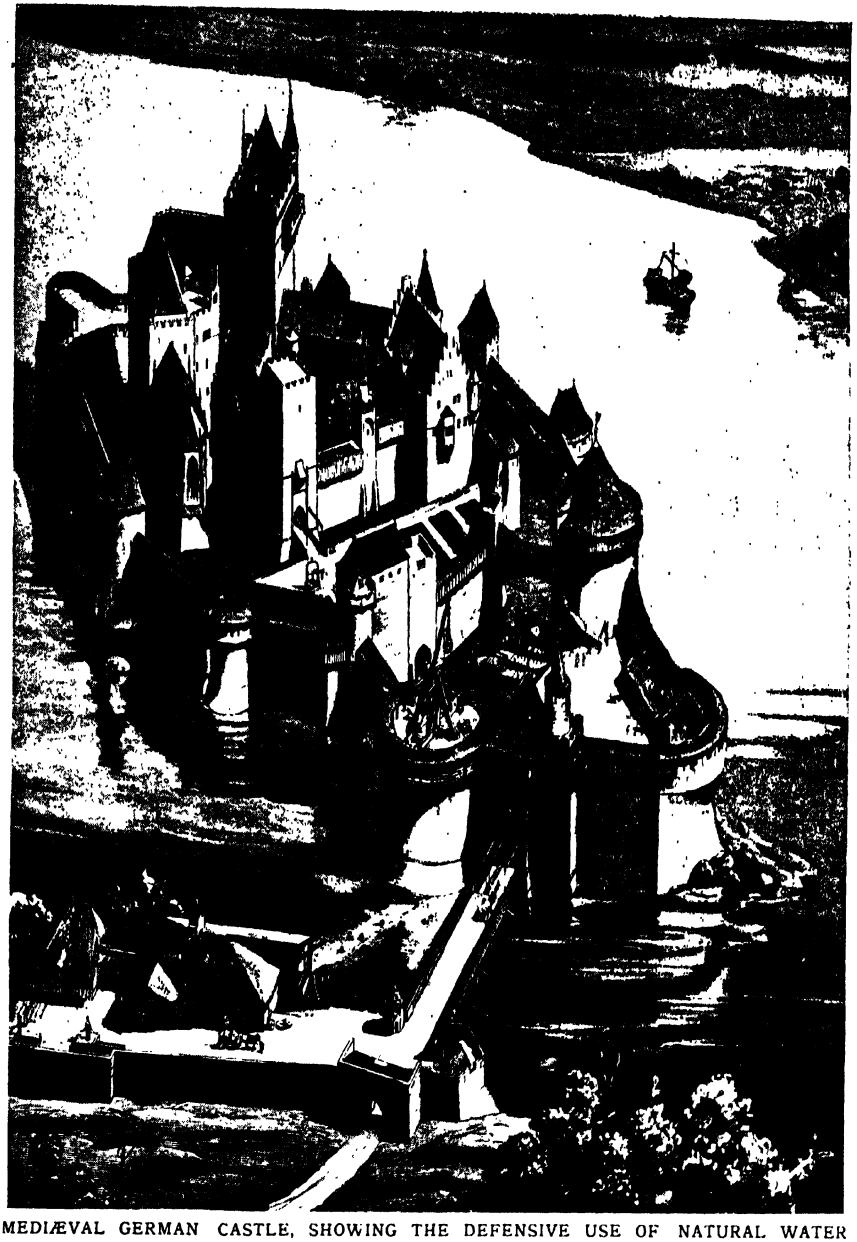
Colonisation in the Hands of the Knights

After the first half of the thirteenth century the fate of colonisation in the north-east, once occupied by a Teutonic, and then by a Slavo-Lettish and Finnish population, was in the hands of the Teutonic Knights. Until the fourteenth century the nation was in process of a development which is reflected in the history of the Order no less than the succeeding stagnation and decay. The last of the great knightly Orders of the crusading period had originated in a brotherhood of ambulance bearers founded by German pilgrims, especially by merchants during the siege of Acre in 1190. As early as 1198 this brotherhood of hospitallers had been formed into an Order of Knights on the model of the Templars, except that in the case of those who served the hospitals the organisation of the Knights of St. John was adopted at the outset. The "Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary of Jerusalem" gave a national character to the new Order by accepting only scions of the upper German nobility, not excluding knights and, therefore, citizens who had a knight's standing in their towns.

The uniform of the Teutonic Knights was a white cloak with a cross; the same emblem was worn both on their surcoats and their caps, while the priests of the Order wore a white cowl with a black cross. The centre of the Order and the residence of the Grand Master was at Acre until the conquest of that city in 1291 by the infidels, although the Knights had meanwhile secured extensive possessions in Europe, amounting to a connected territory. As early as 1211 the Knights had acquired a large sphere of activity in Europe, when Andreas II. of Hungary summoned its members to Transylvania to fight against the heathen Cumanians, and rewarded them with the Burzenland. The Order, however, protected the country from papal influence, declined to recognise the supremacy of the apostolic king, and attempted to gain complete independence, so that the Hungarians, in deep suspicion of these political moves, expelled them.

The Knights Expelled from Hungary

At that time negotiations were proceeding between the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, and Conrad of Masovia. This Polish petty prince was also in possession of the land of Kulm, which was devastated by the heathen Prussians. The Cistercian monk, Christian of Oliva, the first titular bishop of Prussia, had, in 1215, undertaken a crusade into the heathen district beyond the Vistula, with the support of the Polish duke, an enterprise which failed. When Duke Conrad saw that his own possessions were endangered, he applied to the German Order. Taught by the failure in Transylvania, Hermann of Salza first negotiated with the emperor, who, in 1226, readily gave away what was not his to give, by investing the Order



MEDIÆVAL GERMAN CASTLE, SHOWING THE DEFENSIVE USE OF NATURAL WATER

with the land of Kulm and with all future conquests. After some hesitation the Duke of Masovia abandoned his claim to the whole land of Kulm in 1230. The Order then offered it to St. Peter, whereupon Pope Gregory IX. returned it to them in 1234 as a permanent possession on payment of a moderate tribute.

By this means the Order became independent of episcopal power, which in Prussia, as in Livonia, was struggling for the supremacy. Moreover, they were left entirely free with respect to the Poles, and could appeal to their imperial charter against the Church and to the protection of the Pope against the empire. It must be said, however, that the evils which finally overthrew the Order originated in these conditions which then appeared so favourable. The Popes treated it as they treated any other power, to satisfy the momentary interests of their world-wide

policy; the bishops undermined the supremacy of the Order, in which task they were outwitted by its enemies, the country and town nobility. When the Polish petty princes were brought into a strong centralised state by their union with Lithuania, the Order learned the disadvantage of the position that they had taken up, in the days of their splendour, between the kingdom of the Piasts and the sea. The empire, however, for which the Knights had shown but little respect, made no offer to preserve the loose bond of union from rupture or foreign supremacy.

Poland's Union with Lithuania

When Hermann of Salza sent the Grand Master to Prussia in 1228, the colonisation of the Vistula district was proceeding from the fortress of Nassau. With seven brothers of the Order he erected a wall and a ditch the castle of Thorn — which is supposed to have stood on the left bank of the stream around an oak-tree the top of which served as a watch-tower. Crusaders soon began to struggle against the heathen, and other people arrived to occupy the space around the castle of the Order. Between the years 1231 and 1233 arose the towns of Thorn, Kulm, and Marienwerder; by the charter of Kulm, on December 28th, 1232, the privileges of Magdeburg were granted to them.

After the great defeat of the Prussians on the Sirgune, in 1234, the Order advanced to the sea. Elbing was built in 1237 and colonised with settlers from Lübeck, who were allowed to live according to the rights of their native town. The important connection between the Order and the mercantile towns of the Saxon Wendish district was thus broken. Both peasants and nobles came, the former with their "locators," to the allotments assigned to them, and the latter to the great estates which the Order divided among them, in extent from 100 to 300 hides.

The Power of the Brotherhoods

The power of the Teutonic Knights advanced continuously. In 1237 the union with the Brotherhood of the Sword was accomplished, and the problem now arose of securing the coast connections between the Frische Haff and the Gulf of Riga. The advance of the Teutonic Knights had already aroused the jealousy of the Pomeranian dukes, who both secretly and openly offered help to the unconquered heathen and to the Prussians, who had already been baptised. The new constitution was also endangered by the Mongol invasion of 1241, though this for the moment was turned chiefly against the rival power of Poland. The papal bulls urging Christians to the crusade against the Prussians rightly asserted that the heathen Tartars were preparing a general destruction of the Christianity founded in Livonia, Esthonia, and Prussia. The union of the Tartars with the Russians of the Greek Church in heathen Lithuania threatened destruction not only to the possessions of the Order but to the whole of Latin Christianity. The crusading enthusiasm was inflamed, however, by the greatness of the danger.

At that time (1254-1255) Ottokar II. of Bohemia undertook his famous crusade to Prussia; Samland was conquered and Königsberg was founded. An important step had thus been taken to secure the unity of the divided Baltic colonies. The Order had now taken possession of the land of amber, and had monopolised this valuable commodity, and made it a staple article of trade. At the same time as Samland, Galinden in the lake district of Masuria also came into possession of the Knights of St. Mary. At the moment when it seemed that the Prussians had been overpowered, they began a desperate struggle for their national existence, in the course of which the supremacy of the Order was more than once endangered. It was not until the years 1280-1290 and the subjugation of the Sudanians that the Prussian people was actually subdued, that is to say, for the most part annihilated, expelled, or enslaved. Only those who had remained faithful and had given in their submission at an earlier date were able to live in tolerable comfort. The remainder of the Prussian people was gradually crushed under the colonial population which overran the country.

Prussians Struggle for Existence

When Pomerellen was occupied, and the capital was changed from Venice to Marienburg by the Grand Master, Siegfried of Feuchtwangen, in 1309, the Teutonic Knights had reached the height of their splendour. In the last quarter of that same fourteenth century a rapid and inevitable decay began.

There was yet a task of historical importance before the Order — the struggle against the unbaptised Lithuanians; reinforcements of crusaders still came in, who

advanced against the heathen under its leadership. But the Knights of Western Europe in the fourteenth century had lost the heroic character of the age of the Hohenstauffen; they were but a caricature of their more capable forefathers. However, the Order long preserved its predominance against Poland, which had become a kingdom in 1320, as is proved by the Peace of Kalish in 1343. The Poles not only definitely renounced their possession of Pomerellen, but also ceded some frontier districts. The Lithuanians also learned to fear the superiority of the German arms, when they abandoned their frontier warfare for an attack upon Samland in alliance with the Russians and Tartars; at Rudau, on February 17th, 1370, they experienced a defeat, which was celebrated as the most brilliant exploit in the great period of the Knights.

However, it was not until the beginning of the next century—in 1405—that they succeeded in securing the Lithuanian province of Samaitia, or Samogita, which hitherto had interrupted the communication between Prussia and Courland. Thus it was not until the period of decay was at hand that the whole of the Baltic coast from the Leba to the Narva was under their supremacy. In the course of the fourteenth century the position of the Knights had been consolidated both in the Prussian and in the Livonian territory. These districts were ruled with an iron hand, while within the Order itself a no less stringent discipline prevailed, which educated the scanty but picked troops of the Brothers for the work of government. After the transference of the residence of the Grand Master to Marienburg the system of military bureaucratic rule was brought to completion.

The Stringent Discipline of the Knights

The state was well organised both for defence and attack, and was based upon a sound financial system, while the administration was characterised by indefatigable supervision. Committees representing every province met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg. Wonderful stories were current of the treasures which were preserved there, concerning which only the Grand Master and the Treasurer could speak with certainty.

As the Knights considered themselves the proprietors of the country by right of conquest, they held large estates in their demesne, and to the products of these were added the revenue in kind and the taxes paid by their subjects. Taxes were first levied in the fifteenth century. A regular income was provided by the regalities; the right of justice and of coinage, forestry and hunting rights, including bee-keeping, the use of watercourses, the market right, etc.

The Teutonic Order's Resources

The income of the Order in money was estimated at £275,000. The large supply of natural products which the Brotherhood received from the demesnes by way of taxes and dues necessitated the provision of intercourse with foreign markets, and such were found in England, Sweden, and Russia. Apart from amber, other articles of trade were corn, pitch, potash, building timber, wax, etc., though we have no means of learning the value of these exports.

The extent of the transmarine interests of the Order may be gauged by the fact that about 1398 it suppressed the ravages of the Vitalien Brothers, an organised band of Baltic pirates, and occupied Gothland and Wisby. This position, which was the key to the Baltic north, was, however, surrendered in 1407 to the king of the Union, Eric VII. (XIII.).

Next to the Order the Church possessed the largest amount of land. In Prussia a third of the territory was subject to ecclesiastical supremacy, which extended over two-thirds of the Livonias. To prevent the acquisition of supreme power by the Church, the Order opposed the development of monastic life, and granted full liberty only to the mendicant friars, who possessed no land, were popular in the towns, and worked to convert the heathen. Thus in the territories of the Order there were only two monasteries of any importance, and these, with the land attached to them, had come under the power of the Knights; they were the Cistercian foundations of Oliva and Pelplin in Pomerellen. Knights and monks were at one in their half unconscious and half intentional indifference towards all higher culture. The rule of the Order was thus unfavourable to the growth of science and literature and of all the fine arts; the most practical alone, that of architecture, became flourishing.

When Architecture Flourished

The relations of the Teutonic Order with the bishops were marked by greater difficulty. This was not the case in Prussia

itself, as here bishoprics were generally occupied by brethren of the Order or by others in sympathy with its views, apart from the fact that the Order was immediately subordinate to the Pope, and that no bishop would have ventured to pronounce such a sentence as excommunication upon a member. The case, however, was very different in Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel, where the Knights were obliged to deal with conditions that had existed before its arrival, and had been complicated by the interference of Rome.

The Knights Subordinate to the Pope

Only in Courland and Semgallia, which were conquered for the first time by them, did ecclesiastical affairs develop as in Prussia. When the Order secured the inheritance of the Brothers of the Sword in 1237, Livonia was already occupied by a number of ecclesiastical principalities, of which Riga was the most important. The elevation of Riga to the position of an archbishopric in 1253 made possible the formation of an ecclesiastical state in Livonia.

The object of the Knights was to deprive the Livonian bishops of that temporal power which had been already wrested from the bishops of Courland and Prussia; the result was a series of severe struggles and a permanent state of tension between the opposing forces. At the time of its prosperity in the fourteenth century the Order was upon the verge of securing its desire. This was achieved by its connection with the episcopal vassals, who had become politically independent in the Baltic territories and had thus obliged the bishops gradually to concede all the rights of sovereignty to such feudatories as were pledged to military services. The consequence was a corporate development of the vassal class, which was impossible in Prussia and Courland, but was repeated in Esthonia during its subjection to the Danes until 1347. Though the alliance between the Knights and the episcopal vassals was by no means permanent, it yet provided the Order with a possibility of restoring the balance between its own power and that of the bishops.

Military Service in Prussia

In Prussia there was also a class of vassals pledged to military service, from which a landed nobility developed; but the Order did not divide its supremacy with this class, but rather kept these members at a distance. Only for exceptional reasons was the rule broken that the Prussian or Livonian nobility and their Low German relations were not to be admitted to the Brotherhood of the Knights. The Order drew recruits from Upper and Central Germany even when the Grand Master had transferred his centre to the north.

This exclusive attitude towards the native nobility sowed the seeds of an internal conflict, which assumed a character dangerous to the state of the Order in the fifteenth century. During the fourteenth century the German-speaking nobles who had immigrated amalgamated closely with the remnants of the native nobility of Lettish origin, "the Wittungs." The Brotherhood conferred upon them the same rights as were enjoyed by the other feudal nobles, as a reward for their faithful submission.

The great mass of the population in the villages and manors enjoyed until the fifteenth century a freedom which was in strong contrast to their later servitude and subordination. Serfdom and oppression were the lot only of the rebels among the Prussian tribes. There was, however, a difference between this happier portion of the Prussians and the German colonial population, in so far as the former were bound to "unlimited" and the latter to "limited" service in war, the latter being confined to the defence of the country. At the same time, even the native villages seemed to have secured the privileges of Cologne, which gave the German peasant a very desirable amount of freedom and independence.

Freedom of the German Peasants

Upon the whole, the rural population of Prussia and Livonia consisted of tributary peasants, who were mildly treated. They had hereditary rights of ownership to their house and land, and claims to forest, pasture, water, and game, and upon occasion ownership without liability to rent. During the "golden" time under the Grand Master Winrich of Kniprode (1351–1382) there are said to have been some 18,000 villages in all the territories of the Order.

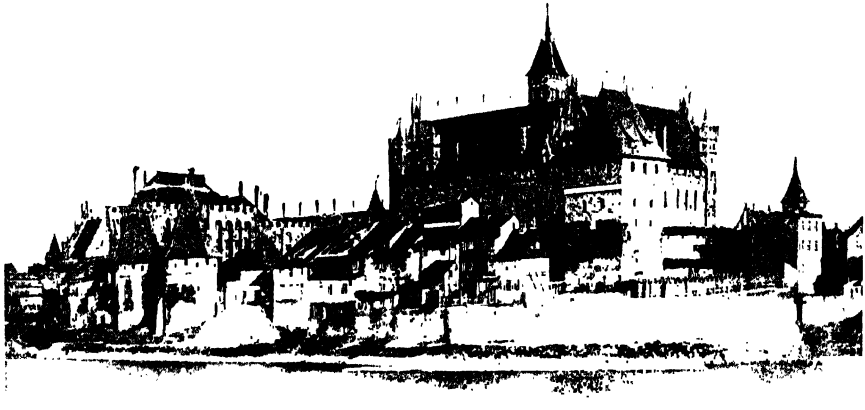
Prussia was a land of German towns to a greater extent than Brandenburg or even Silesia. From the outset the Knights of the Order occupied uncultivated territories in alliance with the German citizen class. In the towns of Prussia there was, as formerly in Germany, a municipal aristocracy under whom the towns

secured complete independence; here, too, there followed an age of struggle between the aristocratic and industrial classes which never ended either in the complete supremacy of the one or the entire defeat of the other. The peculiar characteristics of the Prussian and Livonian towns are derived from their attraction to the sea and the tendency to form alliances, which they manifested at an early date. Such alliances were further stimulated by Russian carrying trade in districts where they had a common interest in securing the exclusion of all rivals. Thus there were alliances of Prussian towns—Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, Kulm, Thorn, Braunsberg—and of Livonian towns—Riga, Dorpat, Reval, Fellin, Pernau, Wolmar, Wenden—like the alliance of the Wendish towns, at the head of which was Lübeck, until all these unions were eventually absorbed by the great and general alliance of the Hansa, to which also the Prussian and Livonian towns belonged, though they did not abandon their narrower objects and confederations.

It was then found that the general interests of the Hansa and the special aims of Prussia and Livonia failed to coincide; quarrels ensued, and the Hansa launched a sentence of boycott. The situation became the more complicated when the Order began to carry on trade on its own account, and was now a rival and now an ally of its towns, and either supported or opposed the Hansa as they did.

In the fourteenth century the supremacy of the German nation began to fade and the pulse of life at home and abroad to beat more slowly. The foreign ambitions of the empire were replaced by a wise domestic policy. The expansion east and south came to an end; colonists were wanting and crusades had ceased. The population had been diminished by the ravages of the Black Death and other plagues. Not only the productivity but also the reproductive power of the nation seem diminished; stagnation and decay were universally prevalent. Eventually the neighbouring nations, who owed so much to Germany, abandoned their defensive policy for exclusion and attack, menaced the acquisitions of earlier days and plundered the empire, which could protect itself neither as a whole nor in its individual parts.

The anti-German reaction in the east reached its most dangerous point in the kingdom of the Szlachta. The Poles and Lithuanians delivered a series of vigorous blows which shattered the power of the Teutonic Order and made its territory the prey of foreign peoples. We have here to chronicle not merely the cessation of German achievements or the degeneration of German institutions, but rather a number of permanent and irrecoverable losses.



THE STRONGHOLD OF THE GRAND MASTER OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT MARIENBURG

Started originally as a religious society of German Crusaders, the Teutonic Order of Knights gradually became a military rather than a religious caste, and in 1237 it absorbed the Order of the Brethren of the Sword, who had laboured to convert to Christianity Livonia, Esthonia and Courland. The Teutonic Knights held sway during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Belonging to the Order were many famous strongholds, the chief of these being at Marienburg, shown in the illustration. Committees, representing every province, met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg, and wonderful stories were told of the treasures which were preserved there.

Poland had long ceased to be a tributary vassal state of the German king; none the less German municipal institutions, German right, and German colonisation had secured an entry. Even under Casimir the Great, who died in 1370, and Louis the Great, who died in 1382, the Polish state maintained a friendly attitude to the German nation and civilisation which passed its frontiers. When Jagellon of Lithuania became king of Poland in 1386, and the heathen Lithuanians adopted Roman Catholicism, German immigrants and German town rights were admitted to the newly converted country. The union, however, of these hereditary enemies placed the Teutonic Knights in a dangerous position. The Poles regarded the Order as an unlawful intruder and as the plunderer of Polish territory. They could not forgive the occupation of Pomerellen, the land of Kulm and Michelau; and the new state founded by the Order had cut off the approach to the sea.

Poland Friendly to the Germans

Polish hostility had been less openly expressed, but the open animosity of the Lithuanians now led to an outbreak here. Before the time of the union of the Prussian and Livonian territories under the government of the Order, the Lithuanians had been an obstacle to its further extension. Even in the fourteenth century Christian Europe shared in the continuous wars against the Lithuanians by sending crusaders. Now, however, the Lithuanians had become Christians.

Foreign participation in the military enterprises of the German Knights immediately ceased, and the previous religious excuse for a continuation of the struggle was no longer possible, for on many occasions the religious war had been nothing more than a pretext. It was a struggle for power, and primarily for the possession of Lithuanian Samaitia, which advanced in a wedge-shaped form and divided the two halves of the territory of the Knights. The Order had quarrelled with its subjects, who were weary of the burden of war, and was no longer supported by reinforcements of crusaders; but none the less it continued its struggle with the Lithuanians, who were now Christians, and eventually secured the disputed landmark of Samaitia. Lithuania was now, however, in enjoyment of the support of Poland. From the time of Casimir the Great, the Polish army was well organised, and the Lithuanian prince, Witold, had rearranged the national defences, whereas the Order was obliged to enlist mercenaries for lack of other means of help. In the great battle of Tannenberg, on July 15th, 1410, the heavily armed Knights, trained for single combat, were overthrown by the vast hordes of light troops brought against them by the East.

Polish Support for Lithuania

The heroic defence of Marienburg by Henry of Plauen saved the Knights from immediate downfall, and a tolerable peace was made at Thorn on February 1st, 1411, which obliged the German rulers merely to renounce possession of Samaitia and Dobrzyn; but the Order never recovered from this blow, for the reason that domestic disruption had begun. The line of cleavage between the Brotherhood and its subjects became a yawning chasm which could no longer be closed. The landed nobility who yearned for the freedom of their Polish equals concluded treacherous alliances, the most important of which was the "Lizard League," and endangered the existence of the community, while the towns, led by Dantzig, were filled with commercial jealousy of the Knights and were merely awaiting the moment which would secure their independence.

Prussia's Domestic Differences

The aristocracy of the towns and country united for common action. Henry of Plauen made an attempt to compose the domestic differences of Prussia by an organisation of estates, but his efforts failed. The bold reformer was deprived of his Grand Mastership in 1413, while the forces of decay attacked the Order itself. Knightly and spiritual discipline disappeared, while selfishness and lawlessness gained ground.

None the less the State of the Teutonic Order endured for a time, though its existence was embittered by domestic and foreign conflicts. A change for the worse began when the "Prussian Alliance" was formed at the Assembly of Marienwerder on March 14th, 1440; this was a union of Knights and towns against the Order. The Grand Master applied to the emperor, and Frederic III. issued a decree condemning the confederation, which then sent a letter of renunciation to the Order and offered the supremacy of Prussia to the Polish king Casimir IV. in 1454. The king graciously accepted the offer, and appointed as his representative



ONE OF THE STATELY CASTLES OF THE GERMAN KNIGHTS

Few chapters of history are more interesting to-day than the strange mediæval story of the various orders of knighthood that flourished in Germany and sought to extend Christianity by the sword. The sheer love of combat and lust of power were greater driving forces to these mediæval knights than any spiritual impulse towards the Christian life. In this picture the artist has given a realistic impression of a Knight's castle, admirably arranged for defence, every detail, to the place of the gibbet, as will be seen, carefully and ingeniously studied.

the leader of the opposition, Hans von Baisen. For thirteen years the civil war which the Knights carried on with mercenaries continued to rage. Even the Grand Master's castle in Marienburg was mortgaged to provide money for the mercenary troops, who were drawn chiefly from Bohemia, and who sold the mortgage with other castles to the Polish king; many a noble family in East Prussia derives its descent from some ancestor who then gained wealth as a leader of a band. Eventually the Order was completely exhausted, and concluded a second Peace of Thorn on October 19th, 1466. Western Prussia became Polish; and Polish it remained until the partition of Poland (1772-1795). The Grand Master was obliged to do homage to King Casimir for East Prussia.

Decay of the Teutonic Order

It was not until a century after the Peace of Thorn in 1466 that the fate of the Livonian territory of the Order was determined. The Teutonic Knights remained in existence even after the secularisation of 1525; at Mergentheim, in Würtemberg, the previous ruler of the Order assumed the title of Grand and Teutonic Master, and was thus styled until 1809, while in Livonia the Master of the army, who had been in any case for a long time independent, remained at the head. None the less, the prospects of the German nationality in this district were worse than in the Polish feudal state of Prussia. The only German elements in Livonia were towns and the nobility, who were chiefly Westphalians. In this district there had been no thorough peasant colonisation, and in every quarter a clannish peasantry of Letts and Finns had survived. The non-German elements felt for the Germans the slow hatred of the serf for his master; it was a hatred that foreboded no danger provided that no enemy gained a footing on Livonian soil. However, the Baltic territories were surrounded by greedy neighbours, who regarded them as an easy prey; such was the attitude of the Swedes and Danes, the Poles and Russians. The only question was whether the Livonian Order would be able to make head against the divided forces of its opponents.

Where the Germans were Hated

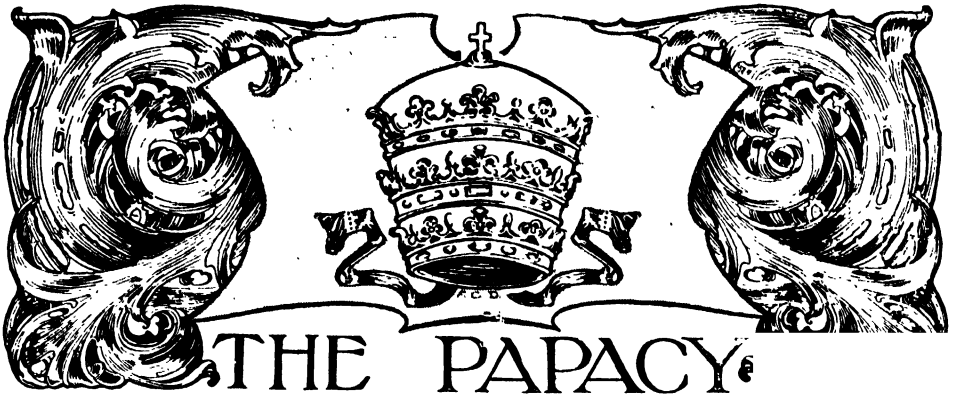
Apart from the hatred of the Germans entertained by the original inhabitants, there were other causes of friction which facilitated foreign interference. There was, in particular, the quarrel which had continued since the days of Bishop Albert as to whether the Order or the bishop was the true master of the country, and the comparative equality in the forces of these two powers prevented the possibility of ending the struggle. The bishops, who were generally the weaker party, often attempted to secure their own preponderance by treacherous intrigues. The Order was also upon bad terms with the towns; Riga was itself often at variance with its own archbishops.

The Livonian towns also had commercial interests of their own, which divided them from the Hansa, and exposed them to the hostility of the Muscovites. When the Reformation came into the country, neither the episcopate nor the Order ventured upon any decided step, as had been done in Prussia, but remained isolated, with their outward show of dead Catholicism amid a Protestant population.

For a while the Livonian Order was able to enjoy prosperity, but after a considerable interval, Ivan IV. the Terrible, renewed the war with it in November, 1557, and the Knights in power were once more in dissension as to whether they should buy Danish, Swedish, or Polish help at the price of submission. It was an event of decided importance when the Master of the army, Gotthard Kettler, applied to Poland. King Sigismund Augustus accepted the protectorate of the land of the Order and of the archbishopric, though at the price of the immediate cession of some frontier districts. However, the Order was defeated in the battle of Ermes on August 2nd, 1560, the last occasion on which the banner of the Knights appeared in the battlefield. No alternative now remained. Livonia beyond the Dvina submitted to the king of Poland in 1561. The Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti of November 28th contains the constitutional arrangement by means of which the Order was able to maintain its existence as a separate organisation for another three centuries under foreign rule. George Kettler received Courland and Semgallen, with the ducal title as an hereditary fief dependent upon Poland, and made Mitau his capital. Esthonia with Reval had submitted to Swedish supremacy some months earlier in the same year, that is, in June, 1561.

The Last Battle of the Knights

RICHARD MAYR



THE PAPACY

THE DARK AGES OF THE CHURCH

AND THE DEGRADATION OF THE POPES

CHARLES' kingdom of God was a unity which could not be maintained by his "pious" son Louis; it was broken into a plurality of nations. All who had the welfare of the Church at heart would naturally strive to preserve this unity, in spite of political disruption. The present task before the Church, the education of the half-civilised nations, could be performed only if it were hindered by no boundaries of nationality, if its power were everywhere the same, and acting by uniform means. Long ago the papacy had regarded itself as the centre of the universal Church, standing far above all political change. But how could these aspirations be fulfilled?

It was impossible that Church and State should advance upon separate paths, continually thwarting one another for the reason that their boundaries were coterminous. The idea which Charles the Great had so brilliantly realised was too splendid and too illuminating to admit this final possibility. The object now before the Church must be a new kingdom of God, with the Pope at its head. The Emperor Charles had formed a kingdom of God and obliged the Church to serve him in its own sphere; the kingdoms of the world were now to serve the Popes for the same object. Not until this ideal was realised would peace and harmony reign, though it was not likely that the transformation would be completed without severe struggles. The theories of Charles had met with unanimous support, because they were in harmony with the views already prevailing in the Frankish Church that the Church of the country should be subject to the ruler of the land. The Pope's idea overthrew these traditions, proposing, as it did, to secure the contrary object, the supremacy of the Church over secular princes.

What the Popes Demanded

Hence the great struggle was inevitable. And no less inevitable was a return to the theories of Charles; but as long as the whole ideal of the kingdom of God upon earth was not surrendered, the struggle would continue until the Church attained her goal.

The Pope Among the Rebels

The question then arose who would support the papacy in this conflict. Even under Louis the Pious we can observe the terrible division which separated the friends of Church and State. When the emperor's sons, for the second time, took up arms against their father, the Pope is also to be found in the camp of the rebels. The bishops were divided in their attitude.

Some there were who consoled their conscience with the theory that the Pope acted as Christ's representative, on behalf of the peace of the Church; and to this extent the emperor was also bound to obedience to the papacy. Others gathered round their emperor, and sent a document to the Pope in which they reminded him of his oath of fealty, and declared that they would refuse him their fellowship should he decline submission to his master. The Pope himself was overthrown. But those Frankish prelates who regarded the papacy as the sole guarantee

for the unity of the Church advanced a number of claims on behalf of papal authority, which revived the courage of the Pope. In the Pope was centred all authority and the supreme power of the Apostle Peter; it was for him to judge, and to be judged of none. This theory becomes more definite and general among the West Frankish bishops when the actual division of the empire had taken place. There was an anxiety to see the Church and its bishops secured against the secular princes, and to make the Church a great and independent power; further, in order to secure general recognition for these views, the boldest and most far-reaching of all forgeries was performed. The new regulations devised under new circumstances to secure the prosperity of the Church were given the stamp of primitive laws. Three of these forgeries were produced. The first two, the so-called "Capitula of Angilram" and the "Collection of Capitularies of Benedict Levita," are pieces of bungling; but the third, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals," was a magnificent piece of effrontery.

The Great Aim of the Church

This collection of ecclesiastical law, ascribed to Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, but concocted within the Frankish Empire, was increased by a number of false decretals, which were dated as belonging to the first Roman bishops. Nearly one hundred forged papal letters were inserted in the collection, apart from other well-known pieces of the same kind. Of these latter, one was the "Donation of Constantine," probably fabricated in the time of Pippin and already cited against him; the document asserted that the Emperor Constantine, when healed of leprosy by Bishop Sylvester of Rome, arranged that the bishop should be supreme over all priests in the world, that his chair should be superior to the emperor's throne, that senatorial honour and consular rank should be given to the clergy who served the Roman Church, and that they should in consequence have the right of decorating their horses with white trappings. When the Pope in his humility declined to wear the golden crown the emperor served him as a squire, holding the bridle of his horse, and promised him the possession of all the provinces in Italy and the northern districts, transferring his own capital from Rome to Byzantium. Thus, what the emperor was to be henceforward in the East, the Pope was to be in the West in virtue of Constantine's Donation.

Emperor as Squire to the Pope

In the case of the newly forged decretals we must distinguish between their intention and their actual influence. The object was the elevation, not so much of the papal as of the episcopal power. It was declared that according to the Apostle Paul no secular court had jurisdiction over a priest. Only the provincial synod could proceed against a bishop; neither the laity nor the inferior clergy could be admitted to the proceedings as plaintiffs or witnesses, though seventy-two witnesses were demanded. That the forcible expulsion of a bishop might be made impossible it was provided that no charges against a bishop should be considered until he had been completely restored to his rights and property. In order to preserve the episcopal power against secular violence principles were announced concerning the papacy which made it the "head of the whole world"; the papal chair was invested with a right of final decision in all ecclesiastical matters. Only the Pope could summon a synod, and all questions of difficulty must be submitted to him. The world at large was unaware of the fraud, and these falsifications thus actually contributed to give the papacy an unexampled elevation in the eyes of the public. We have a fine example here of the nemesis of history. To secure a desired standpoint for themselves the bishops assigned an absolute ascendancy to the papacy. But the Popes then used their superiority for the subjugation also of the clergy, and their yoke was heavier than that which lay princes had formerly imposed, and no treachery or deceit could avail to shake it off.

How Fraud Elevated the Papacy

The first Pope who appealed to these false decretals as though they were recognised documents was Nicholas I. (858–867). He may be called the first mediæval Pope. He was also the first Pope who was not only consecrated but also crowned upon his accession; for he was the first to assume supremacy over the princes of the nations, in order to facilitate the exercise of his supremacy over the Church, and for this purpose he declared himself lord of the united kingdom of God upon earth. In his opinion the Christian Church depended upon the papacy; upon the existence of the papacy depended not only

the religious, but also the social and political order of the world. Within the Church the Pope was an absolute monarch; his word was God's word, his action God's action. The synods could only execute the decrees of the Pope, while the bishops were merely his commissioners: "their capacity is to be measured by their subordination to the papal chair."

The Pope Above Kings and Princes

The emperor and all other princes are concerned only with secular affairs. Hence there can be no secular judgment of the clergy, and secular laws can never bar ecclesiastical rights. Should the contradiction occur, secular law is thereby proved unsound, for even in purely political matters the princes were bound to fulfil the Pope's orders. To the Pope all the rulers of the earth must bow down. Hence a king who governed badly, in the Pope's judgment, was not a lawful prince, but a tyrant against whom revolt was obligatory. And, above all things, the emperor must never forget that his crown was given him by the Pope.



POPE JOHN X.
He was elected to the cha of St. Peter through the effor of Theodora, the wife of a senator, who had chosen him as her lover, and desired that he should be near her.

Nicholas ruled in full accordance with this theory. Emperors or kings, bishops or archbishops, might attempt to maintain independence of ideas or position, opposition might arise from the East or from the West, his own legates might prove incompetent to preserve his supremacy, but never did he diverge a hair's breadth from his principles. His victories were by no means invariably brilliant, but he always maintained his claims to be a ruler by divine right.

In accordance with these principles his successors devoted their attention to limiting the imperial power. Eventually they were able to confer the mighty crown of Charles the Great upon a Carolingian vassal, a duke of Spoleto. They had failed to consider that if the "protector" were no longer master his protection would disappear, though it was especially needed against the defiant Roman aristocracy, who were anxious to secure the temporal supremacy of the papacy. The rapid degeneration of the papacy became plain when it was no longer subject to the political and moral influence of the Teutonic nationality. In the eighteen years between 896 and 914 no fewer than thirteen Popes were overthrown.

John X. had ascended the chair of St. Peter. As a deacon he had often been sent to Rome from Ravenna, where Theodora, the wife of a senator, had chosen him as her lover. In order to keep him about her person she secured his election as Pope. Another woman, by name Marozzia, succeeded in throwing him into prison. She had a "spiritual son," as she called him, by an earlier Pope, and this man she raised to the papal chair in 931. Her "secular son," Alberic, governed the city as patricius. She offered her hand to the treacherous and voluptuous Prince Hugo of Provence, who came to Rome hoping to secure the imperial crown through his wife. Their marriage was celebrated in the castle of St. Angelo, but Alberic, fearing for his position and his life as a result of this connection, roused the people to arms. The bridal couple were forced to let themselves down from the castle by a rope, and Alberic, who was appointed Senator of the Romans, imprisoned his mother. After a reign of twenty years, when he felt the approach of he convened in St. Peter' Church a meeting of the ecclesiastical and secular magnates of Rome to recognise his son as the heir to his temporal power, and as the future successor to the papacy. Hence in no long time in 955 this youth of fifteen years was able to unite the spiritual and temporal powers. This John XII. "loved," as an old chronicle states, "a multitude of women." His life was passed in hunting, play, and drunkenness. He is said to have consecrated a deacon in the stable, after offering a libation to the ancient gods at a dinner. The results that occurred were only to be expected when the papal crown became the plaything, not only of the nobles, but also of their mistresses. The influence of the papacy upon the Church outside the walls of Rome became practically non-existent, and every national Church went its own way. None the less these miserable or scandalous creatures of

Evil Life of Pope John XII.

wild factions or fair women did not hesitate to issue proclamations in the unctuous and lofty style of their predecessors. John X., who had been raised to the papacy by his concubine, did not hesitate to scold an archbishop who was famous for his faithful devotion to duty because he had conferred the gifts of the Holy Spirit as though they were earthly property upon an unworthy recipient. Again, in a letter to another archbishop, he could boast of his personal prowess in battle and could speak of his inexpressible grief to hear of scandals from different parts of the world, by which he could not but be pained, as the cares of the whole world were incumbent upon him. As the news of the appalling degeneration of the papacy gradually spread abroad the reverence for sacred things was bound to diminish.

Decay of Religion in Italy

In Italy, where the papacy was before the eyes of the people, a rapid decay of religious life became obvious in this very period. The traditional ceremonies were indeed continued. This task being the sole reason for the existence of the clergy, the taste for education and science gradually but inevitably deserted them, and the ignorance of the Roman clergy became a byword among other nations. To the assertion of French bishops that science was practically unknown in Rome, the papal legate could reply: "The representatives of Peter and their scholars will have neither Plato nor Virgil for their masters, or any other philosophic cattle. Peter did not know everything, and yet he became the doorkeeper of heaven."

Together with this self-satisfied ignorance we may observe another tendency which turned to heathen authors for that satisfaction which had been previously found in religion. It was not the great and noble thoughts that were admired in these authors, but their heathenism and the shortcomings of their culture. Through enthusiasm for them and through appealing to their example, the more educated clergy degenerated into actual barbarism. The truest worldly wisdom was the unbridled enjoyment of life. Not only the laity, but Popes, bishops, and the clergy followed this tendency unashamed; even the centres of enunciation, the monasteries, were carried away by the movement. In Santa Maria di Farfa the monks poisoned their abbot, fought together, divided the various properties of the monastery, took wives, reared up families, and plunged into a voluptuous life. The holy vestments for the Mass were turned into clothes for their concubines; bracelets and earrings were made from the altar vessels. The Christianity of Italy seemed on the point of extinction if no external help were forthcoming.

The Clergy's Terrible Degeneracy

Among the Teutons the new faith had been received with deep feeling and religious seriousness. Here we may observe among the bishops a zealous desire to influence the people for their good, the spirit which supported the false decretals, and the ideas of supremacy entertained by a Nicholas; humble submission to, and veneration of, the Church was their object.

The sound system of education initiated by Charles the Great and his scholars was a barrier against that thaumaturgic spirit which had passed from the Græco-Roman world to the Frankish kingdom, and had become associated with heathen superstition. This tendency was able to develop unchecked under the successors of Charles the Great. It was most zealously forwarded by the Church, which was anxious to secure the reverence of the people as the possessor of divine power and the guardian against all the powers of darkness. Every church and every monastery therefore attempted to gain possession of some relic. It seemed impossible to impress the rude minds of the people more deeply than by showing some supernatural power proceeding from these remnants of decay. The more extraordinary the character assigned to these treasures, the greater their value. It is even said, probably in ridicule of the whole-hearted credulity of the peasantry, that one monastery could show a piece of the cradle in which the Infant Christ had lain, and a piece of the wood of which St. Peter had wished to make three tabernacles at the Transfiguration.

The Craze for Holy Relics

It must be said that the number of relics offered for sale increased so enormously that apprehensions of possible deceit began to arise. In those cases an attempt was made by a three days' fast to induce God to prove the genuineness of the saint's body by a miracle. The celebrations held upon the translations of relics resembled triumphal processions. The bands that joined the

procession increased at every stage of the journey, for the holy relic might perform a miracle at any and every moment upon the way. If no other miracle were to be seen, it often happened that after a heavy night's rain the heaven grew splendidly clear upon the morning when the relic was to resume its journey.

There was, however, something even greater than these relics of the saints, for the Church in her services had Christ her Lord present in person. It had long been taught that in the Mass the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ by the words of the priest, and the ignorant said blood was often to be seen upon the host, or that a lamb might be seen upon the altar. Great was the power that had been given to the Church; the simplest person, when once the Church had made him a priest, could perform this highest of all miracles, and bring down the lofty King of Heaven from on high. With what reverential awe must the people have celebrated divine service when at any moment Christ might show to the eyes of those present the mystery concealed beneath the forms of bread and wine. As a matter of fact, the attempt to withdraw the people from their faith in the old gods proved unsuccessful. They might indeed be persuaded to praise God the Father Almighty, and to renounce the devil and all his works; but they retained a firm conviction of the powers of those demoniacal spirits who filled the world.

The Church's Power over Evil Spirits

There was no surer means of securing the reverence and obedience of the masses to the Church than by representing the Church as triumphant over the dark powers of evil spirits. Hence the people were taught to obtain consecration for the house in which they lived, for the spring from which they drank, for the bread which they ate, for the orchard and the field from which they gained their harvest. The first ears of corn, the first apples, the first grapes, eggs, cheeses, and meat were brought to the church that the blessing of the Church might preserve all from harm. It was thought well to say a blessing upon the dogs when the cattle were driven to the pasture, upon the bees when they left their hive, upon caterpillars and sicknesses, that they might pass away. The Church did not fail to appreciate the danger that the ignorant population might modify these Christian uses and formulæ to the form of their old heathen magical rites, that the old heathen superstition might merely assume a veneer of Christianity. Equally alive was it to the danger that such action might cause Christianity to be regarded as nothing but a means of protecting mankind from earthly misfortunes. Deeper minds all this time had a more spiritual conception of Christianity. What must be remembered is that the Church through the ages was a Catholic Church for all sorts and conditions of men, saints and sinners alike not a society of Saints alone.

Development of the Confessional

The confessional was an institution that in course of time was developed. Everyone had now to come to confession. If all were not conscious of their sins, the priest was obliged to begin an examination, and to address the penitent in such terms as these. "Perhaps you do not remember all that you have done; I will therefore question you. Have you committed murder? ... The result was ... evitable; the conscience was certainly awakened to what was forbidden by God, and in such a way that people learned to regard their own sins with sorrow and shame.

The sense of penitence that transforms mankind was quickened and widely developed by this questioning, for the reason that such examination aimed merely at inducing men to confess the sins they had committed; that is, to confess where false shame would forbid their utterance. A knowledge of evil was thus produced, which, far from killing, rather expanded the conscience. The theory was that the penance imposed upon the sinner would deter him from a repetition of the offence, and therefore improve him.

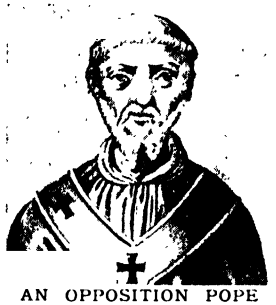
But when the acknowledgment of sin, at which such confession aimed, brought no inward change, confessors found themselves obliged to modify the ... because these times the zeal for penance is no longer what it was." A man, for instance, who might have been condemned by the old rules to bread and water for a year, was now commanded to fast in this manner only for one day in the week. Even so little as this often proved unattainable. Thus the time of penance was abbreviated, and the deficiency was filled by the saying

Lighter Penances in Favour

of psalms and other prayers. Or money might be paid in lieu of penance; and churches and priests were also included in the "pious purposes" for which such money was given. "The weakness of the penitent" was so far considered that performance of penance by a third party was permitted. Priests and monks were especially competent to act thus as proxies, and were rewarded with money by the penitent whom they thus relieved of his duties. Such a proceeding inevitably fostered the theory that man could buy back his sins from the Church, and that all he needed was to offer the Church his blind obedience.

Penance by Proxy

When Alberic was ruling over Rome, religion in Italy had sunk to such a pitch that this far-seeing prince recognised the immediate necessity of a change. No help could be expected from the degenerate papacy, and he therefore appealed to the Cluniac monks. This order had been founded on Romance soil in Burgundy about 910, and was originally intended merely to reform the degenerate monastic system by the reintroduction of a strict Benedictine rule. It was obvious, however, that the reasons for the decay of the orders were to be found in the fact that they were not entirely independent of the temporal or episcopal powers.



AN OPPOSITION POPE

Benedict V. was elected Pope on the flight of Leo VI., but when the latter was brought back and replaced in the papal chair, Benedict, the opposition Pope, was exiled.

Hence it was thought well that the Pope alone should have authority over the Cluniacs. At an earlier period individual monasteries had existed in isolation, and had consequently lost much of their power of resistance to foreign influence; all were now to form a congregation conducted upon uniform principles, living according to the rule of the Cluniac movement. From these beginnings naturally developed the great influence which this order exercised upon the history of the Church. If the Pope were to be the sole head of the order, and if only harm could be expected from the secular power, it was necessary to secure that no ecclesiastical power should have any influence in the Church except the Pope. At that period it was impossible to conceive any separation between the spiritual and secular spheres of the state, so that this order became the champion of the papal programme as put forward by Nicholas I.

These zealous brethren were summoned by Alberic in 936, and in many cases they succeeded in arousing a sense of religion and a desire for improvement even in the papal court. This party, which was disgusted at the appalling prevalence of immorality, probably inspired the despatch of that embassy which asked the German king, Otto I., for help. Otto came to Italy, but declined to interfere in the government of the Church. He was anxious only to secure the secular subjection of the Pope to his own authority, and thus to remove any obstacle to the execution of his political plans. Hence when he was crowned emperor in 962 he left the Pope the secular power over Rome, but this he could exercise only in subordination to the emperor; in consequence no Pope could be hereafter consecrated until he had sworn allegiance to the emperor.

The Pope, however, by his conspiracy with the emperor's enemy, Berengar, to whose sons he threw open the gates of the town, forced Otto to go further than he had intended. John even instigated the wild Hungarians to invade Germany, that Otto might be obliged to leave Italy. When the emperor marched upon Rome, John fled, and declined to appear when summoned to answer for his actions. The emperor, therefore, held at Rome a synod, over which it should have been the duty of the Pope to preside; and in accordance with the wishes of the people and clergy he deposed the unworthy John, and appointed Leo VI. Roman faithlessness obliged him once more to sit in judgment upon a Pope.

Popes Who Ran Away

The Romans had recalled the miserable John, and Leo was forced to flee. John then lost his life in the pursuit of a love intrigue, and Benedict V. was appointed to succeed him. Otto returned, overpowered the revolt, replaced Leo in the papal chair, and condemned the opposition Pope to exile from Italy.

Immediately after Otto's death desperate party struggles broke out in Rome; the prestige and influence of the papacy

disappeared entirely. In France, where the voice of the Pope had often been represented as that of God, the indignation excited by these disgraceful and protracted scandals was unbounded; men spoke without hesitation of the "human monster full of disgrace, empty of all knowledge of divine or human things, but none the less claiming supremacy over the priests of God"; they referred to the Pope as "the Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and acting as though he were God." They considered the advisability of separation from the Roman Church as prophesied by the apostle. It was Germany that came to the rescue of the papacy at the time of its deepest degradation. A synod consisting almost entirely of Germans broke the strength of the strong French opposition. German emperors gave German Popes to the Church and assisted in the work of its reformation.



THE FAMOUS GERBERT

Famous as a scholar, Gerbert became Pope on the death of Gregory and took the title of Sylvester II. He is said to have introduced Arabic ierals and invented clocks.

Gregory V.—formerly Bruno, the son of the Duke of Carinthia—a cousin of Otto III., was the first German Pope; he was distinguished both for his intellectual powers and his strong character, and was firmly resolved to raise the Church from the depths into which it had fallen. Otto III., who was crowned emperor by the new Pope in 996, regarded himself as the head of Christendom. His theory was that the Pope should advance the general welfare, in subordination to himself, as one of the magnates of the empire. If synods were held, the emperor presided, taking the advice of the Pope and of those who were present. He issued "orders" to the Pope, while papal decisions were revised by him. It was a renewal of the theories of Charles the Great, provoked by the moral bankruptcy of an independent papacy. On the death of Gregory, Otto bestowed the papal chair upon his former teacher, the famous scholar, Gerbert.





THE POPES BENEDICT IX. AND GREGORY VI.

Though only a boy of twelve years, Benedict was guilty of incredible vices; he was driven from office, but was subsequently restored to power. Gregory VI. bought the papacy from Benedict IX., but the latter continued to regard himself as Pope; Sylvester III. also claimed the papal chair, and thus there were three Popes at the same time

An open breach was prevented only by the close friendship uniting these two Popes with the emperor, for the divergence of opinions concerning the due position of the papacy was bound to lead to some rupture. After the deaths of Otto and Gerbert, the papacy again became a plaything in the hands of the Roman nobility, and lost all influence in consequence. In 1012 two rival Popes were in existence; one of these applied to the German king, Henry II., who recognised his adversary Benedict VIII. as Pope. In conjunction with Benedict, Henry attempted to reform the Church, but once again it was the emperor who took the initiative. Henry's high respect for the Church and his rich presents gained him the title of saint, but he insisted that the Pope should address him as "lord," and he appointed or deposed bishops. He was no less anxious than the Cluniac monks for monastic reform, but this he strove to secure by methods of his own. He wished to make the monks models of self-renunciation and piety, but still the servants of the papacy. He fought with the Pope against simony and the concubinage of the clergy. His object, however, was not to release the bishops and clergy from all connection with secular affairs, but to purify the spiritual office of its vices.

The Church was, in fact, reformed, but the real reformer was the emperor, not the Pope. Strangely enough, we hear of no general objection to the theocratic position thus occupied by the emperor. In the cathedral of Mainz the archbishop could say to the new king, Conrad II., "Thou hast reached the highest dignity, thou art the representative of Christ," and in German circles

this saying met with cheerful approval. Conrad II. ruled the Church as his predecessors had done, but not with the same consciousness of duties imposed by his position, or with the same warm interest in ecclesiastical reform, though the necessity for this had again become imperative. Pope Benedict IX. was a boy of twelve years old, but was distinguished for vices which are almost incredible at so early an age. When the Romans proposed to put an end to his excesses, Conrad proceeded to protect him, and Benedict for years was able to plague Rome by his tyranny and immorality. When the state of affairs became intolerable, he was driven out, and a new Pope, Sylvester III., was chosen. Eventually, however, Benedict's party won the day; he was able to return and continue his shameless life.

The Vices of the Boy Pope

A well-meaning man, who was anxious to free the Church from this disgrace, bought the papacy from him, and placed himself upon the apostolic chair; this was Gregory VI. Naturally, such a character as Benedict IX. did not feel himself bound by the contract of sale, but continued to regard himself as the successor of Peter. Thus there existed at one and the same time three Popes, all in opposition. In vain the best of them, Gregory, attempted to draw Rome and the Church from the depths of her iniquity. Once again Germany brought help. A synod assembled in Rome, though without a summons from any Pope; it begged Henry III. to save the Church, and not in vain. The views of Charles the Great and Otto III., who had regarded the emperor as priest and king, were also shared by Henry; inspired by honest piety, he devoted all his powers to the reform of the Church.

The state of affairs was indeed appalling. The example given by Rome and its bishops had found imitators far and wide. As might had for so long been right in Rome, a general tendency had arisen throughout France and Germany to disregard human and divine right, and to seize any advantage that could be grasped. There was no security for private property, while robbery and bloodshed were the order of the day. The practice of prosecuting private quarrels had risen to boundless excess. The Christian world had now learned from the papacy to regard the spiritual calling as a distinction which guaranteed earthly success. Simony had become general. Anyone who desired an ecclesiastical office was prepared to pay for this source of revenue, while every patron was anxious to make capital out of these privileges; at the same time, there was not the smallest consciousness of the contemptible nature of this practice. Even the "saint" Henry II. had shown no hesitation in accepting money from the applicants who demanded ecclesiastical posts.

Appalling Condition of Rome

In France the Cluniac monks had succeeded by strenuous efforts in securing the observance of the Truce of God, which, at any rate, gave a short breathing space between incessant feuds and quarrels. In Germany, Henry III. secured even greater results. By example, requests, and orders he forced the nobles to respect the general Land-peace which he had proclaimed; he then declared war upon simony. He had no intention of surrendering his right to fill up vacant bishoprics, nor did anyone demand so much of him; it was not until a later date that public opinion ventured to brand this as simony. He renounced all profit, however, which might accrue to him in consequence of these rights. On his pilgrimage to Rome he held a synod at Pavia, and uttered these impressive words to the audience, who had all secured their ecclesiastical offices by purchase: "From the Pope to the doorkeeper, every ecclesiastical rank is stained by this spiritual robbery." So deep an impression was made upon those present that they begged him for mercy and forgiveness, in fear that they would all lose their posts. A general order was then issued that henceforward no spiritual office or dignity was to be acquired by purchase.

Spiritual Robbery in the Church

The next task was the salvation of the papacy, which was now claimed by three co-existent Popes. This schism was ended in 1046 by the synods of Sutri and of Rome. All the Popes were deposed, and Henry invited the Romans to choose a new one. They replied: "Where the royal majesty is present, our rights of election do not exist." The German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, was presented to the papal chair, under the title of Clement II. From his hand Henry received the imperial crown. The Romans conferred upon their emperor the patrician power, and with it the right of appointing

the Pope. So great was the joy at the services which the emperor had performed for the Church that the strongest ecclesiastics showed no indignation at the cession of these high rights to the emperor, but regarded his powers as a divine reward for his efforts in "snatching the Church from the jaws of the insatiable dragon." The time was to come when a papal election would be declared accursed if conducted by other powers than those of the Church; but it was necessary also to provide that this new manner of election should make the advance of immorality impossible. Would that such men as the papal nominees of Henry III. had invariably been appointed! His next appointments were the Germans, Poppo of Brixen (Damasus II.), Bruno of Toul (Leo IX.), and Gebhard of Eichstätt (Victor II.). Under the emperor's orders they co-operated with him in the task of church reform.

Emperor as Church Reformer

The revival of the imperial power and the reformation of the Church was accompanied at that time by a resumption of missionary activity, which had been almost entirely dormant since the death of Charles the Great. With this revival of missionary zeal, marked as it is by a somewhat secular and political character, we may observe also a renewal of intellectual activity, though not immediately obvious in the theological sphere. The famous poem "Waltharius," composed by Ekkehard of St. Gall about 927, heralded a new era in literature. In a short time theology made a tentative advance. Notker Labeo of St. Gall, who died in 1022, composed a number of translations and commentaries on the books of the Bible in a language chiefly German; we still possess his commentary on the Psalms. William, the abbot of Ebersbach in Bavaria, compiled his famous commentary on the Song of Solomon. In France the master of the cathedral school of Rheims, Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., was a famous figure.

It is, however, remarkable to observe the peaceful manner in which these two tendencies co-operated, while aiming at a revival of religious influence; there was the imperial tendency, based upon the theories of Charles the Great, and the papal tendency, originating with the Cluniac reforms. The condition of the Church cried so loudly for improvement that help was accepted from any quarter, no matter what the nature of its ultimate object. Even religious movements wholly foreign to the German nationality commanded the respect of Germans, provided that they implied the renunciation of the prevailing godless spirit.



POPE CLEMENT II.
To cleanse the papacy of its vileness, all the three Popes were deposed in 1046, and the German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, was elected, under the title Clement II.

It perhaps was a consequence of Cluniac influence in Italy that many, in horror of the immorality of the age, abandoned the world and took refuge in asceticism to atone for the sins of their contemporaries. Romuald, who belonged to the family of the dukes of Ravenna, founded the hermit order of the Camaldulenses in 1018. The holy Nilus lived as a hermit in Lower Italy, clothed in a black goatskin, going bareheaded and barefooted, and eating nothing but a fragment of bread every few days. Peter Damiani practised self-mortification by psalm-singing, an expiation which relieved the sinners of the world from centuries of penance; his friend Dominic, as a result of incessant practice, was able to rain blows upon his back with such incredible rapidity that he did penance for a century in six days. Romuald, like Nilus, was visited by the Emperor Otto III. and revered as an angel of God. In the garb of a penitent the powerful emperor prostrated himself before the hermit, and lay beside him upon his hard rush couch; it seemed that he would gladly have remained with Romuald as a humble monastic brother.

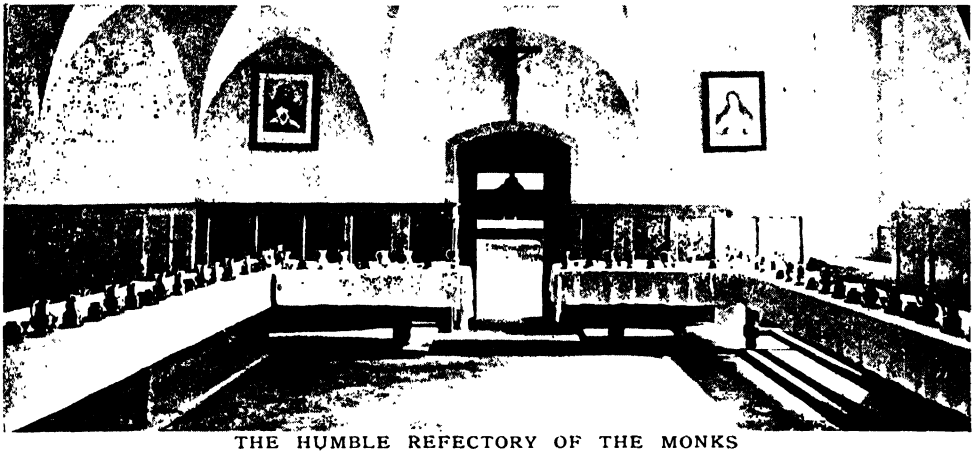
Such facts teach us that the momentary supremacy of the German over the Roman Church was but external, based upon the degeneracy of the latter, and that the spirit of the German Church was entirely Roman. This spirit, if carried to its logical consequence, leads to the theories of Nicholas I. The papacy and the Roman Church were saved by the German emperors.

Saviours of the Papacy

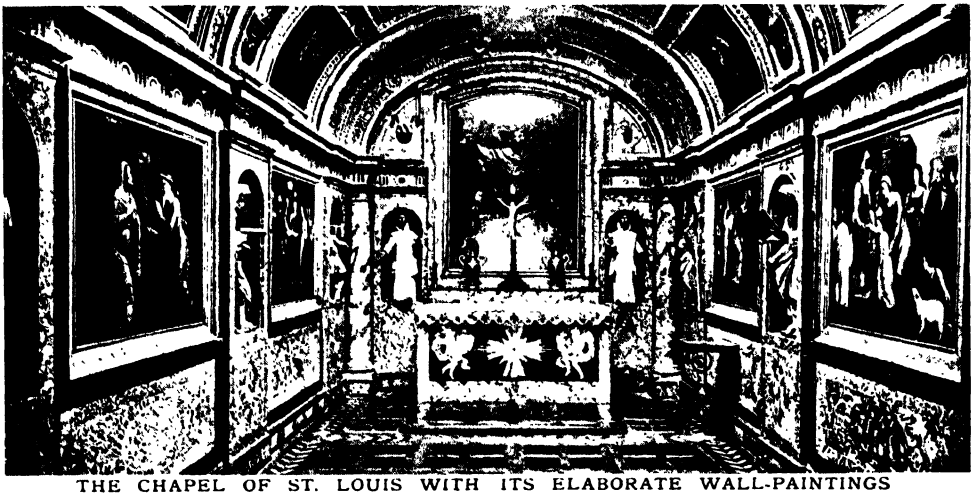
The return which Rome made for this rescue from the slough of despond was a revival of its claim to the due obedience of all human beings, the emperor included.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE CONVENT OF THE GRAND CHARTREUSE



THE HUMBLE REFECTORY OF THE MONKS



THE CHAPEL OF ST. LOUIS WITH ITS ELABORATE WALL-PAINTINGS

VIEWS OF THE CONVENT OF THE GRAND CHARTREUSE

ZENITH OF THE PAPAL POWER

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MONASTIC ORDERS

WHEN Bishop Bruno of Toul entered his palace at Rome, after having been nominated by the emperor to the Holy See, he announced to the clergy and the people that he had come to them at the emperor's desire, but would gladly return to his own country if he were not confirmed in the papal chair by their free election. Hildebrand, who was entirely inspired by the Cluniac spirit, had been willing to accompany him to Rome only upon the condition that he should not regard himself as Pope by imperial appointment, but should also seek legal election in Rome. In this way Leo IX. became Pope on February 12th, 1049. Further developments entirely corresponded with this beginning; Hildebrand became the adviser and guide of the Popes until he himself secured that dignity.

What the Pope Stood for

His objects were the logical continuation of the theories of Nicholas I. The Pope was the head of the Universal Church, and the clergy in every land must therefore be his subordinates. The secular princes were also bound to serve him, as the body serves the soul. It was an intolerable distortion of the system proclaimed by God if princes were to have any power over the Church—if, for instance, they were able to give away ecclesiastical offices or to appoint Popes. They received their powers solely from the Church, as the moon derives its light from the sun; the Pope was thus the representative of Christ upon earth.

Hildebrand was well aware that the practical application of these theories would provoke a fearful conflict, and he therefore prepared indefatigably for the struggle. The chief necessity was to revive the prestige of the papacy. Leo X. travelled throughout Christendom in person, holding synods, consecrating churches, pronouncing decisions, and giving blessings. To restore the reputation of the clergy, the struggle against simony and ecclesiastical immorality was renewed. Upon the accession of Henry IV., who was a minor, Hildebrand ventured to reorganise the method of electing to the papal chair. The Lateran Council under Nicholas II. ordained in 1059 that the purely ecclesiastical college of the Roman cardinals should elect the Pope. The question then arose as to what became of the chartered imperial rights; and upon this subject a sentence was added, which was such a masterpiece of diplomacy that it is difficult even at the present day to say exactly what it means "without prejudice to the respect due to our beloved son Henry."

How the Roman Church Found Money

Money, however, was needed for the war, and Hildebrand therefore reorganised the finances of the Roman Church. As he needed allies, he invested the princes of the wild Normans, who had constantly been excommunicated, with wide districts of Italy, which naturally were not his to give, and made them swear allegiance in these terms: "I will help thee to retain secure and honourable possession of the papacy, the land of St. Peter, and the princely power." In Northern Italy he entered into an alliance with the Pataria, a revolutionary movement directed against nobles and clergy, and with their help broke down the resistance of the powerful Archbishop Theobald of Milan, so that henceforward "the obstinate cattle of Lombardy" were the vassals, not of Germany, but of Rome.

New Pope's Hatred Of Simony

At length Hildebrand ascended the papal chair as Gregory VII., on April 22nd, 1073, and it was then possible to begin the struggle for the unlimited freedom and supremacy of the Church. He declared his sole intention to be the extirpation of simony. But by simony he understood not only the selling, but also the conferment, of an ecclesiastical office by a temporal lord. At the same time the appointment of a bishop was by no means a purely ecclesiastical

matter. Since the days of Otto I. the episcopacy was also a purely secular office, involving all the rights and duties of a secular prince. Hence, it was not likely that the secular power would immediately release from their feudal obligations these secular lords exercising territorial rights, merely because they were clergy or bishops; it was even less likely that they would be quickly surrendered to another power and to the sole supremacy of the Pope.

There would be few subjects and but little influence remaining to secular sovereigns if these bishops received their power from the Pope, and not from the king. If Gregory wished to secure that the bishops should receive their offices from himself alone, there was but one possibility open—the bishops must resign all secular power and supremacy and become mere ecclesiastics. This simple idea, however, did not occur to him, for he was anxious that the bishops should remain princes. In his view, the Church required wealth and power to rule as she should. Even as she possessed the papal states in Italy, and could make the Normans her vassals, so should every bishop possess some secular power with which to serve the papacy and to defy the secular ruler, if occasion arose; for this reason, again, no ecclesiastic should take the oath of fealty to a secular lord.



THE POPE LEO IX.
Raised to St. Peter's chair in 1049, this Pope held a synod at Rheims, in defiance of the wishes of the king of France; there he appointed and removed French bishops, and declared that the Pope was the sole primate of the Universal Church.

Such a struggle would have been hopeless if opened by a weaker man than Gregory VII., who was blindly enthusiastic for the justice of his aims, and would have beheld the ruin of the world unmoved provided that his own objects were retained thereby. This victory he hoped to secure through the magical power of the words spoken to Peter 'What thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Gregory considered that this promise enabled him to depose kings, to relieve subjects of their oath of fealty, to decide all quarrels as he would, "to take from any and to give to any the possessions of all men, to make illegality legal, and legality eternal wrong." These means, indeed, made it possible to continue the struggle between the empire and the papacy for more than thirty years; it was a struggle which entirely paralysed Germany, and for a long time secured the predominance of the Romance peoples in Europe, while it also brought terrible pressure to bear upon consciences. Henry IV. was reduced to beg for absolution for three days as a penitent at Canossa in 1077. These means, however, did not secure victory for the Pope, and Gregory was reduced to an exile's death.

Gregory's ideas, however, were steadily disseminated by the Cluniacs, both elsewhere and in Germany, where Hirsau in the Black Forest had become a central point of this tendency. The extent of the papal prestige could be seen in the fact that Urban II. placed himself at the head of the Romance countries to liberate the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, and induced thousands to cry, "It is God's will," at the Council of Clermont in 1095; it is evidenced by the half-million of Crusaders who set out for the Holy Sepulchre with the Pope's blessing, and by the Pope's ability to declare the newly acquired kingdom, with its capital of Jerusalem, an ecclesiastical fief. It must be said that the struggle between Pope and Emperor was steadily renewed.



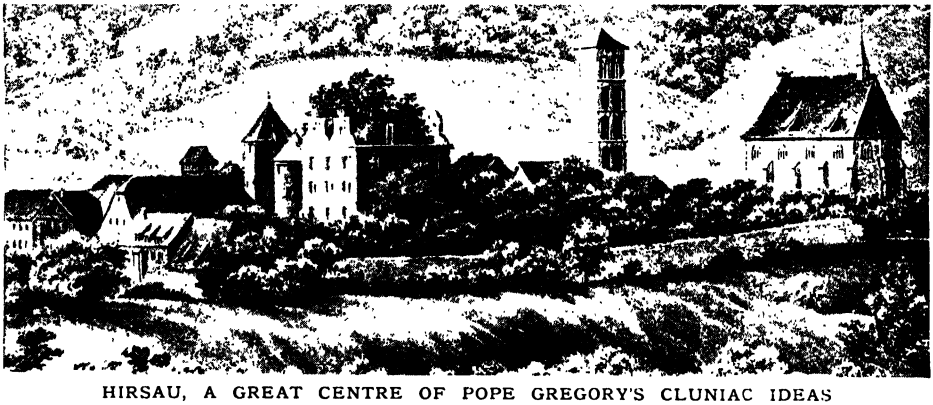


THE CELEBRATED HILDEBRAND AND INNOCENT II.
Pope Gregory VII. was the celebrated Hildebrand, the champion of the papal supremacy over secular princes, while Innocent II. was an opposition Pope, elected in 1130, who fought hard for the supremacy.

Henry V., whom the Pope had chosen and raised to the throne against his father's opposition, had no intention of showing his gratitude for this infidelity by blind obedience. Eventually peace was concluded by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. The temporal possessions

and powers of the bishops were differentiated from their ecclesiastical office; the latter was conferred by the Church through consecration, and the former by the emperor through investiture with the sceptre. Thus, the Church and the State were placed upon an equality; henceforward ecclesiastical supremacy was the sole prerogative of the Pope, and the emperor had nothing to do with ecclesiastical affairs. But it was questionable whether this peace could be anything more than an armistice, whether all future German emperors would agree to this complete surrender of the theories of Charles the Great and Otto III., and whether Rome would be contented with what she had gained. The demands of the papacy were far more comprehensive; not only was the Church to be entirely free from temporal power, but she was also to be a universal and world-wide ruler. When Gregory and his helpers had once proposed this ideal as a solution of all difficulties, and had secured for it a wide acceptance, the Concordat of Worms could never imply a final peace.

The succeeding events seemed as though intended to demonstrate to the papacy the folly of these aspirations to world-wide power. The papacy could not even maintain its authority in Rome, or secure itself from self-destruction, without the help of Germany. That purely ecclesiastical corporation which had been entrusted with the papal elections in order that a decision might be inspired by the spirit of God and not by that of the world was unable to agree. The Cardinals' College presented Christianity with two Popes in the year 1130. The rivals waged a bloody conflict for the supremacy: and on two occasions the German emperor, Lothair, was obliged to appear in Italy to secure the preponderance of Innocent II. Lothair's victory confirmed the Romans in their convictions that the imperial aspirations of the papacy deprived them of peace, and that peace could be restored only if the Church abandoned this struggle for wealth and power and returned to her original poverty, while the people took political power into their own hands. It was impossible, in view of the past, to feel reverence for papal authority; Gregory VII. and his friends had constantly supported, and indeed instigated, revolt and revolution.



HIRSAU, A GREAT CENTRE OF POPE GREGORY'S CLUNIAC IDEAS

Pope Gregory VII. engaged in a long and strenuous struggle for the supremacy of the papacy, and though for a time he was victorious, in the end he was defeated, and he died an exile's death. His ideas, however, were disseminated by the Cluniacs, in Germany and elsewhere, and Hirsau in the Black Forest became a centre of this tendency.

With burning words Arnold of Brescia preached, in his native town, the life of poverty led by Jesus and His apostles, asserting that wealth and worldly power in the hands of the clergy were nothing less than sin. The movement broke out in Rome itself, under Eugenius III. (1145–1153). The secular power was to be taken from the Pope and entrusted to the hands of the Roman senate, while the papal state was to be made a Roman republic. It was not, as before, the constant disturbances of the nobles, but the people, that inflicted this deadly blow upon the Pope. Arnold of Brescia came to Rome. He swore fidelity to the Roman senate and the republic, and fulminated against the ambition of the clergy and the Pope, who was no

shepherd of souls, but a man of blood, and the torturer of the Church. The Pope could find no other means of safety than the recognition of the Roman republic.

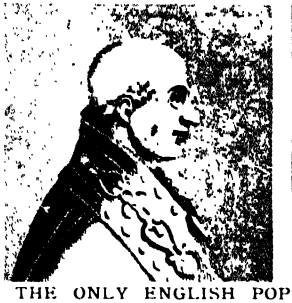
Even those bitter experiences failed to bring the papacy to its senses, and beyond the frontiers of Italy it continued to claim supreme sovereignty. In order to complete the organisation of a brilliant Crusade in 1147, the Pope did not hesitate to interfere with private property, and trampled underfoot the imperial rights in reference to episcopal appointments. The Decretum of Gratian, the great ecclesiastical law-book, was compiled under this Pope, and in it the claims of the papacy, which had been so often and fiercely disputed, were represented as legally established. It was no wonder that the great Hohenstaufen, Frederic I. made a further attempt to crush these papal ambitions for supremacy. "From whom has the emperor his dignity, if not from the Pope?" was the question asked by the papal legate, Roland of Siena. Frederic replied, "By of the Empire God has raised the Church to the head of the world. Thus stand at the head of the world, the Church is attempting to destroy the empire. This is to us intolerable, for we owe our crown only to the gift of God." In the year 1159 the College of Cardinals had again elected two Popes, and Frederic, as German emperor, then claimed to decide the legality of the election. Alexander III., his old enemy Roland, against whom he decided, was recognised by France, Spain, and England, and the German bishops felt as though cut off from the rest of Christendom. The defeat of Legnano, which the defiance of Henry the Lion inflicted upon him in 1176, forced the emperor to the unwelcome step of concluding peace with Alexander in 1177. The supremacy of the German Church was gone for ever.



THE POPE EUGENIUS III.
During the reign of th Pope, which lasted from 1145 till 1153, an important movement broke out in Rom The secular power was to be taken from the Pope, and, to save himself, he recognised the republic

At the same moment the prestige of the papacy was greatly advanced by a second victory. Henry II. of England proposed to govern the Church of his country in the old fashion, and issued the Constitutions of Clarendon to limit the privileges and jurisdiction of the English clergy. Thomas Becket had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry in 1162, and swore obedience to the Constitutions. Afterwards, however, he did public penance for his oath, and was solemnly released by Alexander. The subsequent murder of Becket only ensured the prompt triumph of his cause. The Pope in 1172 declared Thomas a saint and martyr. The king was forced, by popular opinion and by his sons, to undergo in 1174 a humiliating penance at the grave of the man who had thwarted his plans.

Thus the papacy had broken down the resistance of the Teutonic nations; and, when it had reached the zenith of its power, Alexander III. convoked a brilliant third Lateran Council in 1179. The council decided among other points that the clergy could never be brought before a secular court, and that Church property should be taxed only with the consent of the bishops and clergy, and only in extraordinary cases; these innovations were intended to separate the Church from political life, and to preserve its wealth unimpaired.



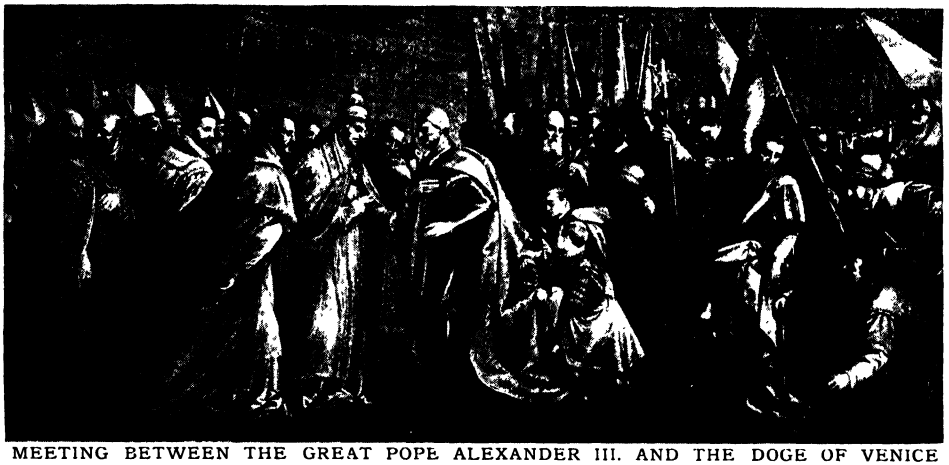


THE ONLY ENGLISH POPE AND ALEXANDER III.
Hadrian IV., who was appointed Pope in 1154 and died five years later, was the only Englishman that has ever occupied St. Peter's chair. He issued in favour of Henry II. of England the celebrated Bull which sanctioned the conquest of Ireland. Alexander III. was one of the greatest Popes of the Middle Ages, and showed his power in many ways.

While the Church was thus rising to supreme power under its head, the papacy, a new series of events provoked the question whether it would invariably succeed in maintaining its predominance in religious thought, which was its peculiar sphere. The signs of a

revival of religious individualism began distinctly to increase.

Since the Franco-Germanic world had become outwardly Christian, the work of religion had for centuries consisted merely in driving back the remnants of heathenism and in securing a general outward adoption of Christian doctrine. Even during the time when literary impulse found expression in religious work, as under Charles the Great, such work consisted essentially in the mere repetition of early Church tradition. Occasionally some slight indication of an independent appropriation of Christian teaching appeared, as in the "Heiland," but the complete assimilation of this great inheritance was yet very far distant, and any such flashes speedily disappeared.



MEETING BETWEEN THE GREAT POPE ALEXANDER III. AND THE DOGE OF VENICE

The papacy reached the zenith of its power during the latter part of the twelfth century, when the great Pope Alexander III. sat in St. Peter's chair. In 1179 the Pope convened a brilliant Lateran Council, which conferred on the Pope alone the right of canonisation, and drew up the laws under which the election of the Pope is still governed.

During the eleventh century, however, new characteristics come to light. It is as though a child, as yet capable only of imitation, had become a boy, able to ask himself questions upon what he was taught or upon the difficulties he felt. Until the year 1000 Christianity was essentially corporate, but after that date it becomes personal. Its manifestations are of very various character. In one case we find, as it were, a boy who consciously attempts to break away from the guardianship of his parents; in another case, one who does not renounce their leading, but would at the same time advance upon paths of his own; again, one who consciously follows his parents' lead for the first time. The common element, is, however, in every case the beginning of personal religious feeling. Its development in the Teutonic world follows the reverse order of that visible in the old Church. In the beginning the circle had widened from the individual believer to the national Church. In the Middle Ages the national Church is the beginning, and the gradual progress to individual belief the conclusion.

The first tendency observable within this process of development does not shrink from revolt against the Church. From the beginning of the eleventh century heretics constantly reappear; they are found in the dioceses of Chalons, Liège, Arras, Orléans, Turin, the Netherlands, in Brittany, and in Goslar. Especially in Southern France did Peter of Bruys inveigh against the Church and all its institutions, asserting the true Church to exist within the heart of the believer. At last, on a strict fast day, he made a heap of shattered crucifixes, upon which he cooked meat. For this he was thrown into the flames by a raging mob in 1137. His place was taken by the monk Henry and his "Petrobrussians," whose efforts were so successful that St. Bernard was forced to confess, "the churches are without people, and the people without priests." Unusually widely disseminated were the Cathari, who rejected the Old Testament, the sacraments, pictures, crosses, and relics. Petrus Waldus was inspired by nothing but a spirit of revolt against the Church, when fear for his salvation led him to give up all his property, to study the Bible, and to found a union in 1177, the members of which were

to renounce the world and private property, and to go through the country preaching repentance. However, the religious independence attained by himself and his friends enabled them, when the archbishop prohibited their preaching, to appeal to the Bible text that people should fear God rather than men; they were so wholly out of sympathy with the Roman spirit that their appeal to the third Lateran Council was rejected, while their strength enabled them to disregard this supreme decision.

The Miracle at the Communion

A second tendency becomes more clearly obvious in the opposition of Berengar of Tours to the views of Radbertus, which had gradually gained a universal acceptance. Radbertus held that the bread and wine of the Communion were transformed into Christ's body and blood. Berengar asserted that only truth could prevail in the Church, but that truth was not secured by ecclesiastical office or a Church council, and here his anti-Roman spirit is manifest. He further asserted that whatever was unintelligible to reason was impossible, and he also acted as though he considered commonsense his own peculiar possession. This is nothing more than the first appearance of the aberrations, often repeated at a later period, which are caused by the desire for religious independence. These first principles, however, proclaimed him a dangerous opponent of Roman teaching.

It is remarkable that Berengar's doctrine of the Holy Communion met with the approval of Cardinal Hildebrand, who attempted to protect him from his fanatical opponents. When, however, the Roman synod condemned the freethinker as a heretic in 1079, Pope Gregory VII. immediately sacrificed his own convictions. The condemned man attempted to appeal to a conversation which he had held with the Pope a short time previously. The Pope ordered him in a voice of thunder to fall to the ground and confess his error. The truths actually considered as such by the Church were less important to the imperialist ideas of the papacy than the necessity of uniformity upon questions of belief.

Freethinking "Heretic" Silenced

The fate of this man who had attacked the existing doctrine at one point only must have induced others to conceal their special opinions. Many erroneous views on Church doctrine existed, as is shown by the next scholar who was unable to silence his independence, the great dialectician, Peter Abelard. He regretted that so many rejected the Christian teaching, and was yet more repelled by its defenders, who demanded simple submission to Church authority. He therefore declared that what could not be proved could not be accepted, and attempted in consequence to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, rejecting as wrong or unimportant all that his reason could not grasp. His opposition to Church doctrine was generally concealed. For instance, in his dialogue between a philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian, he compared the different religions together, but carefully avoided the inevitable inference from his investigations that the substratum of truth in heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity was ultimately identical. He also was expelled from the Church by the Council of Sens in 1141.

A third tendency is manifested by those who remained faithful to the Church and her doctrine, but either in theory or practice displayed a personal conviction previously unknown. In the early Church sin was generally considered an irremediable defect, and the chief question therefore was in what manner this defect could be remedied, and how the strength of virtue could be imparted to the sinner. When the Teutonic spirit began personally to grapple with Christian truth, the results acquired were wholly different. The "Heiland" represented God as the great and benevolent lord of the heavens, to whom mankind owed obedience. Sin was now conceived as a debt to God, and, according to Teutonic views, such a debt necessitated expiation and atonement. Upon such theories is based the famous work of the scholastic Anselm of Canterbury, "Why did God become Man?" (*Cur Deus Homo?* 1198). Man cannot make atonement for his sins; the burden of his unfaithfulness is too great. Hence God became man in Christ, and this divine Man performed what no mere man could do, and voluntarily gave His blameless life to wipe out our debt. As this attempt had been inspired by a personal feeling of guilt, so, too, the sense of personal forgiveness might arise.

Early Conceptions of Sin

These are new lines of thought foreign to Rome. The mystical Bernard of Clairvaux makes the same attempt by other methods.

Hitherto fear had been announced even among the Teutons as the normal attitude of the Christian towards God; but Bernard makes love the centre of his theory—the love of God which condescends to man, and the love of man which can rise to God. In prayerful joy his looks and thoughts hang upon the Christ as the sacrifice of love: "All hail, thou bleeding Head!" His desire is to show love of Christ, not only for what He did for us, but also for the sake of the Man who could do so much. In correspondence with this mystical interpretation, the actual progress of the world is represented as a second manifestation of the love of God. What freedom and what independence did the individual Christian gain through such beliefs!

Bernard is also in agreement with the ideal of ecclesiastical supremacy, and regards the Pope as the head of Christendom. When the struggle broke out again between Pope and Emperor he helped the papacy to victory. With no clear consciousness of the inconsistency, he ascribed claims of supremacy to those who were bound to God by love. In consequence he was himself able to intervene in all ecclesiastical movements, and could even offer serious advice and stern exhortation to the Pope. This new tendency he communicated to the order which his initiative made influential, that of the Cistercians, which he entered in 1115 with thirty companions. In contrast to the Cluniacs, who had already become worldly minded, in spite of their original seriousness, these monks were to live in the strictest renunciation. Quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired equally by the love of Jesus, were to fill their lives. Bernard also attempted to bring the laity into this sanctuary. The institution of a lay brotherhood, which already existed in embryo, was further developed in this order.

Bernard and the Cistercians

At that time arose a large number of orders pursuing different objects. These were so many manifestations of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. The religious community of Grammont, founded by Stephen of Thiers, was to follow no human rule, but the threefold law of the Gospel—poverty, humility, and patience. Bruno of Cologne attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders in his foundation of the Chartreuse, which he planted in an almost uninhabitable mountain gorge. To this retreat he was driven by indignation at the unspiritual character of the Church. The Carthusians, or the monks of Chartreuse, were even denied the consolation of conversation.

When the preacher of the Crusade, Robert of Abrissel, had roused the enthusiasm of large numbers of men and women, who were incapable of crusading effort, he united them in the Order of Fontévraud, in which enthusiasm for the Holy Land was replaced by enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary. Lay brethren who served in the hospital connected with the monastery combined to form Hospital Orders, among which that of St. Antonius was best known. From crusading enthusiasm rose the knightly Orders of the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, in whom German chivalry was combined with Catholic monasticism and the service of Christian love. As the mysticism of Bernard found the highest flight of faith in the most humble and self-sacrificing love of Christ, so these orders regarded the most distinguished proof of knighthood as the service of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, the help of the sick and miserable—a further proof that the fundamental ideas of Christianity were being reconceived. The Premonstratensians attempted to raise the secular clergy from their degradation, and thus to improve their spiritual efficacy among the people.

Birth of the Knightly Orders

At such a period the expansive powers of the Church inevitably resumed activity. They may also have contributed to the Crusades. The Church sent Saint Vicelin to work among the Wends of Holstein, a labour carried out with unspeakable trouble and constant disappointment. The Church raised a crusade against the Abodrites of Mecklenburg, and when this effort proved abortive, inspired the Cistercian monk, Berno, to sow the seed of Christianity with unwearying effort upon this hard ground. The Church again induced Bishop Otto of Bamberg to undertake his missionary journeys to Pomerania.

Bishop Otto the Missionary

The problem then arose whether the hierarchy would interpret these as the signs of a new period. Would they join the movement towards personal religion and recognise that movement as largely a

protest against their methods and their aims? Or would they continue to regard the outward sovereignty of the world as their supreme object, and thus for ever lose the opportunity of leadership in their true religious sphere?

Once again it seemed as though supreme power was to fall, not to the papacy but to the empire. Henry VI. (1190-1197), a son of the great Barbarossa, became master of the whole of Italy. Homage was done to him by Cyprus, Armenia, and Antioch; the Greek Empire and the Mohammedan princes of North Africa paid him tribute. Westward he proposed to extend his supremacy over France and Spain, eastward over Syria and Palestine. His achievements and plans were then suddenly destroyed by death, and a few months later the papal chair was occupied by a man who seemed designed for imperial rule; this was Innocent III. His intellect was as keen as his will was powerful, while his foresight was not inferior to his tenacity; he never hesitated in the pursuit of his objects, and he showed no fastidiousness in his choice of means. His imperialism was inspired by no common ambition or selfishness; he had no love for the world, or desire for power as an end in itself. His thorough mediæval piety led him to despise the world and to renounce its joys; and if he sought supremacy, it was because the consciousness of his responsibilities impelled him to give the miseries of the world some show of godliness. He succeeded where Gregory VII. had failed, and where Alexander III. had been only half successful. Innocent was indeed a favourite of fortune.

The widow of Henry VI. feared that her son, who was only three years old, could not retain possession of his Sicilian inheritance without some powerful ally. She therefore accepted the kingdom as a papal fief and made the Pope guardian of her son. After her death Innocent wrote to the boy that he might thank the Lord who had given him a better father in place of his earthly parent, and a better mother—namely, the motherly care of the Church. When the Germans desired a man at the head of the empire, some electing Otto of Brunswick and others Philip of Swabia, the Pope declared that as he had the right of conferring the



THE CISTERCIAN MONKS AND THEIR SIMPLE METHODS OF LIFE

At the beginning of the twelfth century there sprang into existence quite a number of ecclesiastical orders, these being indications of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. Bernard of Clairvaux was drawn to the order of the Cistercians, and, with thirty companions, entered it in 1115. These monks agreed to live in the strictest renunciation, and their lives were to be filled by quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired by the love of Jesus.

imperial crown, he was also bound to scrutinise the election of a German king, and, in the case of a doubtful election, to decide whether one of the rivals or a third should receive the crown. He declared in favour of Otto, and his legates proclaimed the excommunication of Otto's opponent. Innocent's position became desperate as Philip's power steadily increased. However, the murder of this opponent extricated the Pope from a difficult situation in 1208. But now Otto, though previously compliant, attempted to recover the ecclesiastical rights which he had surrendered to secure the crown. Innocent excommunicated him, and relieved his subjects of their oath of allegiance. Frederic, the son of Henry VI., who was now a youth, promised the Pope all that he desired, and Innocent therefore placed Frederic on the throne in 1212. Thus the proud family of the Hohenstauffen became subject to the papal chair.



THE DEATH OF ST. BRUNO OF COLOGNE

The founder of the Order of the Chartreuse, Bruno of Cologne, attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders; and, planting his convent in a mountain gorge, he retired to it, driven there by the unspiritual character of the Church.

Philip Augustus of France had divorced his wife Ingeborg, and married Agnes of Meran, the daughter of a German duke. The Pope laid the whole of France under an interdict, declaring to his legate that the affair, if properly conducted, would redound to the credit of the apostolic chair. France was forced to yield, and the king to make an outward show of submission. Upon the death of his beloved Agnes he was deeply grieved by the illegitimacy attaching to her children, and the Pope then declared them legitimate, exercising his power by way of consent, as he had formerly shown it in refusal.

King Alfonso IX. of Leon also experienced the power of the Pope on his marriage with his niece. King Sancho I. of Portugal, who had defied an archbishop, was reduced to obedience. King Pedro II. of Aragon voluntarily declared his kingdom to be a papal fief. The Bulgarian prince Kalojoannes petitioned Innocent to grant him a crown. The Pope decided cases in Hungary, Sweden, and Norway.

In England a dispute had broken out concerning the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent declared the two elections to be null and void, summoned the electors to Rome, and forced them to appoint a third candidate, his friend Stephen Langton. Furious at this interference, King John of England swore by the teeth of God that he would hang Langton as soon as he set foot upon English soil. Innocent drew his usual weapon; he laid the kingdom under an interdict, the king under sentence of excommunication and deposition, and finally assigned his country to the king of France, promising great benefits to the latter and to his army, such as had formerly been assured to the Crusaders. John then crawled to the foot of the cross, and, not content with yielding the point in dispute, surrendered his land to the Holy See, to receive it again as a papal fief. The promises made to the French king naturally no longer held good;

Philip would never give so much as had been obtained from John. The princes were as puppets in the hands of the Pope. He was able to triumph even over the Greek Church, which had proved so refractory towards the successor of St. Peter. The host of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople and founded the Latin Empire in 1204; and Innocent could rejoice that, after the destruction of the golden calves, Israel had returned to Judah. These victories of the papacy over the temporal powers were accompanied by an extension of its ecclesiastical prerogatives. Ecclesiastical legislation, which had formerly belonged to the synods, fell more and more into the hands of the Pope. He decided individual questions of administration and right, while lawyers who had been trained in Roman jurisprudence instructed the Pope to regard every papal decision as a precedent of binding force in future cases.

The Latin Empire Founded



THE POPE INNOCENT III. A man of keen intellect, powerful will, and thorough piety, Innocent III. was inspired neither by selfishness nor by love of the world, and he succeeded where some of his predecessors had signally failed.

Innocent completely severed the old ties which had united the German Church and the crown. Otto, and afterwards Frederic, had sacrificed all their ecclesiastical rights in order to secure the crown. They renounced the regalities and the "Jus Spoliorum," and left Rome entirely free to receive appeals and issue citations; they gave the cathedral chapters the exclusive right of electing bishops, and recognised the canonical objections which the Pope raised to such elections. Hence Innocent was able to exercise an unquestioned right of scrutiny and confirmation in the case of episcopal elections. He was able to establish the rule that if he rejected an election as uncanonical, application must be made to him for a second candidate, or "*postulation*," and that when rival candidates were elected, the decision should be with him. In consequence it was possible for him to concede the postulation, or make his own appointments conditional upon such promises as the oath of obedience to the Pope. Nor was it only over the bishoprics that his power extended. For a considerable time previously the Popes had been in the habit of recommending candidates more or less definitely to individual bishops for posts in their gift. Innocent claimed this right as one founded upon "the plenitude of the ecclesiastical power" (the right of provision), and extended his claims to include the power of disposing of the reversionary interest to posts not yet vacant (right of expectation).

Formerly candidates for ecclesiastical office were obliged to make payments to the secular lords as owners of the churches in question; now that this "simoniacal" practice was abolished, they were obliged to pay the Pope. The difference between the two institutions consisted solely in the fact that dues had now to be paid upon all business communications with the Curia, and that in certain cases these reached an extraordinary height, but were no longer known as simony. Clerical freedom from taxation, with its consequent and entire independence of political life, was regarded by Innocent as insufficiently secured by the arrangements of Alexander III. Innocent announced that exceptional and voluntary contributions of the clergy to the expenses of the state required papal permission before payment. On the other hand, he claimed the right of taxing the whole of Christendom for his own purposes, and actually used this right in support of a crusade. Innocent displayed to the eyes of the world his unexampled power and supreme dominion on the occasion of his great Lateran Council in 1215. More than four hundred bishops had accepted his invitation, together with eight hundred abbots, many princes, lords, and ambassadors from kings and republics. In the midst of this brilliant assembly the Pope occupied the throne as the representative of God upon earth, in splendour such as Rome never beheld before or since. After his death, in 1216, the struggle for the supremacy broke out again between the Hohenstauffen and the papacy, and the result was that Conradin, the last of the Hohenstauffen, ended his life upon the scaffold in 1268.

The Great Splendour of the Pope

The missionary activity of the Church was in proportion to its supreme power.



MONKS OF VARIOUS MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

For this age the peaceful preaching of Christianity seemed too slow a process. Crusades were organised against the heathen Livonians, and the Order of the Knights of the Sword was founded in Riga to crush any opposition to the Church. The conversion of Prussia was accompanied by massacres, and appeals were made for the help of the Teutonic Order. This appalling struggle continued for fifty years, annihilated a large proportion of the rightful owners of the country, and ended with the supremacy of the Teutonic Order over Prussia.

Massacres at the Conversion of Prussia

The intellectual weapons of science were employed with equal vigour in the service of the Church. Ecclesiastical science may be compared with those Gothic piles which then arose, which seem to remove their stone material from the influence of gravitation, forcing it to rise majestically so high, though with full solidity and coherence; so also ecclesiastical science was combined and built into systems, into that scholasticism which comprehended all human thought and knowledge, all speculation and contemplation, within a magnificent system intended to protect Church doctrine from doubt or opposition. It seemed impossible that the world should doubt when such a system showed the necessity or the rationality of all that the Church would have men believe. "See," cries Richard of Saint Victor, "how easily the intellect can prove that the Godhead must be a plurality of persons, neither more nor less than three in number." Another thinks it possible to prove the doctrines of the Church by strict logical treatment, even to such as do not recognise its authority - to Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics. This science also proved, by the mouth of the famous Thomas of Aquinum, who died in 1274 [see page 47], that salvation was to be found only in the Church from her priests and sacraments, beneath the shadow of the Pope. The Pope decides the nature of Church doctrine. He is above all princes, and as the governor of Christ can depose them and relieve all subjects of their allegiance. Otto of Freising writes at this date: "The kingdom of Christ seems at the present time to have received almost all the things promised to it, with the exception of immortality."

Peerless Position of the Pope

Now, however, that the Church had attained these long-standing ambitions, we have to ask, what was the nature of its inner life? The question may be answered by examining the decrees passed in that famous Lateran Council. The council considered that it was necessary to draw up a confession of faith, and to enforce measures of the utmost severity for the extermination of the countless heretics who had appeared in the Church. It considered the decree inevitable that every man who had not confessed his sins to a priest at least once a year should be excluded from the Church, and given dishonourable burial after death. Though the Church can rule the world, she steadily loses her hold upon souls. Though imagining that all is subject to her as a matter of faith, her faith is yet rejected. This is more than a chance coincidence. The foundation of faith begins to shake beneath the superincumbent structure of temporal power. The claims of the apostolic power and of its servants have become presumptuous, the manner of their assertion too often intolerable, and the proofs adduced too threadbare. The people turned in numbers to the heretics, who desired no earthly supremacy and no earthly riches. The apostles of the Cathari and the wandering preachers of the Waldenses led a truly apostolic life of humility and poverty. In Southern France, where the Cathari were generally known as Albigenses, from the little town of Albi, the princes and lords of the country belonged to their congregation almost without exception. In this quarter the Church had been almost supplanted by the sectaries; these same enemies of ecclesiasticism had overrun Italy, and were predominant in Spain and in the Netherlands. About the middle of the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux, and other devoted servants of the Church, had spoken in favour of a method that should "bring back the wicked to repentance by patience and long suffering," and not by the sword. Such characters as Innocent III. could not possibly doubt that, as the Church was certainly called to rule the world, her opponents could claim no right of existence. His legate, Arnold of Citeaux, was sent to France, and summoned the king and nobility to a crusade against the heretics in 1208. Thousands were slain by this army, and

What the "Heretics Aimed at

in the single town of Béziers 20,000 are said to have perished in one day. In 1215 the heretics were by no means exterminated, and the Lateran Council, therefore, issued a decree that all temporal lords should purify their lands of heresy on pain of excommunication and deposition, and that episcopal commissaries were to examine and to exterminate heretics. The world-wide power of the Church was unable to exist without the Inquisition.

Not only the Church, as such, but Christianity itself, was menaced by a different movement, which appeared sporadically; this was a tendency to freethought widely disseminated, especially among the educated classes. The origin of the tendency is not far to seek. There is no greater menace to the power of faith than the use of it by its chief exponents to support interests purely secular, especially when, as in that age, the Church based all belief upon authority, and made doubt of her authority a sin of infidelity, while upon the other side a yearning for independent religious conviction had arisen in many minds. In high-sounding religious phrases the Popes had excommunicated prince after prince, had preached on one day the duty of revolt against an emperor, and on the next the necessity of rebellion against his opponent, with a persistence that aroused suspicion. The scholastic philosophers had attempted to make the creeds an acceptable system, but those appeals to reason which they brought forward could bring conviction only to minds still convinced of ecclesiastical authority.

Inconsistent Teaching of the Popes

Eventually a host of new impressions overwhelmed men's minds. The Crusades had brought a knowledge of the East, and the West had learnt to know the "infidel" Mohammedans. It was observed with surprise that they were by no means morally bad, and were, in this respect, even more to be respected than many Christians. Hence, it seemed possible that the uniqueness of Christianity existed solely in the imagination of the Church. The different religions appeared like identical rings, each of the owners of which were merely foolish in regarding his own as the only genuine example. More was learned of the philosophy of the "heathen" Aristotle, and study produced admiration. The works of the Arabian philosophers became known, especially those of Averroes, who died in 1198, and the systems of the Jewish philosophers which had arisen under their influence. In consequence, questions hitherto unknown came into prominence and shattered the traditional beliefs.

At the University of Paris this tendency to freethought was openly manifested. So early as 1207 Amalric of Bena was obliged to renounce heresies of this nature; and, as he was supposed to have derived them from Aristotle, Innocent III. prohibited the study of this great philosopher's scientific works. In the year 1240 the bishop and chancellor of Paris were obliged to oppose the teaching of Averroes, which had made its way to the university. Averroes had taught that while religion was indispensable for the masses, it could represent supreme truth only in symbolical form, whereas philosophy possessed such truth in its purity. Philosophical teachers attacked theological truths, and, when called to account, proceeded to explain that heresy was an ecclesiastical conception, but that philosophy had no connection with the Church, and that religion need not be taught to students, as it existed only for the lower classes.

Religion only for the Lower Classes

Under the protection of this theory the teaching that God created the world out of nothing was explained to be sheer nonsense. Organic life had developed from inorganic matter. The world was governed, not by God, but rather by a rational necessity, or by chance. Attacks were also directed against the ethical system which had hitherto held the field. The monastic theory was unnatural, and genuine morality was not impaired by the influence of material life. The shortness of life should rather teach men the enjoyments of its benefits. The satisfaction, for instance, of the sexual instincts was, in any case, a moral desire, and the strictness of the marriage laws was senseless prejudice. A further centre of freethought would, perhaps, hardly have been discovered had not a renewed struggle between Pope and emperor brought it before our eyes. Frederic II., who had grown up as the ward of the Pope, and had been educated as a blindly devoted son of the Church, learnt to despise both Pope and Church. He regarded the different religions as so many conflicting theories of equal truth

Emperor Despises Pope and Church

or falsehood, and was accustomed to mock at Christian doctrine with confidential friends. The epigram about the three impostors Moses, Christ, and Mohammed which is ascribed to him by his enemies, may not be historical, but his life clearly showed the laxity of his religious views. It was a matter of total indifference to him whether a man was Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian. He chose Arabs as his high officials, carried about a harem in the Mohammedan style, and studied the philosophy of Averroes by preference.

The Church had now to deal with these premonitions of the downfall of Christianity. She began by drawing the reins tighter and insisting upon Easter confession to secure the ecclesiastical control of every individual. The same council made the doctrine of transubstantiation a dogma. For the glorification of this miracle performed by the Church the festival of Corpus Christi was instituted in 1264. The Church ordered that the Sacrament should be adored by all whom the priest might meet in the street when he was bearing it. In the Communion the cup was reserved more and more for the priests. The Church, however, made no inquiries into actual belief, demanding only submission. Innocent III. had laid down that the confession of true faith was not a primary necessity, but only the admission of readiness to agree with the doctrine of the Church, and that this "implicit" belief existed in cases where a man's belief might be erroneous if he were not aware of the error. What more could the Church do to make actual faith simple and to encourage real Christianity?

Heresy, moreover, was unable to annihilate Christianity; the real religious sense of a true personal belief had been too widely awakened. At this moment such believers became conscious of the necessity for a religious revival.



ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI
Deeply impressed, in the year 1209, by the example of Christ, St. Francis abandoned his possessions, renounced the world, and went forth to lead others into the peace he had found in poverty and trust in God.
By Luca della Robbia

It was in the year 1209 that Giovanni Bernardone, better known as Francis of Assisi, heard at Mass the lesson from St. Matthew's Gospel, which relates how Jesus sent out His disciples to preach the Gospel, without gold or silver, without shoes or staff. Deeply moved, he abandoned his possessions, and announced to others the peace which he had found in poverty and in trust in God. His complete renunciation of the world, his fiery love for God and man, made a tremendous impression at that moment. A number of associates like minded with himself gathered round him; these he sent out "to preach to mankind peace and repentance for the forgiveness of sins." For their benefit he drew up a rule upon the principles which Jesus had laid down for His apostles. He attempted to secure its confirmation by the Pope, but Innocent felt that the spirit of Petrus Waldus was working here. He feared that a refusal might drive this fiery enthusiast into opposition, as had happened in the case of Waldus. He resolved to wait a while before confirming the rule, but gave the missionaries permission to continue their labours. Within a few years the brethren of Francis penetrated into one country after another, and inspired a movement of mighty power. Many who were unable themselves to travel and preach repentance formed in 1221 the fraternity known as the "Brothers of the Repentance of St. Francis"; these were the Tertiaries, the third Order, corresponding to the female Order, the Clare Sisters, founded in 1212 or 1224.

Francis was a true son of his Church, and diverged from its doctrine in no single point. His object, however, was not to unite men with the Church, but to lead them to personal holiness. He did not even desire to found an Order; the union which he founded was only a means to an end, and was intended to



THE PASSING OF A GREAT SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI ON HIS DEATH-BED

help his object of planting Christian humility by his example in all hearts wherever possible. The movement, thus working for religious independence, might be a considerable menace to the Church unless it were organised and confined within ecclesiastical boundaries. The danger was recognised by Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX; he succeeded in making the free union an order with a novitiate, with irrevocable vows, and with a chief elected by a general chapter.

Convents now arose in different countries; the brothers devoted themselves to preaching and to the spiritual care of the people. To increase their competency for this purpose they founded schools, and Franciscans soon occupied professorial chairs in Paris and Oxford. The papacy, now fully secularised, attempted to unite the Order firmly to itself, and therefore granted it great privileges; in consequence, the Order acquired wealth. All this was opposed to the theory of the founder, who in his enthusiasm for poverty and frugality regarded beggary as an honour. The result was violent quarrels within the Order concerning this change of the old rule. We cannot, however, assert that it would have been more efficacious if a lack of organisation and property had laid it open to every chance influence.

In any case the influence of the Franciscan order has been infinite. Some of its members attempted to use German as a literary language, desiring, like David of Augsburg, who died in 1271, to disseminate among the people that mystical piety once the special monopoly of scholars. Others, by popular and stirring sermons, succeeded in turning misguided humanity from dead ecclesiasticism to a real reformation of life. Berthold of Regensburg travelled from Switzerland to Thuringia, from Alsace to Moravia, attracting everywhere congregations so vast that no church could contain the multitude of his hearers. Many marched with him for days from place to place, in order to hear a repetition of his earnest warnings. Under the influence of his words deadly enemies embraced one another, mockers began to pray, and many restored their unrighteous gains to those they had defrauded.



FOUNDER OF DOMINICANS
St. Dominic was the founder of a mendicant Order, the object of which was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church

Almost at the same time a second mendicant Order arose, founded by St. Dominic; its object was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church. This order also founded a female branch and a lay brotherhood of penitents. To it Gregory IX. in 1232 entrusted those special inquisitorial courts which he instituted for the extirpation of infidelity. Previous to 1179 we have seen the movement of personal religion among the more intellectual classes; the following period saw a movement towards the liberation of personal Christianity from submission to the hierarchical system, in which the papacy involuntarily helped.



THE ARREST OF POPE BONIFACE VIII. BY THE SOLDIERS OF KING PHILIP OF FRANCE

Remarkable for his diplomatic cunning and passionate recklessness, Pope Boniface VIII. engaged in a long struggle for supremacy with King Philip IV. of France, and when the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope laid an interdict upon France, and removed the whole clergy of the country from office. He was preparing to go even further, but on the very day when his Bull excommunicating and deposing Philip was to be proclaimed, he was apprehended at Anagni by the king's emissaries. Boniface was released a few days later by the inhabitants of the town, but the experience had so broken his health that he died a few months afterwards.

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER AND THE EARLY DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

IN the year 1294 the papal chair was occupied by Boniface VIII. He was a man of great boldness, of extraordinary diplomatic cunning, and remarkable for his passionate recklessness. When Philip IV. (the Fair) of France proposed, on his own initiative, to tax Church property, in order to carry on war against England, the Pope threatened with excommunication and interdict, in his Bull "clericis laicos" in 1296, all who should pay or exact ecclesiastical contributions without his permission. The king revenged himself by prohibiting "the exportation of precious metal from the country," while the clergy in England who refused to pay a tax on account of the Bull were threatened with outlawry by Edward I. It was impossible for the Pope to dispense with his income from France, and he therefore proceeded to explain away the force of his Bull. Philip considered that so compliant a Pope was a suitable arbitrator to decide his quarrel with England.

How Boniface Filled His Purse

Boniface, however, decided as the supreme judge upon earth, and against the king, who thereupon declined to submit, and burnt this Bull at his court. Boniface, recognising that a decisive struggle was now inevitable, resolved both to advance his prestige and to fill his purse. He issued a decree of jubilee for the year 1300, proclaiming that all who should visit the Church of St. Peter in Rome during that year, for confession of sin and penance, should receive "the most plenary absolution of all their sins." The result showed with what general confidence the papal supremacy was still regarded. The streets of Rome were not wide enough to contain the masses of the believers who flocked into the city. Enormous sums flowed into the Pope's treasury.

In full confidence of victory, he sent to Philip a French bishop, by whom the king considered himself so insulted that he imprisoned the envoy and accused him of high treason. The Pope replied by a prohibition, forbidding the king to exact any taxes from the Church, and, in 1301, by the Bull "ausculta fili," which contained the claim, "God has placed us above kings and kingdoms." Philip replied, "Your illustrious stupidity

The Pope's "Illustrious Stupidity"

matters we are subject to no one." In order to secure the national support he summoned to the States General not only the deputies of the nobility and clergy, but also those of the towns; and the consciousness of nationality was now so vigorous throughout the nation that the assembly solemnly declared the French kingdom independent of the Pope.

Carried away by the tide of his passion, Boniface, in 1302, issued the memorable Bull, "unam sanctam," an open proclamation of the papal theory regarding the Church and the temporal power. "When the apostles said, See, here are two swords, that is to say, within the Church, the Lord did not reply, It is too many, but It is enough. Hence there are two swords in the power of the Church, the ecclesiastical and the secular. The one is to be used for the Church and the other by the Church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and warriors, but at the order and permission of the priest. By the evidence of truth the spiritual power must include the secular and judge it when it is evil. Should the supreme spiritual power go astray, it will be judged by God alone, and cannot be judged by man. Moreover, we declare, assert, determine, and proclaim that submission to the bishop of Rome is absolutely necessary for all men to salvation."

France Under the Papal Ban

When the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope removed the whole clergy of the country from their office. He prepared a Bull threatening the king with excommunication and

deposition, and relieving his subjects of their oath. On the day, however, before the solemn proclamation of this Bull, the king's emissaries made their way to Anagni, the Pope's summer residence, and took him prisoner, that he might be brought before a court. The inhabitants of the town set him free some days afterwards, but the experience had broken his health, and a few months afterwards he died. No one moved a finger to save the honour of the papacy. Dante wrote: "The Church of Rome falls into the mire because the double honour and the double rule confounded within her defile herself and her dignity." In France the national excitement continued; the nation was not content to defend the king's procedure with the pen. For Philip's justification the Pope, whom death had taken from the struggle, was to be prosecuted by a general council. The enemy, though defiant before, had lost their heads in excitement at the sudden fall of this bold Pope.

What Dante Wrote About Rome

His successor used every conceivable means to pacify the king, and upon his death in the following year the cardinals expended no less than ten months in the choice of a successor. Eventually the French party, who looked for safety in compliance, won the day, and a French archbishop was chosen. He resisted the requests of the Italian cardinals; and, instead of proceeding to Rome to ascend the chair of St. Peter, he remained in France. In the year 1309 he took up his residence in Avignon.



POPE JOHN XXII.
The year 1311 witnessed the double election to the German throne of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, and the interference of this Pope led to much trouble.

The seventy years' exile of the papacy now begins. It was a voluntary exile; the Pope and cardinals preferred to live under French protection. But a profound impression was made upon the Christianity of that age by the fact that the Popes no longer resided in Rome. It must be remembered that the proof of the Roman Bishop's superiority to all bishops and of his supremacy over all secular beings centred in the fact that he occupied the chair of Peter. It might be supposed that the tradition of Peter's occupation of the Roman chair for twenty-five years was a fable invented to convince mankind of the papal claims. Because Peter had been Bishop of Rome, the Pope must be all that Peter had been. In the eyes of those who believed that the evidence of papal primacy was provided by the Biblical texts, the papacy and Rome were indivisible. If Popes could reside elsewhere, they must themselves have lost their belief in the superiority granted by Christ and handed down by the apostle princes. It was not likely that the common people would believe it, and the idea emerged that the papacy did not exist by right divine.

The absence of the papal Curia from Rome also produced a second effect. The revenues accruing from the States of the Church became uncertain, and in some respects ceased entirely. New taxes became necessary, and within fifteen years the French kings paid no less than three and a half millions of guldens. This French papacy, however, generally preferred splendour and luxury to economy, and some new sources of income had therefore to be provided. In the first place, more must be paid by the countless numbers who applied to the Curia for dispensations, privileges, and powers of every kind. With most astonishing dexterity the papal rights were extended to include patronage and ecclesiastical appointment, and enormous sums were demanded for institutions or confirmations. Special sources of revenue were also reserved to the Curia, such as the property left by a bishop at his death, the income of vacant livings until their reoccupation, the first year's income of any benefice which amounted to more than four and twenty guldens.

Unworthy Methods of the Papacy

Many archbishops were obliged to pay ten thousand guldens for their confirmation, and during one year the Curia exacted more than 175,000 guldens from the archbishopric of Mainz—more than £500,000 of our money.

Such blood-sucking was bound to arouse discontent with the papacy, and still more with the unworthy methods which were often employed to extort the largest possible sum. It happened, for

instance, that a man might have paid to secure the reversion of a post, but a second candidate offered more than the first and received the assurance of preference, while the first thus lost his money. The poet Petrarch published a terrible indictment of the condition of the papal court. "All hopes are based on money; for money is heaven opened, and for money is Christ sold. The hopes of a future life are regarded as a fable, and the teaching of hell as a fairy tale. Unbridled sinfulness passes as nobility and lofty freedom. The more shameful a life, the greater its fame. These greybeards plunge into shame as if their whole reputation consisted in gorging, drinking, and in the disgrace which follows on such vices, and this is known not only to me, but to the nation also." In addition to these facts the Pope, residing near France, was by no means free. The world was already aware of the extent to which this power, which claimed to bind and to loose all others, was itself in bonds to the French monarchy, to such an extent indeed that it could not even contrive to protect the rich and powerful order of Templars from the king's avarice.



THE LEARNED SCOTUS
The new tendency of theological thought found an able exponent in John Duns Scotus. The Franciscan Order sent him to Cologne to found a university, where he died.

The Pope indeed forbade the continuance of the prosecution of the Templars, which had been begun with the prison and the rack. But he was even forced publicly to declare that the king had proceeded against the Templars, not for selfish motives, but in pure zeal for the Church, and was finally forced to pronounce the dissolution of this unfortunate order.



OCCAM THE SCHOLAR
A pupil of the learned John Duns Scotus, the great scholar Occam prepared the way for the downfall of the prevailing scholastic system by the doctrines he taught.

The part which the papacy played in this revolting transaction was the more likely to lower its prestige when it boldly proceeded to assert its old claims to predominance against other princes, and thereby plunged the whole of Germany into unspeakable misery. In the year 1314 took place the double election of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria. Pope John XXII. declined to regard either as the legitimate sovereign until he had given his papal decision. When Lewis took his adversary prisoner, John forbade any member of the German Empire to give obedience or support to the "usurper." The king's counter declaration, that his position depended entirely upon the choice of the electors, was answered by the Pope with excommunication; when the king appealed to a general council an interdict was proclaimed on all persons and districts which should remain faithful to Lewis.

During this struggle, which brought unspeakable confusion to men's consciences, many personalities appeared in opposition to the Pope, whom no one would have expected to find against him. Though the Franciscans now possessed and enjoyed great property, they wished to retain their reputation of complete poverty in contrast to other orders. They, therefore, declared that they held the property of the order only in usufruct, and that the right of ownership belonged to the Pope, while they solemnly proclaimed the opinion that their models, Christ and His apostles, held no rights of ownership in their common possessions.

This assertion, which aroused the envy of the Dominicans, was condemned by the Pope. The chief of the order, Cesena, and the great scholar of the order, Occam, protested against this decision and fled to the German king, Lewis. They accused the Pope of heresy, and their friends publicly preached that John was no Pope but a heretic. As they enjoyed the prestige of apostolic poverty, their words found special reverence among the people. In the end the order gave in its submission; but these years of bitter conflict undermined the papal prestige to the most dangerous degree.

No small impression was made upon higher circles by the fact that clever authors attempted to reduce the Church and the papacy to their proper sphere, and that the boldness of their attempts increased. Marsiglio of Padua declared in his "Defensor pacis" that the papacy was the chief disturber of the peace, through its interference with constitutional rights;

that the supremacy lay, not with the Church, but with the nation or with the ruler of its choice, and that this extended over the servants of the Church. The Church was not the hierarchy, but the Christian nation represented in councils. An even greater impression than that produced by these radical theories of natural right was made by the writings of the Franciscan, William of Occam. He broke the ground for the coming revolution in the Church by his teaching that the creed and the welfare of the Church are the supreme law. Hence, in cases of necessity the traditional order of the Church must give place to a new organisation. Hence, also, every prince and the most simple layman, if only possessed of the true faith, can acquire extensive rights over the Church. Neither the hierarchy nor the papacy is secure against downfall; on the contrary, true faith confers the right of argument with the Church. Hence a council, though by no means infallible, is competent to sit in judgment upon the Pope.

Signs of Revolution in the Church

These ideas are closely connected with the new tendency of theological thought, and this again runs parallel with the development of the papacy. As the supremacy of the Church in political life disappears, so does that confidence with which it claimed to rule public opinion through ecclesiastical science. A revolt against intellectual tyranny becomes manifest. The schoolman, John Duns Scotus, who died in 1308, asserted that there was no logical proof for the existence of God or for the Trinity. His pupil, the above-mentioned Occam, differentiated between natural and religious knowledge, between science and faith, and thereby prepared the downfall of the scholastic system. He definitely rejected that realism — using the term in its philosophic sense — which had dominated science during the period of ecclesiastical supremacy either sought or secured. Universals had been considered as the only reality, and the individual had been thrown into the background. Hence that general conception, the Church, had been regarded as the reality, while the individual and the detailed decisions of human laws and of Christian morality were regarded as unjustifiable when such a view seemed likely to promote the welfare of the whole—that is, the Church. After the time of Occam nominalism revives, which teaches that the universal is only a mere name, *nomen*, or abstraction. The only reality is the individual thing. Hence the individual believer may be of greater importance than the hierarchy, which represents the whole Church, and the papacy is thus conditioned by the individuals who form the Church.

The Church and Christian Morality

We must not forget that, during the fourteenth century, Popes constantly secured obedience in political questions by placing wide districts under an interdict for long years at a time; in this way they made it impossible for the Church to satisfy such religious instincts as still survived in the people, and the religious consequences of this procedure are perfectly obvious. If the religious spirit did not disappear entirely, it steadily broke away from ecclesiastical authority and struggled for independence. It was no mere coincidence that exactly at that time a desire for vernacular translations of the Bible arose among the people. This was a need that had already been experienced by the heretics divided from the Church.

Bibles Burned at Metz

To a question of the Bishop of Metz, Innocent III. had replied that attempts on the part of the laity to interpret the Scriptures were culpable presumption; in order, however, not to alienate such men from the Church by excessive strictness, they might be left with the Bible translations in their hands, provided they were not thereby seduced to a lack of reverence for the apostolic chair. In Metz, the translations of the Bible were thereupon confiscated and burnt; and a series of councils prohibited unauthorised translations of any theological books in the vernacular.

Now that the prestige of the papacy was sunk to a low ebb, men began to look for some other basis even within the Church. With the desire for personal faith arose also a popular tendency to draw immediately upon that source of truth which Occam had praised as a supreme authority. In the most varied districts men proceeded to translate the whole Bible, or individual books of it, into the vernacular tongues. In the year 1369 the Emperor Charles IV. prohibited "all books in the vernacular dealing with holy Scripture," but was unable to prevent the satisfaction of this desire when once it had been felt.

The individualist tendency of Christianity is also evidenced by the widespread spirit of mysticism in the fourteenth century and by the new manner in which it was put forward. Notwithstanding the dislike felt by strict churchmen of religious writings in any other language than Latin, which was intelligible only to scholars, souls were now led to communion with God by means of the vernacular tongues. Abstracted from outward things, absorbed in self-contemplation, the soul was to find God and to rejoice in His presence. Such was the teaching of the profound master Ekkehard of Hochheim near Gotha, who died in 1327; "God's being is to our life." Summoned before the Inquisition, he was forced to declare his renunciation of those errors ascribed to him. Such, too, was the teaching of the influential preacher, John Tauler of Strasburg, who continued to preach although the Pope had interdicted him. His teaching was followed by the pupil of Ekkehard, Henry Suso of Ueberlingen.

These men did not attempt to contradict Church doctrine, but they involuntarily represented the Church as superfluous, and this view received greater emphasis from those who possessed any theological training and drew their spiritual nourishment from these mystical writings. As a substitute for that communion which they missed in the Church, they formed associations, calling themselves "the friends of God," and regarding themselves as the only true Christians, who might hope by their prayers to avert the judgment threatening the Church.

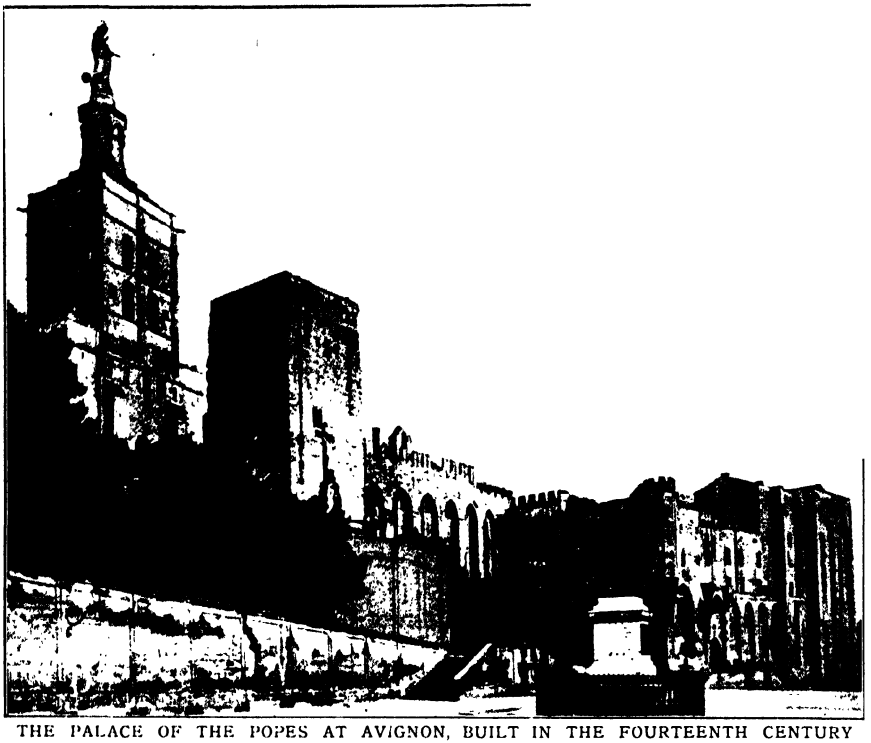
"The Only True Christians"

In the convents of nuns a similar visionary tendency became obvious. The famous Margaret Ebner, in the nunnery of Medingen, near Donauwörth, described the manifestations vouchsafed to her, and continued a zealous correspondence with her spiritual friend, Henry of Nördlingen. By their efforts the "spiritual manifestations of grace" of St. Mechthildis were published in the High German language. This mysticism found acceptance, as may be easily understood, among many of those men and women who had been given separate houses to secure their social position, in which they worked, or from which they went out to work, for their daily life—the so-called Beghins and Beghards. Possibly the first foundations of these unions—on the Lower Rhine about 1180—may have been inspired by a religious idea of renunciation. In any case these half-monastic unions of pious souls, removed from the strict discipline of the monastery, ran the danger of becoming conventicles and of cherishing a mystical piety more or less repugnant to the Church. Hence the Church found it advisable to take proceedings against them more than once. The desire for Christian liberty and freedom from authority rose to open hostility to the Church in the sect of the "free spirit." From the outset of the thirteenth century a strange fusion of freethinking and enthusiasm had existed in France, and now began to grow with great rapidity. The theory was that the free spirit of man knew no superior authority: man was God, even as Christ was. His actions were performed as a result of inward divine freedom, which hence raised him above all rules and prescriptions. Work was not fitting for him, and all belonged to him, so that he might take what he would. These mystics wandered in bands, making life insecure by their translation of these principles into practice. The sect was especially numerous in Switzerland, and on the Rhine as far as Cologne; it also appeared in Upper Italy and Bohemia. Its members were persecuted by the Church, which merely confirmed their opposition; nor could the Church alleviate this malady, being herself sick unto death.

Where the Mystic Sects Flourished

The friends of the Church began with greater impetuosity to demand the return of the papacy to the chair of St. Peter; and at length Gregory XI. re-entered Rome in the year 1377. After his death, in the following year, a new election brought yet greater misery upon the Church than the exile of the papacy had produced. The newly appointed Pope proposed to attack the disorders prevailing in the Curia. The French cardinals then left the city and elected a Frenchman, who again took refuge in Avignon, under the ægis of the French king. Two representatives of Christ thus existed in opposition, and the allegiance of the national kingdoms was divided between them. The one cursed the other and all his adherents, so that the whole of Christianity lay under an interdict. Whenever a Pope died, Christianity hoped for the conclusion of the schism; but on every

Two Popes who Cursed Each Other



THE PALACE OF THE POPES AT AVIGNON, BUILT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The seventy years' voluntary exile of the papacy from Rome began in the year 1309, when the Pope and cardinals, preferring to live under French protection, took up their residence at Avignon. According to prevailing ideas, the papacy and Rome were indivisible, and the withdrawal of the Popes from the headquarters of all their predecessors profoundly impressed the Christianity of the age. When at last, in 1377, Gregory XI. re-entered Rome, the trouble was by no means over. After his death there arose two rival Popes, one of whom, a Frenchman, took refuge in Avignon.

such occasion a new election continued this miserable state of affairs. Even those who cared little for the honour of the Church and the papacy groaned under the results of this disruption.

There were two papal Curias to maintain, and their extortions were far more exacting than ever before. A papal official of that period, whose business it was to register the requests sent in to the Curia, wrote, "There is no demand so unrighteous or absurd that cannot be granted for money." It seemed that the papacy would leave no stone unturned to destroy the proud Gregorian theory of its divine supremacy and its inviolability.

The consequences were inevitable, for the spectacle of two Popes excommunicating one another led men to ask whether there was no higher authority in the Church than the papal power. The world resounded with complaints of papal oppression, and it seemed that the papal power must be limited, and Christianity secured against further malpractices. A General Council might possibly bring salvation. The scholars of the Paris University, especially Gerson, vigorously championed this hope of safety.

The immediate necessity, however, was the reformation of the Church in head and members alike. The ecclesiastical and religious conditions which had arisen beneath the guidance of the Church in the last forty or fifty years were absolutely indescribable. The local clergy had degenerated, owing to the sale of spiritual posts to utterly unsuitable candidates, and to the practice of plurality, which made extortion easier. Episcopal organisation was completely shattered, as a steadily increasing number of ecclesiastical institutions and fraternities purchased from the papacy the right of exemption from episcopal supervision and jurisdiction; an increasing number also demanded what they considered to be their rights from the Curia, and secured them if they paid highly enough. For thirty years this miserable schism was endured with all its

consequences, until the world gained courage to break with the theories concerning the unlimited nature of papal supremacy.

In March, 1409, the much-desired council was opened at Pisa. Neither of the Popes was present, and both protested against the illegality of the council. Gerson, however, was able to convince the assembly of the principle that a council could represent the Universal Church even without the presence of a Pope. For centuries general councils had been nothing more than the Pope's obedient tools; opinion now ventured to ascribe supreme authority to the council. The two Popes were deposed and a new appointment was made — Alexander V. The deposed, however, had no idea of resigning, and each of them enjoyed the support of several princes and peoples. Christianity thus possessed three Popes, a "papal trinity," as the mocking phrase ran, and was broken into three camps. Alexander V. prorogued the council for three years in order to prepare thoroughly for the necessary reform, and meanwhile ecclesiastical affairs remained in a state of confusion.

All hopes of a reformation seemed to have gone for ever in the year 1410, when John XXIII. became Pope. He had begun his career as a pirate. By the sale of indulgences he had amassed such wealth that he was able to enlist an army, to conquer Bologna, and to rule as a bloody despot and a shameless voluptuary. He was also pointed out as the murderer of his predecessor on the papal throne. The council for which the world was calling was not to be expected from this Pope; and in consequence the old theory was revived that the emperor was the protector of the Church. By a fortunate turn of affairs, John was forced to flee from Rome and take refuge with Sigismund. In his complete helplessness he agreed to a council upon German soil, and this was summoned by Sigismund, as "protector of the Church,"



THE PIRATE POPE
Beginning his career as a pirate, John XXIII. became Pope in 1410 and amassed considerable wealth.



THE STATE ENTRY OF POPE JOHN INTO CONSTANCE FOR THE FAMOUS COUNCIL
Forced to flee from Rome, Pope John took refuge with the Emperor Sigismund of Germany, and was compelled to agree to a council upon German soil, which Sigismund, as "Protector of the Church," summoned for November 1st, 1414, at Constance. The Council of Constance thus met as a synod under a Pope. Thwarted in his attempt to maintain the theory of his inviolability, the Pope fled from Constance, thinking that this step would deprive the council of its jurisdiction for further action. But the council, holding its power to be from God, deposed the Pope.

for November 1st, 1414, at Constance John's invitation followed.

Thus the Council of Constance met as a synod under a Pope. Relying upon the large number of Italian bishops dependent upon himself who were present, John attempted to maintain the theory of his inviolability. It was then resolved that the voting should be, not by heads, but by nations; that is, that each one of the four nations present should be regarded as a whole, and that scholars and royal ambassadors should also have seats and votes. In order to deprive the council of its jurisdiction for further action, the Pope fled from Constance. The council responded by resolving that it represented the Universal Church upon earth, and derived its power immediately from God; that everyone, including the Pope, was bound to obey it, and that everyone who refused obedience was to be duly punished, whatever might be his rank. John was deposed. One of the two remaining Popes voluntarily resigned, and the third was abandoned by his previous adherents. In this way the schism came to an end.

Pope John Deposed at Constance



WYCLIFFE THE REFORMER
John Wycliffe publicly opposed the papacy, and made an English translation of the Bible that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing in the Church.

It was indeed a remarkable change of ecclesiastical theory. Since the third century, when Cyprian had regarded the episcopate as representing the unity of the Church, the councils which incarnated that unity were formed of bishops. In the Western Empire the Bishop of Rome had then advanced and made good the claim that the whole Church was incorporated in himself, and that he alone could conduct and confirm synods.

Now the council had again asserted its superiority to the Pope, and it was a council formed by no means exclusively of bishops; the princes, as the heads of the laity, had their official votes in it. Individualism thus invaded the theory of Church government; but the idea that the whole could command the individual was still as powerful as of yore. This synod demanded with the same decision that blind obedience which the Pope had previously required. Religious toleration was as yet an inconceivable idea. This is only too clearly proved by the decisions of the Council of Constance upon the burning doctrinal questions of the day.

From the year 1376 John Wycliffe of Oxford had publicly opposed the papacy and its extortions. He had begun the struggle in the interests of his nation, but in the course of it he was led beyond the limits he had proposed. It seemed impossible that a hierarchy, degraded by its lust for worldly honour, wealth, and power, with its Pope in Avignon, or its two or three Popes, could be the Church of God. The Church could consist only of those who were found worthy of eternal salvation—the predestined. The Popes of the schism showed by their behaviour that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, but to that of Antichrist. It was impossible that the will of such a hierarchy could pass as the law of the Church.

"The divine law," the holy Scripture, must decide all, and commands discordant with this law, even if originating with the Pope, were illegal. For this reason Wycliffe began his English translation of the Bible in order that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing in the Church. On the authority of the Bible he rejected transubstantiation, auricular confession, confirmation, and extreme unction, the worship of saints, images and relics, the pilgrimages, brotherhoods, and indulgences, and, in particular, the worldly power and possessions of the clergy.

According to the Bible, tithes and alms were to be the priest's sole source of maintenance. The king, as the supreme ruler after God, was to take from the clergy all that was not theirs by God's law. To provide for the spiritual needs of the people, Wycliffe sent out his "poor priests," who constantly travelled, preaching as opportunity served them; he also sent out laymen, who were given full powers by God Himself, but by no bishop. In this way the religious movement rapidly spread. The University of Oxford was horrified by Wycliffe's attacks upon the orthodox doctrine of the sacrament, and

Wycliffe's "Poor Priests"



THE REFORMER, JOHN WYCLIFFE, SENDING OUT HIS BAND OF "POOR PRIESTS."

The religious movement initiated by Wycliffe quickly spread throughout England. By his published writings the reformer was able to influence all classes, and through his "poor priests," who are shown in the illustration, his doctrines found many adherents To provide for the spiritual needs of the people, Wycliffe sent out these men, who travelled over the land and preached whenever and wherever the opportunity arose, thus winning many adherents.

forbade such criticism. He was able, however, from his parish of Lutterworth, to influence high and low by the number of his published writings. He ended his days in peace in 1384; it was not until 1399 that the reaction began, with the help of a new ruler placed upon the throne by the superior clergy, and Lollardry was ruthlessly suppressed.

This fire, however, had already lighted a mighty conflagration in Bohemia. A new religious spirit had been aroused in that country by zealous archbishops and by Waldensians and other heretics who had migrated thither. These were reinforced by powerful preachers who fulminated against religious indifference and dead ecclesiasticism, and against the secularisation of the clergy. Of these the chief were Militsch of Kremsier, who died in 1347, and Matthias of Janof. The papal schism had induced these latter to arrive at Wycliffe's theories independently. They asserted that only the Church of Antichrist had been divided, that the true Church was the community of those predestined to salvation, and had not been influenced by the schism. Matthias also shared the veneration of the English reformer for the Bible; and German Bohemia in that age was zealously occupied with the task of Bible translation. Manuscripts are still in existence which once belonged to the citizens of Prague or Eger. One of these German psalters is not derived from the Latin Vulgate, but is taken directly, or indirectly, from the original Hebrew. In Bohemia was also composed the German Bible, which appeared in fourteen editions after the invention of printing. Another German text exists in the shape of the Wenzel Bible, which is famous for its illustrations, and was composed about 1391 for Wenzel, the Bohemian king and German emperor.



POPE ALEXANDER V.

An enemy of the reform movement, it was through his influence that over two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings were burned in the palace on the Hradschin in Prague.

The marriage of the daughter of a Bohemian king with Richard II. of England in 1382 promoted a vigorous interchange of thought between the universities of Oxford and Prague. Many Bohemian

students brought Wycliffe's ideas and writings home from England. Master John Huss founded his first lectures—after 1396—upon Wycliffe's writings. The leaders in this religious movement were almost exclusively Czechs; thus the whole movement gained a national character. This desire, however, for national independence was primarily anti-Roman, and aimed at liberation from Rome. When King Wenzel desired to induce the Bohemian Church to promise subjection to neither of the two disputing Popes he was supported only by Czechs and not by the Germans; he therefore determined that the Germans in the university should have only one vote, the Czechs three, and in consequence more than two thousand German teachers and students left the town in 1409. Huss now became rector of the university, which was entirely Czech, and his reputation steadily increased, in spite of the many attacks upon him.

Huss the Disciple of Wycliffe

The archbishop, inspired by the new Pope, Alexander V., now interfered, and burnt more than two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings in the court of his palace on the Hradschin in Prague. He excommunicated Huss and his adherents; and when this measure was answered with scorn, violent measures were taken to place the city under an interdict. The excitement increased, and the efforts of King Wenzel at pacification proved fruitless.

In order to save the honour of the Bohemian Church, Sigismund invited Huss to appear personally before the Council of Constance, and promised him a safe conduct in his own name and in that of the empire. With foreboding of evil, but ready for death, Huss set forth, and after a few weeks his opponents in Constance were able to take him prisoner, notwithstanding the promise of safe conduct. Sigismund's anger blazed up; he ordered that the prisoner should be immediately released, and threatened to break open the prison. He was told that any measures of his which might hinder the efficacy of the council would result in its immediate dissolution. This he was anxious to avoid at any price; he therefore sacrificed the witness of the truth and his royal word in the cause of the reforms for which he hoped from the council. Thus it was possible to proceed with the accusation of heresy; and the fate of Huss was decided in May 1414, when the council issued their condemnation of Wycliffe.

Sigismund's Broken Pledge

The trial of Huss brought out the deep difference between himself and the fathers of the council to an extent of which he was himself hardly conscious. He asserted that he could not recant until he had been convinced of the erroneous nature of his doctrine. He was told that a recantation would lay no blame on him, but upon the superiors who demanded it from him. The main point of difference was the question whether a man had a conscience of his own, or whether he should allow his conscience to be ruled by other men and by the Church. Huss thought differently from the council; he had an independent personal conviction of religious faith, and this he rated higher than his life. Though he was no profound thinker, no pioneer of a new doctrine, and in some respects inferior to Wycliffe, this fact has made him the hero of a new epoch and a martyr. The men who, led by Gerson, had been the most violent opponents of the unlimited power of the papacy, and most anxious for a so-called reformation, did not hesitate until they had silenced for ever this exponent of a new reformation. On July 6th, 1415, he perished at the stake, a fate shared by Jerome of Prague in 1416.

Reformers Perish at the Stake

The judges of Huss made a great mistake when they thought that these tokens of strong Catholicism would enable them the more certainly to secure a permanent reformation. The appointment of a new Pope was delayed, as they feared that attempts at reformation might be thus frustrated. However, through the influence of political powers, the Italians and cardinals who were opposed to reform succeeded in carrying out a papal election. The friends of reform thought something had been achieved when the new Pope was pledged to carry out the reforms and to reassemble the council after a definite period, which was first fixed at five years.

The election of Martin V., in November, 1417, brought the Great Schism to an end.

APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION

MURMURINGS OF THE COMING STORM

POPE MARTIN V. was a prudent and kindly character. He saw that every nation had its own special views upon the subject of reform, which were generally conditioned by the nature of its immediate dependence upon Rome. This fact he was able to explain to the council. He induced them to abandon as impossible any promulgation of general principles, and to rest contented with separate concordats for each nation. These concordats consisted in fair promises on the side of the Pope, and in the abolition of certain flagrant abuses. In some cases they secured the papacy in the possession of new privileges. Moreover, by the decree of the council they were concluded not permanently, but only for five years.

The council was dissolved in April, 1418, and an actual reformation was as far distant as ever. The old disgraceful practices soon resumed their prevalence at the papal Curia. After two years, a German from Rome wrote, "Every action of the court at Rome is cheating, greed, and pride"; and another wrote, "Livings are sold in Rome as publicly as pigs at market." The general hopes were set upon the council to be summoned after five years. The Pope convoked it in 1424 at Pavia, transferred it to Siena before proceedings began, and dissolved it speedily. Christendom felt itself cheated; the indignation of the lower clergy and the people increased. Pope Eugene IV. was obliged to promise to summon a council in Basle in 1431.

How the Pope Cheated Christendom

The first step of this council was to invite the adherents of Huss to Basle for negotiations. The martyrdom of Constance had aroused the Bohemian movement to wild fanaticism, the outward sign of which was the demand of the cup for the laity in the Communion service. Wenzel expelled the priests who dispensed the Communion in both kinds, *sub utraque specie*, from which phrase came their title of Utraquists; they then fled to a mountain, which they called Tabor, and the people flocked to them in bands of excited enthusiasts to prepare for battle by receiving the Communion. A social movement was amalgamated with that for religious reform. An end was to be made of all tyranny, and a furious storm broke upon the churches and monasteries. At the desire of Sigismund, Martin V. summoned the whole of Christendom to battle with these heretics. But the crusading army sent against them was utterly defeated, and the Hussite forces devastated the neighbouring territories with fire and sword. Their invincibility made them the terror of the West; and a fresh crusading army, accompanied by the cardinal, who had been appointed president of the council at Basle, was annihilated. Christianity breathed a sigh of relief when the more moderate of the Hussites professed their readiness to negotiate with the council.

Victories of the Hussites

The Pope, however, was irritated that the council should attempt to conclude an independent peace with the heretics whose destruction he had demanded, and thus to claim the government of the Church. He therefore dissolved the council, which, however, referred with great decision to the principle that a general council was supreme even over the Pope. The council passed the most sweeping measures for the limitation of the papal power. In 1433 they concluded peace with the Bohemians, conceding the four demands which the Hussites had advanced in 1420, though in a mitigated form; these were the cup for the laity, free preaching of the Word of God, the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the Christian discipline. The Pope was eventually compelled to declare

The Pope Compelled to Yield

his order of dissolution null and void, in a Bull drawn up by the council itself. His legates were forced to swear that they would work for the honour of the council, would submit to its decrees, and would help to secure its triumph. Thus the council triumphed over the Pope.

However, in the consciousness of this triumph the council was unable to act with moderation. It cut off from the papacy most of the existing sources of income, or appropriated them to itself, so that the Pope could reasonably ask how he was to keep up his court for the future in accordance with his dignity, or to pay his many officials. Many, moreover, who had derived their incomes from the former financial position of the papacy were irritated with the council. The council, indeed, seemed determined to appropriate the Pope's position, as it issued dispensations of marriage, granted absolutions and gifts of tithes, interfered in purely secular affairs, and disposed of the electoral dignity against the decision of the emperor.





POPE EUGENE IV. AND THE ANTI-POPE FELIX V.
In 1439 the Council of Basle deposed Pope Eugene IV. and set up an anti-Pope in the person of Felix V. This produced a new schism, general sympathy being against the council in its action. Felix voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449.

The Greek emperor was at that moment anxious to secure the help of the West in order to save his empire from complete destruction by the infidel, and for that reason proposed to enter upon negotiations for union with the Western Church; the Pope thus secured the transference of the council to Ferrara on the ground that he desired to spare the Greek ambassadors the task of crossing the Alps. The majority of the synod declined to surrender their freedom of movement by removal to Italy, and finally proposed the deposition of the Pope. The fact, however, that the Pope had secured from the Greeks a recognition of his apostolic supremacy over the whole of Christendom considerably strengthened his prestige, and by concessions of every kind he was able to bring one prince after another to his side.





THE POPES PIUS II. AND SIXTUS IV.
One of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the Council of Basle was Æneas Silvius, but as the power of the council dwindled he receded from his former attitude and turned a zealous supporter of the papal chair. He became Pope, as Pius II., in 1458. Sixtus was a patron of art and learning, and built the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.

The Council of Basle entirely forfeited the general sympathy by its action in electing an anti-Pope, Felix V. in 1439. It seemed that the result of this council was merely a new schism. Hence the nations attempted to secure the reforms determined at Basle, though they did not break away from the Roman Pope. Felix V. voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449. All who knew the nature of the papacy were bound to admit that the last remnants of the success of the anti-papal movement would soon disappear. The "reformation" was not inspired by purely religious motives. Though entirely justified, it was chiefly selfish reasons that had inspired its action and hindered its performance. Towards the close of this period, about 1450, a feeling of bitter disappointment was shared by all who had the welfare of the Church at heart. All attempts at improvement had failed, all hopes of a reformation had passed, and the end of the world was thought to be at hand; thus all complained with one voice in bitter disappointment. Every pious soul felt assured that existing conditions could no longer continue.

The papacy had completely defeated the desire for a reformation, whether ecclesiastical or anti-ecclesiastical. It had also lost all sympathy with the religious

movement. The process was thus complete which had begun nearly a century before; the papacy was no longer conducted upon one principle, but was guided solely by motives of self-interest, which appealed with varying force to different Popes, for unity of effort disappeared when the principles were swept away. Upon one point only were the Popes agreed—that a reformation ought to be averted.

Enea Silvio de Piccolomini (Aeneas Silvius) had been one of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the Council of Basle. As the power of the council dwindled, he became an equally zealous adherent of the papacy in 1445. In his new career he steadily gained ecclesiastical honours, until he secured the papal tiara in 1458, as Pius II. He wished to revive papal supremacy according to the old models; not, however, with the intentions of such men as Innocent III., who really thought that the only salvation for souls consisted in general submission to Peter. Pius was inspired by purely secular ideas. He was in the position of a prince wishing to revive the departed glory of a crown which he had inherited. It was his destiny to learn that he was aiming at the impossible, and that the general lack of confidence in the papacy was now invincible. He condemned the "accursed abuse that men should be driven by the spirit of rebellion presumptuously to appeal from the Bishop of Rome to a future council," and he found that men revolted from every one of his unpopular rules by means of such appeals. He took the utmost trouble to organise a crusade against the Turks, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453; but Christendom declined to follow him. For the same purpose he founded new orders of knights, but these soon disappeared.

Abortive Enterprises of Pius II.

Paul II. had signed a document before his election pledging himself to continue the war against the Turks, to maintain strict morality, to convoke a council of reform, and to carry out other measures; when his elevation had made him supreme head of the Church, and had thus given him power to loose whom he would, he immediately released himself from his promises. The Church owed to him the profitable innovation that the jubilee, originally intended to celebrate the outset of every new century, should be celebrated every twenty-five years. Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) did not employ the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict to advance his secular aims; but apart from this he was undistinguishable from the ordinary run of immoral and faithless Italian princes. He improved his finances by permitting brothels in Rome, which brought him in a yearly income of 80,000 ducats. Innocent VIII. had so many illegitimate children that popular humour spoke of him as rightly called the father of his country. While he was inspiring Christendom with lofty words to fight against the infidel, he kept in imprisonment an enemy of the sultan who had fled to the West, instead of placing him at the head of a crusading army, for the simple reason that the sultan paid him 40,000 dollars a year for this service. His successor, in 1492, was the Borgia Alexander VI., who died in 1503, the father of five illegitimate children, a man whose treachery and cruelty were a byword. Alexander had secured his election by bribery of the cardinals, but his greed extorted their money with such rapidity that they were forced to flee or succumb to his exactions; in either case their treasures came into the Pope's possession. He hoped to subjugate the whole of Italy to his family, and he did not shrink from concluding an alliance with "the hereditary enemy of Christianity" against "the most Christian king" of France.

Depths of Papal Infamy



THE GREAT SAVONAROLA

Its worldliness obvious to every eye, the papacy became the scorn of all who desired to see religion in its purity. But the voice of the humble Dominican friar, Savonarola, was raised in protest against the evils of his time.

A further attempt at reformation was ventured. The Dominican friar, Savonarola, created a profound impression in Florence by his preaching of penitence, and succeeded in founding a republic in

which God was to be the sole king. His brilliant success afforded some prospect of a purification of the whole Church, and he therefore attacked the well-spring of the evil, Rome, and its disgraceful Pope, Alexander. The Pope consequently excommunicated him and placed Florence under an interdict. In 1498 Savonarola and his most faithful friends were hanged as "persecutors of the holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burnt. This was a second disappointment. However, in his cell the martyr gained so firm a conviction of evangelical theory that Luther was able to republish the work which he had composed on the eve of execution. Immediately after his death, Savonarola's writings were so eagerly printed and read that, in 1501, the Pope considered it necessary to place them on the Index in order that "only such seed should be sown in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth as would provide spiritual food for the souls of the faithful."



THE CELL OF SAVONAROLA

The reformer advanced the cause of pure religion by his writings as well as by his impassioned preaching. He was also an earnest student, and his prior's cell at the monastery of St. Mark in Florence was the scene of tireless study as well as of prolonged and fervent prayer.

Once again the princes gathered courage and demanded a council; complaints of the shameless extortion of the Curia had become too loud and too universal. The result of these noble efforts was the issue, in December, 1510, of the Bull "Pastor æternus" at the Lateran Council opened in 1512: this document appealed to the infamous Bull of Boniface VIII. (Unam sanctam), and asserted, "he who does not hear the representative of Christ shall die the death. The Roman bishop has sole authority over all councils." The ambitions which Christendom had cherished for centuries were now to all appearance completely destroyed. Geiler of Kaisersperg, whose death occurred in 1510, preached "there is no hope of improvement in Christianity, therefore let every man hide his head in a corner and see that he does and keeps God's commandments that he may obtain salvation."

The same council considered it necessary to pass a resolution forbidding any doubt to be cast upon the immortality of the soul. The spirit of free thought, which had existed among the educated classes of Christianity for nearly three centuries, had reappeared, and was manifested principally in the form of pure enthusiasm for classical antiquity.

In the fourteenth century, the general authority of the Church had collapsed; the spiritual power of its head had been shattered by the exile of the papacy and the schism, and the ecclesiastical science of scholasticism was fading, while the religious spirit became more individual. In Italy at that time men's minds were no longer satisfied by the mediæval ideals of submission to authority and renunciation of the world; they therefore turned to classical antiquity, to the enjoyment of that personal freedom and that appreciation of life which are prominent in those memorials of the past.

The new culture, the Renaissance and humanism, advanced steadily, and were carried to the north of the Alps by the Councils of Constance and Basle, while the invention of printing facilitated their wider dissemination. A spirit long extinct was thereby revived, the spirit of historical inquiry, especially and naturally into the history of the Church. This was a tendency which was conscious neither of its true impulses nor of its final results, and was for these reasons pursued without preoccupation. Almost all the Popes who ruled in the last decades of the Middle Ages allowed themselves to follow the movement without reserve. No one suspected that they were driving the ship of St. Peter towards the whirlpool



THE BURNING OF THE VANITIES: A SEQUEL TO THE PREACHING OF SAVONAROLA

It was not to be expected that the zeal and enthusiasm of Savonarola would go unchecked. Thrice he was summoned to appear before the Pope at Rome, but he would not obey the papal commands. In 1496, the Pope in vain offered him a cardinal's hat if he would change the tone of his sermons. The above picture illustrates an event of 1497—the burning in Florence, by the order of Savonarola, of all the "vain and unholy things" which could be collected in the city—fancy dresses, personal ornaments, pictures, sculptures, books, and such-like objects.

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of destruction. Yet in this land where humanism originated a tendency soon arose which made it an extraordinary danger to the mediæval Church and to all true religious spirit. When a Church demanded simple assent to its every assertion, and had founded its power upon so many falsifications, its very existence was menaced by men who, like Laurentius Valla, who died in 1457, studied the New Testament in the original, and showed the inaccuracy of the Latin Vulgate used by the Church. He and other investigators showed the falsity of the "Donation of Constantine," on which Popes had based their power for centuries, demonstrated by the words of the apostles themselves the later date of the supposed composition of the "Apostles' Creed," which was generally believed, and cast doubts upon the False Decretals, which were the props and foundations of ecclesiastical law as a whole. It was a danger, also, to the prestige of a Church which had long been honoured by countless numbers as a teacher provided with infallible power, when ecclesiastical Latin was compared with the language of the ancient authors, and its barbarisms held up to scorn.

The Roman Church in Danger



THE IRREVERENT POPE LEO X.
Piety was at a low ebb among the representatives of religion in the fifteenth century, and that unbelief had secured a firm hold is illustrated by the saying of Leo X., that "truly the myth of Christ has brought in much gain."

The intellectualism of the time, in its enthusiasm for classical literature, entirely adopted this spirit and appropriated the heathen theories of life, with results that might have been expected, and are especially obvious among the Italian humanists. They secretly renounced their allegiance to the Church and to religion, and abandoned themselves to the most shameless sensuality. In order to avoid any inconvenience that might result from declared infidelity, they announced their readiness "to believe everything that the Church believed"; one of them said jestingly among his friends that he would even believe in a quadruple unity of the Godhead to avoid a death at the stake. Popes and their servants, in view of such disbelief, had every reason for forbidding doubt upon the immortality of the soul, and for continuing the traditional piety of language in the composition of their decrees, seeing that they derived their living from Christian belief. It may be imagined how appalling were the results of such sayings as were reported of Popes like Leo X., who said, "Truly the myth of Christ has brought in much gain."

What, again, were the effects when Christendom read the writings of such a man as Poggio, who lived in close friendship with eight Popes as apostolic private secretary at the Roman court, and composed the "Facetiæ," which, with incredible frivolity, glorified sensual pleasure, and poured cynical mockery, not only upon individual monks and priests, but also upon the general aversion from common sins. This work was first printed in the Holy City, ran through some twenty-five editions, and was translated into many foreign languages. The author could boast of its circulation in Italy and France, Spain, Germany, and England, and even further. The great minority of the educated classes, who had long been in doubt as to the truth of Church doctrine, were now forced to break entirely with Christianity by their acceptance of the general view of life which inspired classical literature. Others, who were not inclined to abandon the faith of their fathers, in spite of their classical enthusiasm, were forced sooner or later to admit the duplicity of their intellectual life; and eventually their beliefs in authority and in the renunciation of the world gave way before the joyfulness of paganism with its love of life. In Germany the powers of personal piety were as yet too strong to admit the introduction of so great a change. The leaders of German humanism admired the classics chiefly for their educational influence. But here also is heard the mockery of the representatives of the Church of the scholastic form in which their doctrines were expounded, and of

Leaders of German Humanism

the monks who had realised the Christian ideal according to mediæval theory. Even in Germany a divergence from the dominant ideas of the Middle Ages appeared in many circles. A solution of their difficulties was to be found, not in submission to authority, but in individual freedom; not in renunciation, but in appreciation of the world. A new theory of life and a new epoch had arrived, and religion, which still wore its mediæval dress, had to be remodelled.



THE MARTYRDOM OF SAVONAROLA AND HIS COMPANIONS

The doom of Savonarola, though delayed, was sealed at last. Taken prisoner, he was tried for heresy and sedition, and under the daily cruelty of his torturers he made every admission which they desired of him. On May 23rd, 1498, Savonarola and other Dominicans were hanged as "persecutors of the Holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burned. The scene of the martyrdom was in the square outside the Palazzo Vecchio, or the palace of the Florentine guilds, where Savonarola had once supreme authority, and where he passed his last night a captive.

The danger was lest men should reject religion in their scorn for its tattered garments.

It is not, however, the educated classes alone that make history. Notwithstanding the evils of the Church, the faith of the German nation remained unimpaired, though new views were to be found even among the lower classes. Men came forward to attack particular doctrines of the Church, and others to throw an exaggerated emphasis upon truths which these men had not entirely denied. Some pleaded earnestly for personal and mystical piety; this was to be shown in a practical manner and not expended in speculation, for which the age was too serious and the excitement too intense. They began to form corporations of a semi-monastic nature, such as the "Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life," an order originated in the Netherlands by Gerhard Groot. In their opinion poverty and beggary were no longer sacred. They wished to work for their living and to influence others; not to be satisfied with mere ecclesiasticism, but to improve or to produce personal religion. The most famous work of this school, the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, disregards the whole fabric of the

ecclesiastical system, urging that a man should sacrifice all to gain all, and should deny the whole world to win God.

Even among those who still clung to the Church and her institutions we can observe a peculiar dissatisfaction, which was simply a repetition of the mediæval yearning for religious certainty. Numbers of brotherhoods were founded, which obliged the members to perform an enormous amount of devotional exercises, and enabled them to share an infinite wealth of prayers, almsgiving, masses, dispensations, and services, with the object of securing their personal salvation as far as possible. Crowds thronged to the miraculous images of the saints, to bleeding wafers and to relics, the veneration of which brought full indulgence. Thus on one day no fewer than 142,000 pilgrims entered Aix-la-Chapelle. The Church showed the utmost readiness to satisfy the desires of the German people for some guarantee of salvation. Extraordinary miracles were related of sick men healed, of raining of crosses, of nuns marked with the stigmata. Indulgences were issued in increasing numbers. The foreign pilgrims in Rome received an indulgence for 14,000 years when the heads of the princes of the apostles and the handkerchief of Veronica were shown. Indulgences were to be procured by visiting certain churches, by repeating certain prayers, and by payment of money. Anyone who died in the habit of a Franciscan or with the scapular of the Carmelites was removed from purgatory to paradise in a short time.

An Age of "Miracles"



THOMAS A KEMPIS

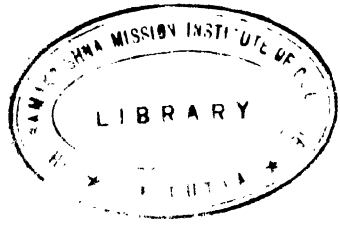
Born in 1379, he wrote various books of meditations, and is known principally by his "Imitation of Christ," the most famous work of the school to which he belonged.

The very fact that the Church was obliged continually to increase the extent of these favours proves that the prevailing desire for religious satisfaction and peace could not be thereby satisfied; so does the mass of religious writings which were now spread abroad by the art of printing. Up to the year 1522 there appeared fourteen editions of the Bible in High German and four in Low German, many books of sermons, countless works of edification, sometimes of great length, sometimes of contracted form. Especially popular were the books dealing "with the art of making a good death."

The movement of revolt against the Church was also apparent among the pious. The Church made it her duty to oppose by force these premonitions of reform in doctrine. Thus the writings of John of Wesel were condemned to be burnt, and the author was immured in a monastery. A more dangerous portent was the popular contempt for the representatives of the Church and their ideals, and the manifestations of bitter anger against the clergy and monks. If proverbs reflect popular opinion, those of this age are certainly portentous, such as "To keep the house clean, beware of monks, priests, and pigeons"; or "When the devil can find no servants for his purpose, he makes use of a monk"; or, again, "Monks have two hands, one to take and the other to keep." In fact, the morality of the clergy had sunk to so appalling a depth that many, and in particular certain princes, attempted more than once without success to introduce a moral reformation.

In the year 1476 it seemed that violence was about to break out. In the village of Niklashausen, in the Taubergrund, a shepherd, Hans Böhm, preached with wild enthusiasm against the immorality of the clergy, not sparing the Pope himself. The people came to him in masses from the Hartz Mountains to the Alps, and 70,000 are said to have listened to his message in one day. On July 13th thousands of his excited followers were to gather round him with arms; but before he could carry out his attempt at founding a republic free from priests, he was imprisoned, and ended his life at the stake. In the year 1514 a bloody revolt broke out in Würtemberg, raised in the name of Poor Kunz. This was suppressed, but the fire continued to burn in secret, no less ominously. The Church seemed utterly incapable of recovering the fidelity of those she had alienated, or of satisfying the desires of her friends. The best that she could give was inadequate to satisfy this age, which disregarded mediæval ideals, and if Christianity should fail to adapt itself to new conditions, its complete rejection seemed inevitable. WILHELM WALTHER

Helpless State of the Church





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